



The Lake.

By the courtesy of the Artist Mr. Ramendra Nath Chakravarti.



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## FACT IN HISTORICAL FICTION.

Astle said :—

History is a more philosophical and a higher art than history; for poetry tends to express the universal in history the particular. By the universal we mean how a person of a certain type will on a certain occasion speak or act according to the law of probability or necessity: the particular is, for example, the deeds which heroes did or suffered."

A general statement may be well applied to the historical novel and the historical fiction which may be called the connecting link between history and literature. The peculiar character of historical fiction as opposed to other types of fiction is that here the imagination of the author is restrained within certain limits. All historical figures work under certain restraints; they are not to make their characters human, to make them act according to the laws of human sense and reason. Further the realist, the writer of contemporary society, is ruled by the manners and ideas of men about him; he must make his men conform to those ways of thinking and characteristics. But in the historical fiction the author may impose additional restraints on himself. If he introduces historical characters into his work, he cannot treat them with the freedom that he exercises with creations of pure imagination. If he strives to bring out the atmosphere of a past period without introducing purely historic figures, he is still under many restraints.

This is the explanation why in good historical fiction, the historical figures are seldom brought into the centre of the canvas. The principal character is generally a creation of the imagination and the historical figures are

placed in the background. Thus Claverhouse is not the hero of *Old Mortality*; Grenville is not the hero of *Westward Ho*; it is not Richelieu in *Three Musketeers* nor Mazarin in *Twenty Years After*; it is not Hamlet in *Sallambo* nor Louis XI in *Quentin Durward*; it is not George Washington in the *Virginians* nor Cromwell in *Woodstock*; it is not Charles I in *John Inglesant* nor Anne in *L'homme qui rit*. In each case, the author has for his protagonist an imaginary figure, a Morton or an Amyas, a D'Artagnan or a Quentin, an Inglesant or a Gwynplaine. The historical figures are of interest only in so far as they influence his fortunes; the reader is to be interested primarily in him and only secondarily in others.

We find the same thing in the best historical or chronicle drama. Thus Falstaff is the real hero of the two parts of *Henry IV* and Faulconbridge of *King John*. The historical figure may, however, be made the central character if he is taken from the dim past of which we have only the vaguest records. Thus a Lear or a Macbeth or a Cymbeline may have ruled in Britain at one time; but the full light of history has not been turned on them; with them the imagination of the author is not hampered in the same way as with a Henry of Navarre or a Richelieu. They are merely names in the records of the past; and the author is at liberty to make them act as he likes.

But sometimes truth is stranger than fiction, and the adventures of a real hero may be more thrilling than those of the bravest



product of imagination. The life of a Benvenuto Cellini or an Abraham Lincoln teemed with incidents that can be found only in the pages of romance; and the question arises if the novelist can produce great works with such figures as his heroes. But surely the fact that a real hero's adventures are interesting does not do away with the difficulty we have pointed out. The novelist has as little scope for the exercise of his imagination in this case as with other historical figures with lives less romantic; and the interest of a record of Cellini's adventures would be the interest of fact and not of a work of imagination. The work may attract readers; but the author has little to glory in that. He has done what a biographer could have done and his work is not a product of his imagination.

Lytton in *Rienzi* took a historical figure for his hero; Mr. Drinkwater in *Abraham Lincoln* and *Oliver Cromwell* has tried the same experiment; Mr. Buchan has brought in Lincoln as his main figure in the last story of "The Path of the King." But the weight of fact makes itself evident in all such instances. The author may supply new motives for actions; he may show us many feelings in the hearts of the characters, feelings which did not translate themselves into action. But his actions must be what the historian makes them out to be. The novelist cannot make Monmouth victorious at Sedgemoor nor Mary at Langside. The destiny of the historical character is fixed beforehand; and what is worse, the reader of the historical novel knows that it is so fixed. So there is no uncertainty and no suspense; things move on to the catastrophe in a way over which the writer has no control. The fate of the imaginary figure, however, always hangs in the balance. The Pretender may be defeated at Culloden; but Waverley may still live on safely in his home. Queen Mary may have to fly to England; but Roland Graeme lives in his native land in peace and prosperity. The fate of Grenville or Raleigh cannot be altered; but an Amyas Leigh may die by his fireside.

Thus so far as the action is concerned, the novelist's hands are tied down when he deals with historical figures. He has little more of liberty in portraying the characters of historical personages. He may expatiate on the struggle in their minds before they fix on a resolution; he may attribute momentary impulses to them out of his own imagination; but the general outline of their character has

been fixed for years and the novelist cannot alter that.

The question has been raised if the novelist may not take any liberties with fact, if he may not manipulate the order of historical events or make out a historical figure different from what he is in the pages of history. This brings in the question of verisimilitude in fiction, which we cannot go into here.

For the present we have to notice how the historical novelist tries to escape the clutches of the historian. He brings in figures from history; but he tries to take them as far as possible in undress; that is, he tries to avoid their public achievements as much as possible. He takes a period in their lives neglected by the historian and sets his imagination to work on it. Thus George Washington is introduced in the *Virginians* not as the general of the Republican army, but as a young officer of the volunteers, in love with a country widow. Wolfe is not the famous commander, but a rising colonel with a future before him. Bolingbroke in *Esmond* is removed from state-affairs and Grenville in *Westward Ho* from his naval exploits. They appear as private gentlemen and not as great historical personages. One feels this most while reading *Brook Kerith*. Up to the point where the scriptural narrative of the life of Christ ends, Moore has to leave him in the background and concentrate on Joseph. But as soon as he is free of the Biblical account when he has brought Christ back to life in Joseph's house, he makes him his central figure and allows Joseph to sink into the background; and soon kills Joseph off in an abrupt fashion. The book is defective in being made up of two stories, one ending where the other begins; but it shows very well how historical facts trouble a writer of fiction. So again Scott in *Ivanhoe* takes up a chapter in Richard's life not dealt with by historians; and the Black Knight is Richard only in name; he is not the Richard of history. Even here the novelist has to keep the outlines of the historian's conception of the hero's character; but consistent with that he can give him adventures that history knows nothing about.

In the novels which profess to bring out the corporate life of an age, the weight of fact is a more serious hindrance. In such works the author values historical truth more than a writer like Scott does. The latter feels that his main business is to tell a story and so long as there is no gross historical inaccuracy, he can employ his imagination as he



likes. But Reade in *Cloister* and Lytton in *Last Days* have imposed a more serious task on themselves. There is no historical figure to supply an historical character to the novels; and their claim to be called historical is in this that they profess to give an accurate reflection of the age dealt with. In other words, the characters must behave as living men and women of their times did; they could have experiences that a real person in their days would have. This implies, in many cases, a more diligent study of the times than an ordinary history-book would give us. The historical works which deal with the details of the every-day life of the past are yet few in number; and the novelist has to turn to the original documents for an accurate knowledge of the period he takes up. Here he gathers the dry bones which he proceeds to endow with life.

It may be held that such a laborious acquisition of knowledge is incompatible with a free exercise of the imagination, an exercise necessary for the production of an excellent work of art. Surely there are several difficulties in the way of the novelist who takes so much of care about gathering his materials. At every point of his story he is tempted to supply a commentary stating how such and such an event was quite consistent with the state of affairs at the time. Long descriptions of places, streets, churches and market places are brought in. The characters of the story are kept waiting while we are told what their surroundings were. The story refuses to progress; the reader's interest languishes. *Romola* is a proper illustration of this. The authoress had taken care to learn everything about the state of things in Medicean Florence. Instead of using this knowledge merely to regulate the actions of her characters and to make them think and act as proper in that atmosphere, she must bring out the whole bulk of her knowledge in descriptions which have nothing to do with the story. It is very true that a direct description is always less effective than a suggestion through hints dropped for the benefit of the reader.\* Through the remarks of characters and their actions we may be made to feel much of the atmosphere; but directly the author comes forward in his own person to tell us all about the surroundings, the charm vanishes. It may be contended

that this is the privilege of the novelist as opposed to the dramatist. It is no doubt a privilege by which the management of the story is made simpler. The author is helped in this that he has not to make his characters tell us all the story. But it is not a privilege to be abused; and when the purposes of the story do not require it, the author merely disturbs his reader by coming forward in his own person. The digression may be charming in itself; the description may be perfectly enjoyable.\* But the story suffers.

This parade of knowledge in a historical novel is due to simple human vanity and it can be avoided. Reade does it to a great extent, and his information is mainly imparted through his characters. Sometimes it is Gerard telling his people all he had seen; sometimes minor figures speak to Gerard of new ways of life; sometimes fresh adventures give him (and the reader) personal knowledge of such ways. This experience is a living one, that is, it is acquired from a contact with living human beings and not from a study of books; and we seem to gather information in the same way as Gerard did, that is, from men and women who lived in that age and not from an author interpreting documents for our benefit.

Still, can it be denied that the necessity of representing a definite state of things, of giving an accurate picture of a past society the knowledge of which is gathered from dry records, that this necessity does hamper the free exercise of the imagination? The reproduction of this dead society is something different from that of the world around us.

The knowledge of the latter is with us all through our lives; and in a novel dealing with the present day such knowledge is the product more of one's powers of observation and analysis than of imagination. The student of the past who seeks to combine the three faculties in an even fashion imposes a much more difficult task on himself. There are authors who feel more at home in the reproduction of a past age than of the present. They are perhaps temperamentally more akin to the past, as William Morris is said to have felt himself nearer the Middle Ages than the 19th century; but more often, they feel at home in the representation of the past because that gives them greater

\* We may contrast Spenser's description of Elphoebe with Homer's suggestion of Helen's beauty and see which is the more effective

\* I am thinking especially of Thackeray's addresses to his "gentle reader" which I cannot help enjoying.



scope for the exertion of imagination. If, however, the attempt to bring out the past is on the same lines as the study of the present, if it is made to depend as much on observation and analysis as on imagination, the author is surely faced with a difficult proposition. The danger of the imagination being cramped is great; and this all the more so if the author feels that the framework constructed from historical documents is a steel frame that cannot be altered and he will have somehow to fit his characters into it.

Yet this is a discipline to which the author voluntarily submits himself. He who proposes to write in verse imposes certain restraints on himself of his own will. For some such restraint is beneficial rather than otherwise. It serves as a check on the exuberance of their imagination which would otherwise run riot. Thus Shelley's *Defence of Poetry* would probably have been a much greater work with the restraint of verse imposed on it; Shelley could not do justice to himself in the lawless domain of prose when his imagination was properly roused.

The limitation of fact is a similar restraint on the imagination. Some novelists feel that they are better without it and their

works dealing with the past have to be called "romances", rather than historical novels. They do not profess to picture a state of society that ever existed in this world; it has its origin in the author's brain and we have to take it as a Utopia or an El Dorado. Such writers generally refrain from bringing any historical figures into their works and the creatures of dream-land as they like.

When however a man claims to write a "historical" novel, he may be held to accept a challenge of being examined by certain people called students of history. A man in the street does not know if the characters are acting in the way that people of their age used to act. But the historian does, and he is shocked if he finds that Louis XI has been wrongly painted or that the events of Elizabeth's reign have been put down in a perverted order. Still the question remains, how far all writers of historical novels have submitted themselves to this examination and how far we can demand historical accuracy from all such novels.

N. K. SIDHANTA

## THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE REPUBLICS OF THE CAUCASUS AGAINST THE BOLSHEVISTS

### FIRST PERIOD 1917-1919.

IN spite of all assertions of the press tending to convince us during these last months that Bolshevism was coming to its end, it seems that the endeavour of the allies far from having caused its ruin only reinforced it. Such a system (Bolshevism) cannot be upset by measures from without. The endeavour of the allies would have had confined itself only to protect the small neighbouring States from the contagion of, or the invasions by, the Bolshevists, by means of far-sighted policy and solid support given to these men (of the neighbouring States) in a useful time so as to let them organise their national States on solid foundations. To oppose order to disorder was a measure of

prudence and nothing but the national sentiment highly developed amongst these men. This measure was able to resist the destructive anarchy of theorists and also some of their doctrines.

Moreover, the Bolshevists had contrived a sufficiently subtle external politics. They enabled them to maintain themselves in spite of all the efforts of Russian emigrants who were anti-Bolshevists, and those of their friends from the West.

Russia has always been and will probably be still the land of wonder. But if we take the trouble of studying facts as they are, we are easily convinced that to conjure away the danger of Bolshevism, it would be necessary to find out allies in Russia, at least among the people of ancient Russia, who



have claimed independence since the dethronement of the Tsar.

Up to the present time, these small States have not been recognised as rightful either by the supreme council or by the state of Nations. Consequently the result is that they are in a very difficult situation, so long as they remain deprived of an international existence, they cannot organise legal and economic foundations of their external relations. On account of this fact, their financial and commercial transactions have become impossible. They can seldom procure for themselves provisions by means of exchange, and they wholly lack articles which are indispensable.

Their efforts to maintain an independent national life and their great sufferings in doing so are simply very meritorious. The people of these States gave proof of their vitality in spite of the severe conditions they had to pass through, almost left to rely on their own forces even when kept under military control.

The Republics of the Caucasus present us a striking example of such obstinacy of nations in wishing to live a life they are worthy of. This struggle against ancient Asian Imperialism and its substitute—not imperialist—despotic—Lenin and others, though little known, furnishes us with epic episodes which are never very painful for these unfortunate and brave people. They lived in a place which was the most direct route from Europe to Asia, and had seen (all) invasions and great conquerors passing through their territories from very remote centuries.

Although this fact is rarely alluded to, the struggle in the Caucasus is not less violent in spite of it.

It is in the Caucasus that one must look for the most stubborn resistance offered against the inroads of Bolshevism, amongst men accustomed to severe fighting during centuries, who in the last war, provided the Russian Army with famous regiments; such as the famous "Division Lacvage" (name of a regiment) which was the first to enter eastern Russia, and which was heaped with glory in Galicia.

We think it useful to trace here their efforts since 1917 with a view to "set free" their country from the entire foreign yoke. This account will enable later on our readers to understand better the actual situation.

Since the Russian Revolution the people of the Caucasus were obliged to take up arms once more in order to defend their liberty threatened often from several sides at the same time.

After the persecutions of the ancient Russian government, they came to know of the tyranny and the massacres by the Bolsheviks. Georgia and Azerbaidjan (consisting of the ancient Russian provinces of Bakou and Elisabethpol) were united with the Caucasus to form the Transcaucasian Federative Republic with a common cabinet and a Diet sitting at Tiflis. The Diet was presided over by three members belonging to each of the nationalities. The Musulmans who formed the major part of the population, sent consequently a large number of representatives to this Diet.

Bakou, was during some time the principal fortress which resisted against the Bolsheviks in the Caucasus. Let us see at first what took place in that region.

Unfortunately the Mahamedan population had to be continually afraid of the dumb hostility of the Armenians of the Daschuaksion party (ultra chauvin), who, under the pretext of being faithful to the Christian faith followed their policy of systematic annihilation of the Mahamedan element, specially in Azerbaidjan.

At Bakou, the big port and the industrial centre of the shores of the Caspian sea which became the capital of Azerbaidjan, labourers, employees, soldiers, and Russian mariners, led by an Armenian called Chaoumaïp, did not delay in take appropriating the power (of the Government) as soon as they felt themselves supported by Lenine and his followers.

The army of the Caucasian and Persian front had been wholly disbanded, and the soldiers who came from the front were retained and used by the Bolshevik organizations of Bakou, and Tiflis.

The Bolsheviks began the task of disarming the population and plundering their property. Soon they found that they were in possession of important materials for war.

Georgia and Armenia together raised a national army with the officers and the well-armed veteran soldiers disbanded by the Russian army. The Mahamedans, who under the ancient regime, were not admitted into the Russian army, but were only compelled to pay a tax, had furnished a certain number of volunteers specially for the regiments of cavalry since the beginning of the war. However they were not discouraged, and strengthened by the goodwill of all to defend their native country, they began to organise an army in their principal centres, Elisabethpol and Bakou.

The Bolsheviks saw with a hostile eye the creation of this army. They intrenched themselves specially in Bakou from where by means of force they sought to establish their power over the whole of Transcaucassia, but thanks to the anarchy which was being spread in the whole country by soldiers coming back from the front, and recognising no longer any authority influenced as they were by the propaganda of Bolshevism. Russian and Mahamedan soldiers began to come into their hands, the use of railways and revictualling were made impossible for those who increased specially the seriousness of the situation.

The Bolsheviks attempted to disarm the Mahamedan soldiers who declined to be dealt with in that manner. A skirmish ensued. There were several killed and wounded. This was an evident proof of the hostility of the Bolsheviks towards the Musulmans. From the next day, guns were fired on the town from the Russian warships, and a terrible civil war or rather a massacre of the Musulmans ensued which lasted for four days (18th—22nd March, 1918). The setting on of fires followed the massacre and the wealth of the surviving Musulmans were plundered.

A sad remark should be made in connection with these events. It is the part taken by the Armenians in the ranks of Bolsheviks to massacre the Musulmans. In spite of the parleys held a little before by the Armenian National Council with the representatives of the Mahamedan Central Committee of the Transcaucassus, to regularise political and national relations between the two neighbouring peoples, the Daschuaksion (ultra-nationalists) and the Armenian national democratic party were converted Bolsheviks including 8000 Armenian soldiers who had come back from the western front, and who were detained in their place on account of the capture of railways.

The war between the Bolsheviks and the Mahamedan Anti-Bolsheviks took exactly the form of a national war of the Armenians upon the Musulmans. It seems that the Armenians aspired to share power with the Bolsheviks, but there is every reason to believe also that their chauvins intended to be ranked with the stronger party to weaken the Mahomedans, and to set up ultimately legitimate claims on the great Armenia from one sea to another.

Twelve thousand persons perished in this massacre. The most important buildings including the public edifice belonging to the She of Musulman Benevolence open to all

persons without any distinction were set on fire as well as the offices of the Caspian journals (in Russia) and those of Atchik Seuz (in Turkey).

The political chiefs who were in sight were arrested; some of them could escape to Daghestan, Elisabethpol and Russia.

If a Russian regiment of Turkishtan enraged by the excesses of the Armeno-Bolsheviks had not threatened to make common cause with the Musulmans and to fire on the aggressors in case they should not stop the massacre, there would have been more considerable losses to deplore.

The establishment of Soviet regime at Bakou was definitely assured. From that time, it began its work of destruction: confiscation of treasuries, specially in the Banks, complete socialisation of the subsoil, of town houses and gardens, requisition of all private goods and articles, enforced work and enrolment.

Such a procedure was infinitely painful to the Mahamedans whose religion enjoined them to *respect all private property and the rights of others*; all sorts of privations and sufferings were inflicted on them; the middle-class, the cultured-class and even the common people were subjected to the same treatment. Considered as hostile to Bolshevism, the Musulmans were wholly deprived of any favour as regards the question of revictualling.

The Trans-Caucassian Diet did not show itself in the height of its task before this tragedy. It found itself divided by factions and diverse national currents.

The Armeno-Bolsheviks taking Bakou as the centre of their operations spread themselves in all directions to establish their authority over the whole country. Towns like Chemakha, Kouba were set on fire, looted, and the Musulman population were either massacred or dispersed. Daghestan was similarly occupied. All villages lying on the way of these bands worthy to be of the hordes of Attila, submitted to the same fate. The Bolsheviks even declared their intention to occupy Tiflis and Elisabethpol to dissolve the Transcaucasian Diet, and to make of the whole of the Transcaucasians a Bolshevik State.

The Caucasian Diet was outflanked, having had to face, on one side the danger of Armeno-Bolshevism and on the other had to oppose the onward march of Turkish army which was coming to occupy Kars, Batoum and Ardahan.

Taken between the dog and the wolf



(being on the horns of a dilemma) the Georgians, considering the consequences of the treaty of Brest-Litowsk (the Bolsheviks had ceded to the Turks the aforesaid regions and part of Batoum, the only opening of Georgia and Azerbaidjan on the Black Sea) were obliged, in order to save themselves from danger at the hands of the Turks, to enter upon negotiations with the Germans and declared themselves independent. On account of this fact the Transcaucasian Diet found itself dissolved. The National Council of Azerbaidjan, having examined minutely the general situation, saw no other way than to proclaim the independence of Azerbaidjan at Gandjy (Elisabethpol) on the 28th March, 1918.

It is worthy of remark that the Musulman State did not hesitate a moment to adopt the Republican form which agrees perfectly with the essentially democratic principles of Islâm.

Fathali Khan Koisi, by virtue of his being the President of the Council of ministers was entrusted with the formation of the cabinet of the Provisional Government to which all power was transmitted. The National Council enjoined the Provisional Government to form within six months a constitutional assembly by means of universal suffrage and give over full power to this Assembly.

## THE NEW REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIDJAN.

### *(First Mahomedan Republic)*

#### CONTINUES THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE BOLSHEVISTS SECOND PERIOD.

The independence of Azerbaidjan having been proclaimed at Elisabethpol on the 28th March, 1918, and followed by the formation of the new Provisional Government, the President of the Council began to do his duty to all the States arising out of the creation of the independent republic of Azerbaidjan with a provisional seat of the government at Elisabethpol.

The new government found itself, in a very difficult situation in the realisation of its objects. The Armeno-Bolshevist remained masters of Bakou, trying to extend their authority on the surrounding region in order to upset the governments of Azerbaidjan (Elisabethpol) and of Georgia (Tiflis) and of Armenia in order to bring under the Soviet influence, the whole of the Caucasus Choumian, who remained at the head of the

Bolshevists at Bakou, was named by Lenine in return for the services rendered to the cause of Bolshevism, "High Commissiosner of the Caucasus". On the other side the famous "General" Andrenik, pretending to be the friend of the Entente had fled before the Turkish troops and invaded the districts of Narhitchewan and Zanghezour. In order to indemnify himself of his failure with the Turks, he massacred the disarmed Musulman population of Azerbaidjan, proclaimed that he recognised the authority of the Soviets and that he was ready to execute the orders of the new "High Commissioner" of the Caucasus. He marched upon Choucha to effect afterwards his union with the Armeno-Bolshevist regiments which were marching towards Enlach, the strategic point of Karabagh. The whole length of the railway from Tetrovosk (in Daghestan) to Mususli (260 kilometers from Elisabethpol) was at the hands of the Russian army. Hundreds of villages lying before these two towns were destroyed and set on fire, and the inhabitants were massacred or dispersed.

In the south of Bakou, the Bolshevist fleet was bombarding the sea-coast and was taking possession of the towns of Selim and Lenkoran;—in the steppe of Moughan, the Bolsheviks (Russian emigrants) destroyed more than fifty villages by gunfire. This "civil war" directed by the Armeno-Russian coalition, was in reality nothing but a pretext to massacre the Musulman population without any distinction of classes, for the proletariat had to suffer the greatest from the "liberating" regime.

The government of Azerbaidjan for the causes which we have shown above, had no army to oppose the numerous Armeno-Bolshevist troops and in this unequal combat, it could not hope to save the country.

Considering the hopeless situation, the government of Azerbaidjan saw no other alternative than to petition the Turks who were encamped near its frontier, for help against the Bolsheviks. A treaty was concluded, by which the independence of the new State was recognised in exchange of some economical advantages. The Turkish commander gave the government of Azerbaidjan ammunitions and technical men which it lacked, in order to organise the defence of the country.

With their help, the volunteers of Azerbaidjan began rapidly the offensive attack and repulsed them (Bolshevists) to Bakou, which was besieged and fell on the 15th September 1918.

The entrance of Government troops at Bakou gave rise to another bloody battle in the town itself; the Armenians refusing to surrender, the battle was so very hard and severe that many soldiers of Azerbaidjan had some of their relatives as victims in the massacre of 17th March. The Government gave evidence of a very great firmness to put an end to bloodshed and calm down the over-excited passions.

At this time, the Germans openly supported the Bolsheviks holding communication by means of aviation between Tiflis and Bakou; the Bolshevik leaders alone were aware of this fact. The Germans were very hostile to the people of Azerbaidjan whose political leaders had repulsed their advance as well as their offer to participate in the battle for retaking Bakou, a town for which the Germans had a special interest, because of the wells of naphtha of the district. The Germans hoped to acquire a part of the production from those who remained the master of the situation.

After the taking of Bakou, under the style of a "diplomatic mission", the Germans tried to send a large number of military men into Azerbaidjan, but they were stopped at the frontier and these unwelcome and undesired guests were requested to go back. Such is German persistence in order to enter into Azerbaidjan at any cost, in spite of the hostility of the Government and the Musulman population.

Having entered into Bakou, the government of Azerbaidjan gave up party-strifes, for example, specially with the Armenian chauvins, in order to consecrate itself to the re-establishing of order and the security of the inhabitants. The property nationalised or confiscated by the Bolsheviks were returned to their legitimate proprietors.

The National Assembly was at length held. The 44 principal members dissolved from the Transcaucasian Sein (Diet) formed a part of it. The proportional system was set up so that 11 Russians, 21 Armenians, 1 Georgian, 1 Pole, 1 German, and 1 Jew entered the parliament, the 84 other seats were redistributed between the different Mahamedan political parties.

Out of the 14 portfolios of the cabinet, 6 were reserved for Christian elements (3 Russian, 3 Armenian). The Government of Azerbaidjan gave proof of great equity in dealing with the non-Musulman minority whilst Georgia and Armenia had not offered a single seat to the Musulmans in

their governments in spite of the presence of 300,000 Musulmans in the territories which they claimed.

At the end of November 1918, confiding in the equity and liberalism of President Wilson, as all small nations elsewhere did at that time, the government of Azerbaidjan addressed him by wire a petition in which he was requested to acknowledge the new Republic of Azerbaidjan as an independent State.

On account of its natural riches, and specially of its petroleum, the Caucasus has always excited the temptation specially of great powers which were formerly rivals. The Bolsheviks themselves intended to keep Bakou in order to procure naphtha on good account. Even the Germans also were trying to instal themselves there, offering their help to both the parties of the struggle at the same time. Now we are going to see how the English enter the scene, in their turn. They kept well-guarded the neighbouring Persian region where they had been established. There they were lying in wait for the favourable opportunity to enter and set themselves up; they also had offered their good services for fighting against the Bolsheviks in the Caucasus. They were not long to make Bakou "their centre of operations".

Since the conclusion of the Armistice between Turkey and the Allies, the commander of the allied forces in Persia, the British General Thomson, notified this fact to the government of Azerbaidjan, and communicated to it the clauses by virtue of which the Turkish army was to evacuate the Caucasus, and manifested his intention to occupy provisionally Bakou under the pretext of repulsing the Bolsheviks out of the frontiers of the Caucasus.

The Government of Azerbaidjan, desirous of seeing peace and tranquillity in the East, and the check of the Bolshevik movement in Russia, accepted without hesitation this provisional occupation, confiding in the good faith of the allies, because General Thomson had given besides the assurance that the allies had not the least intention of interfering in the external affairs of the Republic whose destiny was to be regulated by the Peace Conference.

On the 17th November 1918, the allied forces commanded by the General Thomson entered into Bakou and received the warmest welcome from the people.

From that time, a free course was given to the intrigues among those who were hostile

to the new independence, and were trying to win over General Thomson to their side. But this General, as well as the representatives of France and America, were not long in seeing clearly through the perfidious game and the allies recognised the government of the Republic of Azerbaidjan as a government *in fact*.

The new government gave evidence of a great generosity in not using reprisals either against Russia the army of which had taken a part in the unworthy massacres of the Musulmans after the advance of the Turks in the Caucasus, or against the Armenians who had been the authors of the bloody events of which we have spoken.

Unfortunately, this generosity and toleration of the Azerbaidjan leaders were not imitated by the other nationalities. Some Armenian elements continued to obstruct the work of pacification undertaken by the Azerbaidjan government. Acts of savagery and revolutionary atrocities were committed by the Armenian insurgents of Turkey commanded by Andranik who continued to destroy the Musulman villages of Karabagh and massacre in a mass their inhabitants in order to create artificially an *Armenian Majority* in support of the imperialistic claims of moderate Armenian officers upon Karabagh.

The Azerbaidjan Government and its troops were occupied in setting free Bakou, and profiting by this opportunity Andranik besieged during the three summer months the town of Chaoucha. Thus isolated from the whole world the besieged Musulman population underwent indescribable sufferings. Being deprived of provisions and drinkable water in the full dog-days, they were obliged to use salt-water from the wells. On becoming masters of Bakou, the Azerbaidjan troops set free Chaoucha after a battle with little bloodshed.

The population received them warmly, the Armenians (who were included in the population) also offered the troops flowers. As soon as the troops of the Azerbaidjan government had departed, the bands of Andranik began again to pillage and massacre the population of the Musulman villages.

These events were renewed during the stay of the Allies at Bakou, causing a great effervescence in the population and the parliament. The Azerbaidjan government then petitioned General Thomson, who, as a chief of the allied forces, had promised to secure the tranquillity of the Caucasus.

General Thomson sent the telegram concerning the places where the Armenian insurrections had taken place:

"I am informed that the Armenians commit crimes and carry on plunder. I enjoin upon you to take measures to put an end to these disorders, and inform all the Armenians that they should remain quietly in their houses. If you do not execute this order, you shall be solely responsible for the possible bloodshed. I pray that you will receive this despatch."

Andranik, however, carried on his exploits which obliged General Thomson to send to Karabagh a mixed commission and a detachment of troops with motor-cars covered with blinds.

A little later, Andranik left the territory of Azerbaidjan. A governor-general of Karabagh was nominated by the Council of Ministers in the sitting of the 15th January.

In order to obtain from great powers recognition of the independence of this new State, the government and the parliament of Azerbaidjan sent in January 1919, a delegation to the Peace Conference at Paris. But the delegation after coming to Constantinople met with great difficulties in procuring passports for Paris. They could not start for Paris earlier than 22nd April next.

At Rome they were received by the Count Sforza acting in the place of Mr. Sonnino absent and by the President of the Chamber, both of whom assured the delegation of the goodwill of the Italian Government and the people of Italy for the Republic of Azerbaidjan. In Paris President Wilson gave them a similar hearty welcome as he gave to the British delegation.

On the 12th January 1920, they obtained recognition of the Azerbaidjan government as a fact at the same time with the Georgian and Armenian Republics. France, England, Italy adhered to this recognition. The United States kept themselves aloof.

### THIRD PERIOD.

On the 25th April 1920, Bolshevik troubles broke forth again at Bakou. The Azerbaidjan government was obliged to leave the town and take shelter at Elisabethpol. Certain members of the Government who fell into the hands of the Bolsheviks were put to death. The same punishment has been pronounced on those who escaped and also on their families.

The army of the Republic has been dispersed. The Bolsheviks went on occupy-



ing Bakou and the iron way which runs alongside and crosses the region of petroleum. The Azerbaidjan Government remains the master of the territory between Elisabethpol and the Georgian frontier. A party has emigrated to Elisabethpol and a party to Tiflis. The army is scattered, but there are more frequent and important local risings, for the Muselmans wish to be free at all cost from the Bolshevik yoke. In the Northern Caucasus the civil war has never ceased and it was said recently at Constantinople that the grandson of the great patriot Sacchiamyl has organised an army recruited from Mortenegro.

The government of Moscow undertakes great cost to maintain its influence at Bakou and in the whole district, in order to procure naphtha the need of which grows largely in Bolshevik Russia.

Communications with Georgia, Persia and Armenia seem to have been intercepted because of the Bolshevik occupation of the Caspian shore and the last Turkish advance.

Everytime, the Azerbaidjans, far from giving up struggle, try to come in contact with Mustafa Kemal with a view to obtain arms and ammunitions and recognition of the new State with the frontiers fixed by its first government.

The Bolsheviks maintain their authority only at Bakou. But they do not show any eagerness for making delivery of naphtha in spite of the agreements with Georgia. Moreover, they detain unduly railway materials, wagons and cisterns sent by the Georgians.

The continual risings of the hostile Musulman population tire the soldiers of the Russian army whose ranks are being continually strengthened.

The members of the ancient parliament and of the ancient army lead the revolt, and the districts of Lankoran, of Kouba, and Djera are in full rebellion. The spirit of anti-Bolshevik struggle is very popular in the Caucasus and is found among the volunteers of the representatives of all nationalities. Their number increased ceaselessly and they are looking for arms and ammunitions from Turkish nationalists as much from Karim Karabekir at Kars as from Mustapha Kemal who seems to be specially well-disposed to Azerbaidjan.

The liberation of the Caucasus from the terror of Bolshevism and the revision of the treaty of Sevres, after agreeing with the

nationalists may enable the population of the Near East to renew their usual work.

On the other hand Persia which seems to have concluded an agreement with the Bolsheviks only to free herself from the guardianship of Britain may find a little tranquillity because of the remoteness of the Bolsheviks, and the English expeditionary force, and that she may have a stable government, representing truly the popular aspirations. There would not have been any reason to be astonished at the proclamation of a republic in Persia if the Shah and his court were to accompany the English army in its retreat in April next.

The Indian national movement has on its part made enormous progress. There goes on the struggle for obtaining a responsible government at least on the basis of Home Rule and hoping that the country may be competent to settle its destiny. The nationalist leaders urge unceasingly and energetically the Retreat of Indian troops from the Near East (Turkey, Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt) and question why India should continue to help the upkeep of an army destined to increase or preserve the conquests of British Imperialism.

English deputies have declared recently in Parliament that the occupation of Mesopotamia, as it was not desired by the population, constituted a heavy burden on British finance.

In the French parliament—Chamber and Senate—numerous voices were raised against the expedition of Syria and Galicia, supported specially by some communities, or industrialists and financiers.

In these conditions, we can affirm that during the next months, will be decided the situation of the Near East on which depends the re-establishment of general peace. The actual disorder owes its origin to the rivalry arising from the ambition of great powers in the interior of Asia and in the Caucasus.

Is this, after all, the wisdom of understanding that any nation, worthy of the name, is no more disposed to be ruled by an order or any such thing and of trying to win at first the esteem and the confidence of the people of the east to establish a sincere loyal confederacy based on *mutual consent*?

It is time for the government of great powers to understand that it is the better if not the only way of raising a solid barrier against the dangerous progress of Bolshevism in Asia.

The Federation of the Republics of the

Caucassus as the intermediate State between Europe and Asia is much more desirable than that the people of the Caucasus should become at the same time the champions of

western civilisation in western and central Asia.

YONNE POUVREAN

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FAMILY IN INDIA.

### THE JOINT ESTATE

**H**ALF a century ago nobody could think that the ancient joint family in India was foredoomed to failure. The family appeared to have reached its fixed and final form in the individual group of kinsmen who dwelt under the same roof, preserved a common hearth and common meals and offered a common sacrifice to the same ancestor and owned their property in common. Since the middle of the last century the institution has been played upon by so many transforming forces that it has now become plastic like clay. The British Indian law established the seizable character of a coparcenary interest and carried the doctrine of coparcener's right of alienating his share of the joint family property to extremes. Formerly, the joint property was safe from individual waste or dissipation because the law did not recognise a member's right to alienate in any way, nor could a creditor seize his share in the joint estate, which thus perpetuated the family faith and tradition, irrespective of individual caprice. An interpretation of old texts and commentaries according to modern ideas has also led to the vesting of absolute proprietary rights in the father, which has overridden the consensus of the members of the old coparcenary community. Such changes in the law touching the joint family were encouraged by economic forces but there cannot be any doubt that the decisions of courts of law have proved a solvent of the ancient joint family institution and usage.

### THE IMPACT OF NEW IDEALS

In the villages the economic collaboration of the members of the family in farmwork has stood for the solidarity of the family but in the cities the machine has greatly limited women's opportunities for earning in the home. The decline of hand-spinning which

formerly made the housewife nearly equal with the husband as a support to the household has affected the unity of the family. Not merely the slowly narrowing sphere of women's profitable employment in the home, but the growing economic pressure have made it harder to maintain the joint family. But these changes are from outside. More serious and fundamental are the forces which attack the family from the inside. The old idea of a marriage as a sacrament has decayed with the spread of the new education. Thus when the union becomes galling the religious sanction ceases to be as powerful a binder as before. The ideas of romantic passion and free matrimonial choice have come from the literature of the West and rights instead of duties are uppermost in the mind. Thus conjugal unhappiness is more common than before. Domestic harmony is also disturbed by the disparity between the education and social attitude of men and women. Thus cases of incompatibility of temper are more frequent. The round of domestic fasts and festivals, story-telling and penance which inculcated ideals of unselfish devotion and robust self-control among the women has been almost extinguished in the cities. The vernacular journalism cater for the romantic and the sensational. The wife is discontented with the drudgery of home work and engages servants for domestic duties. Thanks to the march of new ideas of comfort and respectability, women's participation in home-life has declined. This reacts upon their mentality. The increasing number of cases of hysteria, insanity and suicide give evidence of the disastrous conflict of contending ideals of domestic life which now confront the women of the middle class.

There is even a desire to lighten the burden of work and of child-bearing which is showing itself in the decline of the number of children in an average home in the cities.

The women's love of ease thus corrodes the ancient virtues of sacrifice and forbearance on which the home of several children formerly rested.

#### EFFECTS OF INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

Nor is the home encouraged by industrialism in the mill-towns and cities. There is a demand either for male or for female labour. Thus there is a disparity of the proportion of sexes as 2 (male) : 1. The large cities consist of a floating immigrant population which has left its women behind in the native villages. There are only two females to every five male immigrants in Calcutta; over two thirds of the latter are actual workers, but only one-fourth of the female are actually engaged in any occupation. Prostitutes alone account for one-fourth of the female workers and their number is equal to one-seventh of the women of adult age. Altogether only 15 per cent of both sexes are under 15 years. Half the women and two-thirds of the men are adults, *i. e.* aged 15 to 40; at this age-period there are three males to every female. Thus industrialism and the chronic house famine separate the sexes just when marital life has commenced. The labourers who form more than 75 per cent of the population of the cities can afford but single rooms in slums and chawls, while the lower middle classes live in flats, messes or partitioned houses and do not ordinarily bring their families with them. An increasing host of young married people of the middle class in Calcutta and Bombay are thus compelled to choose a homeless boarding-house life. An exaggerated spirit of individualism and self-satisfaction has led to the postponement of marriage or of family life amongst this class. Their standards of living have risen faster than their incomes, and this has operated against sound family life. But it is among the labouring classes that the maintenance of the home has been rendered most difficult as a result of house famine, the growth of tenements and the rise in land rents. In Bombay there are over 1,70,000 one-room tenements distributed among the chawls, which sometimes provide a common washing place on each floor, and sometimes a Nahani or Mori in each room. Out of a population of 1,200,000 nearly 3,92,000 occupy one-room tenements. The average number of persons per room is 4.47. Persons living in five or six-room tenements average 1.43 and 1.45 persons per room. In New York city labourers comprise 45 per cent of the population, and more than 1.5 persons

in a room is considered to be over-crowding. Obviously family life receives a serious setback when real homes in the shape of whole houses are very rare and for the great bulk of the people 'home' means a single room inhabited usually by five and sometimes by as many as 15 persons.

#### FAMILY TYPE IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC CONVENIENCE

Apart from such unnatural conditions touching domestic life which are but an incident of a transition process in industrial development and which will disappear as the community realises the imperative need of solving the housing problem, the conflict of the contrasted ideals which affect the unity and stability of the family must be prevented or mitigated. On the one hand, the patriarchal joint family of ecclesiastical sanction has proved an obstacle to the realisation of personality and promoted idleness and economic stagnation. It has acted as a brake on individual initiative and enterprise and, not having any lively sense of obligation, has not exercised an adequate prudential control over the birth-rate which outstrips the means of subsistence and comfort. On the other hand the individualistic family, recently epidemic in the higher classes, however, successful it has been as an economic institution, has proved unstable and mercurial. On account of the pressure of the plane of living, there have been less desire for offspring, a decay of that sense of obligation and loyalty to the family centered round the children without which conjugal love can neither lead to a lasting and happy union nor reach its own highest flight. Nor is it certain that the individualistic type of family control is adapted to the needs of economic progress everywhere. Both in China and India where the pressure of the population on the soil is great and village sites are compact, families must tend to live in closer association than in the West. In India this is more true of the Hindus who tend to greater community in living than those whose traditions are less restrictive and far more than the Muhamadans who live much more individualistic lives throughout India. It has been pointed out that this is due not merely to the greater survival of ancient customs among the rural folks but also to the fact that proprieties observed by all civilised races discountenance close association between persons who are not prevented from marriage by ties of relationship. Thus the existence of strict exogamous



customs among high-caste Hindus permit a wider circle of relations to live together than would be possible amongst peoples where even close relationship is no bar to marriage. Unlike the West the social tradition through the taboo has prevented the evils of close association in one group of buildings.

Not merely the force of social tradition but also economic convenience has still continued joint ownership in the forms and conditions of agricultural tenure and joint endeavour in agriculture as well as business. It is true that the cities mark the highest water-mark of the disruptive tendencies that break up the family, but fusion in families is witnessed to occur more in agricultural than in non-agricultural communities. Indeed, amongst trading classes, the existence of established business firms controlled entirely by the family has still further aided the survival of the ancient system; though, of course, amongst these old family firms the ties are beginning to change from those of a joint family, whose property and earnings are common and subject to the control of the head of the family, to those of mere partnership, where the capital is held in shares and the profits are subject to periodical distribution. It might be noted that in towns, where the cost of living and high rent prevent easy separations, the tendency has been manifest towards a common messing and monthly division of expenditure while the individual earnings are kept separate.

#### THE TRANSITION

These changes surrounding our life encourage us to believe that our family is not disintegrating but that we are witnessing the transition to a nobler family. We shall see in future none of the autocracy of the head of the family which suppresses the legitimate individuality of a family member nor the husband's overawing mastery and the wife's shrinking subservience which now masquerade behind the excusing doctrine of *Satihood*. Nor again should the ideal of fidelity be considered, a male code of domestic ethics, which forgets or minimises the significance of man's chastity. The family of the future will emerge out of the wedlock of the above contrasted ideals; but no noble family can arise on an economic edifice so cramped and narrow. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that the characteristic phenomena attending the transition from the old type of family will be more and more witnessed

till there is a radical change in the industrial and economic mores. Its effects will percolate society from below upward as well as from up downwards and these will be disastrous for its solidarity, for the family is basic to the building of social character, being the primary social group in which there is developed that discipline and mutual forbearance which are the indispensable requisites of group life.

#### SEX-EDUCATION

Much may be done by inculcating among the youth of both sexes healthy ideals of love and marriage. No doubt it would be well if young people were taught that marriage without love is a mockery and that sex love is naturally unstable and sometimes morbid and that conjugal harmony is woven by the threads of attachment, respect and sense of duty, all knit together. Such ideals must be fixed in the new social tradition for the old tradition of the religious patriarchal family is fast decaying. Similarly, the new conditions of employment and labour demand a change in the conventions that ruled the intercourse between the sexes in family and outside. Mixed labour in the factories and a freer intercourse between man and woman in the upper strata now equally demand a modification of our old sexual code. The social atmosphere in certain provinces and communities, especially where the *purdā* prevails, is clouded with sex obsession, which bedims the sense of duty, and tends to regard sex attraction as the only bond of marriage and family. On the other hand, there has survived by its side a sense that the original equipment of impulses and instincts is something base and brutish. This notion which is contrary to the great teaching of the Tantra, has revelled in the mortification of the flesh, the inhibition of natural appetites and has led to undue and chronic nervous strain or the surging forth of the repressed desires in secret or open rebellion. The ascetic frenzy has passed but the new tradition of a healthy, abundant sex-life has not yet evolved. India had built up a rich tradition of sanity in sex, and this must now be marshalled for individuals of every degree of education and social level, so that the present phase of degeneration of family and marriage may quickly give place to a new type of family and marriage.

RADHA KAMAL MUKERJEE

## AMERICA AND INDIA

By PROFESSOR MORSS LOVETT, PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH AND DEAN OF THE COLLEGES OF LIBERAL ARTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

ONE of the most characteristic and natural attitudes of public opinion in the United States has been that of sympathy with the national aspirations of subject peoples. Historically such sympathy was the result of the circumstances attending the birth of the American nation. Revolution in America has always meant political revolution, in the specific sense of the assertion of the right of self-government, and as such it has been a sacred word. Whenever a subject people has sought to throw off the bonds of its masters, Americans have remembered their own origin and given sympathy and support. To Greece in revolt against the Turk, to the South American States against Spain, to Italy or Hungary against Austria, to Ireland against England, the American people have, within the limits of diplomacy, shown themselves friendly. When the demand of India for independence is heard in the United States, we cannot doubt that the same attitude will prevail.

That public opinion in America is a force which will exert strong influence in determining the future of India is certain. Already this influence has been one of the major factors in the Irish problem. It has entered powerfully into the solution of the Egyptian problem. But the question is raised whether opinion in America does not stop short of supporting India in the demand for independence, and favors rather some form of home rule within the British Empire. To this the answer may be given firmly in the negative. Indeed, it would be against all antecedent probability to find Americans thinking in this way. The American idea of patriotism is a forthright, perhaps primitive, conception which does not take account of the subtleties of autonomy, and limited sovereignty. Does America bless and honor Washington, Adams, and Franklin as winners of her freedom, or as strategists on a board of local control? Did she sympathize with South America as striving to be free, or to improve its place in the Spanish Empire? With the ambition

of Italy to be a nation, or to be a self-governing province of Austria?

Indeed it may be said that the only freedom which the typical American thinks worthy of consideration is complete independence. A question of home rule is a question of detail, of local politics, of more or less, which does not interest him. Undoubtedly the reason for the contempt with which the average American regards the Canadian is owing to the fact that the latter is the acquiescent subject of a foreign king. No amount of argument as to the material advantages accruing to Canada by remaining within the Empire will make such supineness seem dignified or reasonable to the American. So long as the official programme of Irish patriotism was home rule the subject failed to inspire enthusiasm among Americans—in fact, it bored them. It was a matter of parochial politics. But once the clear-cut demand for freedom was heard the whole question was raised to a higher level of interest and dignity. The American who was idly inclined to think that the Irish might as well compromise a little more or a little less for the sake of peace was almost ready to write Irish freedom into his political platforms. And it may be asserted that the surest way to kill American interest in the Indian struggle for freedom is to represent it as that form of tempest in a tea-pot, a struggle for local autonomy. It may be prophesied that when it is clear that young India wants complete freedom, then Americans will know how to recognize a sister nation and prepare to bid her welcome to a place among the free peoples of the earth.

It is perfectly true that as a result of the alliance in finance and in war, and especially of unlimited propaganda, there is a party in the United States which places the British Empire first among the creations of human statesmanship and would sacrifice the world to its necessities. Logically this party would condemn the Continental Congress as an illegal revolutionary junta, and Lafayette as

a mischievous busybody in matters which did not concern him. This party is as un-American as the Federalists. On the other hand, the demonstration of the myth of the beneficent British imperial administration has been dreadfully exposed in Ireland, and the utter unfitness of the British to rule anywhere but in their own island amply demonstrated. It will not take long for Americans to apply the lesson of Ireland to India to see that the ferocious policy of hunger blockade reprisals, and frightfulness will be repeated on a scale commensurate with India's hundreds of millions to put Amritsar against Balbriggan, Rowlatt and Dyer against Greenwood and Tudor.

The political thought and traditions of America are anti-imperialistic—Mexico, the

Philippines and Hayti to the contrary notwithstanding. So true is this that far-seeing men who dread the consequences to world peace of a misunderstanding between England and America recognize that the chief cause of such falling out will be the difference of philosophy involved in the terms Empire and United States. Against that day the names of Palmerstone, Lloyd George, Carzon and Churchill will not be the ones to conjure with, nor yet Gladstone, Morley and Grey. They will be Cobden, Bright and Wilfrid Blunt—anti-imperialists, Englishmen whom Americans delight to honor. Under their leadership there will be peace always between England and America, justice and absolute freedom for India.

## INDIANS IN THE UNITED STATES

BY SURENDRANATH DAS GUPTA

MY experience during the last twelve years in the United States of America has taught me to tell my countrymen and women where India stands today among the nations of the world and how her people are being regarded and treated by the American nation. The attitude of the Americans toward the Indian people is rotten, utterly rotten; although friends are friends and they are exceptional. I could never think that a democratic people like the Americans whose revolutionary forefathers, seven score and eight years ago, laid the foundation of this great and mighty nation with high ideals can deny the love of brotherhood and humanity to other races because of colour-phobia, caste and creed. The people of the United States were always regarded with high esteem by the Indian people and thought to be a friendly nation; but such an age-long blind belief has been dashed into pieces by their action against the naturalization of the Indians. It is a dream or a vision to think that the westerners will ever in reality be friends to the Indian people but in mere words.

America is always afraid of Asia both politically and socially, but she never realizes the fear from her 10 millions Negro population

which is growing very rapidly within the country. Americans are worried about their incapability of assimilating the Asians, but the question is, how will they solve their Negro and Red Indian problems? The West is always after the domination of Asia, while the latter is satisfied with what she has at home. East comes to West with love and friendliness, while the latter faces the former with hatred and bitterness of the heart.

To the people of the United States the Indians are the world's pariahs or outcasts of the human race. The Indians are thought of as the hewers of wood and drawers of water. The treatment which we receive in the United States may be understood and imagined from the following facts. Once I happened to arrive in a small town of Woodland, California, at 12 o'clock in the night. I wandered for two hours like an infected person in the town asking for a room from hotel to hotel, but unfortunately being an "East Indian", everywhere I was denied room. Humanity denied me shelter in a strange land during a cold and shivering night. I passed the night in the open air for I am a Hindu. The word Hindu is used in the United States for any native of India in contempt. Suffice it to say



that one of the great leaders of India was once insulted like a helot when he went to a hotel for a room somewhere in California, and in the east of U. S. A., while travelling in a train was removed from the "free white person's" car to the negro car, although he explained who he was. If he were an American, he would be elected as the President of the United States; if he were an Englishman he would get the seat of the prime minister. He is a sound and solid statesman today in the country. I need not mention his name, for you all know him and love him dearly. Many of our countrymen met and meet similar situations in many places in this country. In Berkeley, which is a home of cultured people and the seat of the University of California, prejudice against the Indians is sweeping over the town very strongly. Comfortable rooms and houses in good quarters cannot be secured by the Indian students even at a high price. Our students several times tried to rent a large and nice house in good quarter for club purpose, but failed. Some land-ladies plainly told me that they would not take Hindus as roomers in their houses. American barbers, with the exception of a few, do not cut the hair of the Indians. In many university and college towns there are certain restaurants and refreshment parlours where our students were refused meals.

American Missionaries often condemn the high-caste Indians that they forbid the untouchables to study in schools with their children, but they should not forget what treatment they show to the Negroes in their own schools, colleges and universities at home. The caste system in the United States is universal and is worse than in any other country in the world. Suffice it to say that in Berkeley, California, Indian students are not given admission to the high school; this may not be due to caste system, but, anyhow, to race or "free white person" system. There are cities and towns where certain moving picture shows or theatrical companies forbid the Indians to go in, but if allowed they are not given seats with the white-skinned persons. Sometimes in certain quarters of many cities and towns Indians are addressed by the children and even by the youthful persons as "hallo nigger, hallo Hindus". Whatever may be the boast of an American for his civilisation to the Indians, he will never find any Indian satisfied with the American civilisation. If civilisation means something great in reality,—love, humanity,—something other than materiality, I should say

America is still in her infancy in civilisation. The day when an Indian will say, "I am satisfied with the Western civilisation," it will be the dawn of a new era of Humanity—an era of perfect civilisation.

The United States Supreme Court decision against the naturalization of the Indians has undoubtedly led the American people, at least the Californians, to a haven of overwhelming joy. To the Americans it was a great victory when Bhagat Singh Thind who served in the United States Army during the world-war for eight months with brilliant record, was defeated in his naturalization case in the United States Supreme Court. Like Mr. Thind many Indians served in the United States Army, but as a reward for the service, their nation has been banned from the citizenship of the land they fought for with vim, vigour and loyalty. The United States Supreme Court judges may decide at home from racial and colour prejudices whatever they please against the Indian Nation, but the question yet left unsettled is if the decision against one-fifth of the human race is temporary or perpetual. Is this decision the decision of the great American people? If so, let it be so for ever and ever. The American people may now run mad owing to racial hatred and prejudices against 900 millions of Asians; but as an ardent lover of the human race, I emphatically predict that sooner or later they will have to wipe out their sectarian views and clauses, and will make such laws as will be favourable to all nations alike if the purpose of their nation is to love and to be loved by the human race—thus to prevent conflict between the East and the West, and to establish permanent brotherhood and friendship. Neither the East nor the West can walk the path of life without mutual help. If they desert one another and live isolated, their fate will be just like that of an unfortunate lame person.

The number of the Indian people in the United States according to the last United States Census Report is 2532. The Americans could easily digest such a handful of Hindus and they had no reason to be afraid of a few Indian farmers and labourers in California as the latter had no increase in their population. The Indians never intend to settle down in any part of America permanently. They are here just to make money and go back home. They know it very well that they do not have here any opportunities and facilities to rise and live like prosperous human beings. The acreage owned by the Indians was 2000

acres. Just after the U. S. Supreme Court decision they were served with notice by the local government officials in California to dispose of their land, otherwise it would be confiscated by the government. At such news some sold their valuable land at a low price and some are yet unsuccessful in selling their property. There are a few land cases regarding the right of ownership pending in the courts, but it is likely that the cases will be lost, as the agitation against the Indians in California is very strong. Many naturalized Indians have been asked to return their citizenship papers to the government on the ground that the lower court judges issued the papers without understanding the meaning of the American constitution, and now the papers are according to the U.S. Supreme Court decision invalid. It is said that some papers have been already returned to the officials. Mr. G. S. Pundit, who was naturalized ten years ago and has been practising law since then in Los Angeles, California, has also been asked to return his paper. He is fighting his case.

In a conference of the district attorneys of California, representing 49 counties held on January 12 in San Francisco, California, it was decided that no landowner can make any contracts with Japanese or Hindus which would give these aliens any right or interest in the product of California's soil. The conference decided that cropping contract with Japanese and the Hindus are in violation of the law, as they are not eligible to citizenship. All Hindustanees owning land in the counties of Yuba and Sutter must immediately negotiate for the disposal of their property, and plans for the termination of all leases made with them and cropping contracts with Japanese must be made at once so that these may be terminated at the close of the season. The laudable verdict of the conference is that the "Japanese and the Indians either must take to day labour or get out of the country." Frank Engel, Assistant Attorney-General of the State of California, stated that the United States does not guarantee either to the Japanese or Indians any affirmative right to hold land in America, and the Japanese by association was classed as a white man under a British treaty of 1890, but the error was early detected and corrected. The Japanese case is quite different, for they have their own Government, which is doing all that is possible within its power, and due to a nation-wide strong movement in Japan, the

United States Government has recently made a clause that on the basis of the total Japanese population in the United States in 1890 two per cent or 240 immigrants each year will be allowed to come to the United States. Patriots of India, where do we the Indian people stand to-day? The Indian people must decide their national place.

The American people must remember that the number of Americans in India is far greater than that of Indians in the United States, and the land property they own in India is too vast to be compared with that which Indians own in the United States. The American Missionaries in India are alone about 5000, and including merchants and others the number will be about 10,000. The Indians have lost all the rights and privileges which they were enjoying in the United States, while the citizens of the latter in India are enjoying all the rights and privileges without any single word of opposition from the native sons and daughters. India's door to the Americans has always been open and they are highly being welcomed there, but unfortunately the Indians have been deprived of what they expected in return from their country. How will the persons whose nation has banned the whole Indian Nation from the citizenship of their country like to share a similar fate in India?

When a nation is debarred by a foreign country, the nation is looked down upon as helots and loses its national pride and prestige both at home and abroad. In truth India is under boycott. A nation without rights is without might, and this is the fate of the Indian people.

There is a class of American missionaries in India who play a double game. There are a few persons who are indeed friends of India and are working for the welfare of the country. I have high regard and love for such noble-hearted missionaries. There are others who misrepresent India to the American people at home. They tell us that they love India and the people and praise our civilisation when we meet them face to face but on the other hand spread false and prejudicial news among the people at home by writing books, articles, stories in magazines and newspapers. Often the leaders of the mission come to the United States to collect money to recruit missionaries, to join conference and for other purposes. During their tour throughout the country they speak lots of undesirable things

cooked up by them. Recently Reverend James L. Gordon, minister of the First Congregational Church of San Francisco, published a pamphlet which is full of lies and horrors.

He went to India to gather materials for his pamphlet, but he got his stories from his Christian brethren. He never had the courage to meet men and women of the country from whom he could learn the truth of real India. He did not go to India to know the truth but to write some thing against India and to make his people believe that he was in India and studied everything in the land. Mr. Gordon is one of the many who represent fake India but not real India to the American people.

In 1921, at a co-ed debate on the Irish Independence question, held between two great institutions in the Pacific coast, a member of the fair sex emphatically said in her speech that India was savage and barbarous and her people could not get independence or home rule. The girl spoke what she had learnt from the writings and speeches of missionaries and other writers who are either too ignorant of India or too prejudiced. Often the missionaries in their speeches say that the people of India are savages and barbarous. The moving picture companies in the United States are another agent to poison the American minds by showing false pictures and many undesirable things regarding India. The playwrights or scenario writers are always eager to make the Indian characters base and ugly. There are facts here in America about the people which are distasteful even to themselves, and if such things are spread in India, the Americans will not like it. Forget not to treat the Indians like human beings when they are in your country, if you Americans in India expect and want amicable treatment. Thank God, Indians never maltreat the guests. "To live and to let live" is their traditional motto.

The Americans in India are now realizing that they may have the same fate as the Indians have had in the United States. They know that if they lose their rights and privileges in India, it will be a colossal loss for ever, and that is why they are trying their best in a diplomatic way to keep off all the difficulties that may overtake them. They tell us to get out of their country but do not want to get out of our country. That is the trouble with them. Some time ago a missionary letter was published in the *Berkeley Gazette*. The letter was a sort of an appeal to the people in order to appeal to the United States Govern-

ment for making the Indians citizens, otherwise the Americans will also share a similar fate. However, we have not heard any single response from any soul to this pathetic call. I read in the "*Indian Witness*" issued on November 21, the opinion of the Chief Justice, William Howard Taft, ex-President of the United States, that if the agitation in India against America is very strong then the naturalization case may be repealed. Indeed it sends a lofty message to the Indians in India. We do not understand what Mr. Taft really meant in his letter to his fellow countrymen in India. We here in America know this much that Mr. Thind's petition for rehearing in his naturalization case was rejected. It will be unbecoming for the Indian people to stir up nation-wide propaganda to beg the American for a gift. It will be a childish game and a blunder for the Indian people to do so and to send delegates or humble petition to the United States so long as our nation is not a nation among the nations or Powers of the world. It is doubtful if India will get under her present national status the previous rights and privileges which her people had enjoyed before the U. S. Supreme Court decision. What can a subject nation like India expect from a foreign nation with whom she has no direct relation? The best thing and the only way for India is to retaliate and boycott American in every way. Any nation that stands against India and her people should be completely boycotted by the sons and daughters of India. If the Indians love their motherland, they should do so for the prestige of their nation; if not, they are but helots in the eyes of the other nations.

The Romans were once seething with hatred and prejudices in the days of their mighty empire, when they forbade their subjects and the slaves to marry the Roman girls, but their boast did not last long. Now here in the United States the same policy is going on. In spite of their bitter fight against inter-marriage between the whites and the negroes, the mulatto race is springing up without much trouble. American society cannot and will not be able to stop such marriages so long as both the races will live in the same land. A few Indian students and farmers have taken their brides from the white families in the United States, but it has broken many American hearts. A few years ago Mr. Herbert Hoover said that the offspring of marriages between the Americans and the Orientals will be "trash." Surely they will be, if you deprive them of opportunities

and facilities. The great French writer Dumas's grandmother was a Negro woman. The Juke family in the United States is pure white, but all the members with the exception of a few are thieves, robbers, and immoral persons. Some of the Indians could not secure marriage license in California, although there is no law against marriages between these two nations. The county clerks and the officials create all the troubles. Although the parents of the girl give their consent and no protest comes from society, the county clerk will not issue license. Prejudice and hatred are being created among the Americans through artistic stories and writings in the newspapers against the Indians. As a result of such feeling in the United States, there will be a reactionary force in India. The American need not be afraid of the Indians as regards a few marriages. Most of these girls married to the Indians are Europeans. The Americans must not think that they are superior to the Indians by blood or race except as a Power. An Indian wishing to get white Christian bride must go beyond the "three-mile limit" zone.

The California State has passed a bill that the foreign students whose nationals are ineligible to the citizenship of the United States shall have to pay tuition fees to the California University with the exception of the graduates who will get full graduate standing. After this law 40 Indian students went to the eastern universities and to Henry Ford's Automobile Factory. Mr. Ford has taken 60 Indian students in his factory at Detroit, Michigan, to train them in manufacturing automobiles. He is paying every student 5 dollars a day while they are learning the business. Mr. Ford has in this way shown his generosity to the Indian students as well as to India. Another trouble is that our students cannot always secure tickets from the Japanese steamship companies and others as well as at Hongkong to come to America. Some time ago two students arrived here who said that they could secure tickets with much difficulty. They said that only first class tickets might be secured with much difficulty. Thirty students returned home when they failed to secure tickets at Hongkong. There is no trouble for the students to land, provided they have sufficient proof to satisfy the Immigration Officers at San Francisco. Recently I received a letter from my brother, a graduate of the Calcutta University, in which he has asked me to send him a recommendation letter from the President of the University of California where he intends to study for a higher

degree, and a written permission from the Immigration Office at San Francisco in order to make the steamship company sure of his landing at San Francisco. He wrote me this according to the instruction of a Japanese steamship company. According to the Toyo Kisen Kaisha circular entitled "Indian Passengers to the U. S. A.," the Indian students have no chance to secure tickets from this company to America. I have been told that the students who could not secure tickets from this company at Hongkong had sufficient proofs to satisfy the Immigration officials at any port, yet they were refused tickets. Our countrymen must deem it their duty to take this matter into serious consideration and make arrangements for our student's coming to America.

The United States provides a splendid opportunity and facilities to promising students of all lands for higher education, although one will find at times many difficulties and hardships. Tuition fees at the California University per semester or half-year is \$75, and incidental fees \$25; and total for the year is \$200. Laboratory fees are extra. It will be wise for our students to communicate with the Recorder of the California University, Berkeley, California, about his admission, or with other universities where they want to study. Students may also communicate with the president or secretary of the Hindusthan Association of America, 2026 Center Street Berkeley, California.

The Indian people at home are the strong shield of their fellow countrymen abroad. Patriots of India, forget not that India is a mighty world-force, and that is why she could and can absorb the mighty foreign invaders and plunderers and yet she is strong. The purpose of our life is greater than that of those who look down on us as helots, and world's pariahs or outcasts of human society. The salvation of India lies within, not without. It depends on how the people can work. To be a Nation means to work harmoniously under proper guidance and leadership without being disintegrated. Indians get kicks at home and abroad not because they are brown or dark but because they are not a United Nation. Our country's salvation lies with the breaking down of the rotten caste system and of the tyrannical social oppression upon 60 million brothers and sisters. We are getting from the foreigners abroad what we do at home to our own people. The cause of our people at home is the cause of our people abroad.



## WARIS SHAH, THE MASTER-POET OF THE PUNJAB AND HIS HIR.

By PROF. SARDAR NABI KHAN, B. A., H. P., EDWARD'S COLLEGE, PESHAWAR.

WARIS Shah, the Homer of the Punjab, was a native of Jandiala Sher Khan Ghazi, a village in the Gujranwala District. The dates of his birth and death are still an enigma to the historians, but there can be no doubt that he lived about the year 1180 A. H. towards the decline of the Mughal Empire. Many links of the chain of his life are missing, and we shall try in the following lines to string them together into one connected story.

He was still a boy when he accompanied Bullah Shah, the well-known theosophical writer of the Punjab, to Kasur. The city of Kasur, now the headquarters of a tahsil in the Lahore District, was then known for its University. It should however be borne in mind that the colleges and the Universities of the time differed from modern Universities in many respects. The students were not like ourselves supported by their parents and surrounded by the luxuries of the age. They had to go in search of knowledge and to arrange for their livelihood at the same time. For this they went from door to door and lived on alms. The well-known Bullah and Waris had to succumb to these circumstances and were no exception to the rule.

Having spent some ten years at the University, they were given the educational robe, the mark of having obtained the Degree and Diploma. They took leave of their *alma mater* and the venerable teacher Hafiz Ghulam Murtaza, the Principal, who asked them both to get themselves enlisted among the followers of some Pir (a religious guide). Bullah having joined the Qadri sect of Lahore, Waris took to the ways of Shakargunj, and joined the order of the saints known as the *Chishtis*. He left his companion at Lahore and went straight to Pakpattan, where he performed the penances, etc., at the tomb of Baba Farid-uddin Shakargunj (the head of the order in India) for some time. On his way back home, he passed through a village called Jahad Ka Thatha. It being very late he had to pass

the night there. Early in the next morning, when he was just about to start, he met a village beauty, Bhagbhari by name, and fell in love with her at first sight. He could not go further and gave up the idea of going home at all. The girl paid no regard to him at first, and he had to wait for some days till she was also struck with the same poignant arrow of love and reciprocated it with equal fervour. The relative of the girl, having heard of the affair gave him a thorough thrashing, which only added to the intensity of his love, and he conducted his suit with redoubled zeal. There can be doubt of his being a natural poet, but after the beating he had, he began to pour out his love in the verses of his "Hir".

It is stated that he never cared to keep a regular record of the verses he composed, but would scribble them on parchment and pieces of paper as he then could get. The poem was subsequently compiled by one of his pupils, Allah Ditta by name. For its unique beauty, the book was soon known far and wide and its reputation reached even the ears of Hafiz Ghulam Murtaza of Kasur, who was much displeased to learn that Waris had written such a "worthless story." The Maulana is not to blame, as he had not seen the book in the first instance, and secondly, because the maulvies of the day had no good feeling for such love stories. He was very sorry to have displeased his venerable teacher, and having copied out the book in a very neat hand, he set out for Kasur. He was, of course, received very kindly but the maulana could not help giving vent to his inner feelings by saying: "How is it that thou hast written the story of Hir while Bullah plays on the guitar?" He remained quiet and made no answer to this query, and was consequently put into solitary confinement in a *hoojra*—a cell. On the following morning after the Principal had finished his lectures and was in the humour, he asked the author to read to him a portion of "Hir". The maulana was struck dumb with the delicacy

of thought, the beauty and flow of language, the harmony of description, the strength and force of delineation and the natural order of the things and said: "Waris, thou hast strung these pearls on a rough moonj rope".

He had no child excepting a girl, and died on Hajj day. His remains lie buried in his native place, and his shrine is visited by hundreds of thousands every year.

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## REFLECTIONS ON THE HINDU MOHAMMEDAN PROBLEM

A politically minded Indian should be neutral so far as the religious fight is concerned.

But it is unintelligible to the neutral man as to why religious quarrels should jeopardize or endanger the cause of Indian independence, or, as they term it, the cause of Swaraj. Peoples with different religious polities will exist in India, yet that land has to be got into the mould of nationality. India must become an independent nation, otherwise the teeming millions of that land, comprising one-fifth of humanity, will go to the wall. The peoples of India, in spite of their religious and social differences, must choose between these alternatives. If they cannot rise above their old traditions and feuds and do not accept new world-views they will be side-tracked for ever in the history of the world. This truth must be brought home to the mind of every Indian.

The people of India, rightly or wrongly, are religious. It has gone deep into their hearts. As a result of political cataclysms, many people have changed their religion and language, yet the accumulated religious training of ages, in spite of these changes, have not been lost and have made them conscious as religious beings only. The Indian socius as a man is conscious only of his religious rights and duties. Political consciousness is dawning on him only in recent times and unhappily recently through a wrong channel. Religious enthusiasm works wonders in him, and he is capable of immense sacrifice through it. This is very commendable. It is also said by some occidental writers that in the East religious movements in the end burst forth into politics. This is the psychology of the oriental mind, they say. This may or may not be true. But we are living in modern times with different conditions. And India does not contain a population of religious homogeneity. There are communities

with opposite religio-social polities, inheriting traditional feuds. We must never lose sight of that fact. On this account there cannot be a national religious movement in India which will burst forth with a common political end. The religious movement with political objects engendered by each religious community will stand in juxtaposition with each other. The old wounds will be re-opened giving rise to bitter internecine quarrels. This, instead of advancing the cause of nationality in India, will retard it, nay, even will vitally injure the cause. Therefore this is not the safe policy in a country like India. We must seek another means to further the national cause.

The political movement of India in modern times began with the foundation of the National Congress. It was not founded on a religious basis, rather religion was eschewed out of it. But this movement till recently was practically confined to a coterie of so-called intellectuals. With the starting of Non-co-operation under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the masses were captured by the leaders of the movement, because the leaders exploited religion for political ends. The religious feelings of the masses were played upon. Their religious susceptibilities were aroused, religious enthusiasm ran high, the boycott movement lost its political colour and a fetish was made of it. The cry for the restoration of the Turkish Empire called in India the "Khilafat movement" was made an appendage to the fight for freedom, and thus a bargain was struck between the Mohammedans and the Hindus resulting in a Hindu-Moslem entente-cordial, giving rise to the common fight for Swaraj. This bargain seemed to be very queer. It seemed as if the millions of Mohammedans of India did not or would not demand freedom but for this Khilafat which was in danger; and they

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would not make common cause with their non-Moslem fellow-countrymen for the cause of freedom, unless and until these people helped them in their religious movement. Also it seemed as if only the Hindus wanted freedom. If this be the truth, then it would be a sad reflection on our Mohammedan fellow-countrymen. Everybody wants freedom. Every people wants political independence and freedom from foreign control. Therefore we should say that demand for national freedom based on this bargain was not sound. On this reason our leaders are always afraid lest a slight friction brings down this superstructure. As the basis is not sound, they are always in nervous tension regarding the solidity of it. On this account ingenious attempts were made to keep up the superstructure of the Swaraj movement—the Hindu-Moslem Unity. As the victory of the Turks, assured by the Lausanne Treaty, made a *fait accompli* of the demands for reparation of wrong done to the Khilafat, a new cry was raised—the independence of Jazirat-ul-Arab, as a part of the national movement. This was the new war-cry of the Swaraj movement. Thus the Hindu-Moslem Unity seemed to get a new lease of life, and the bed-rock of Swaraj was secured for the time being!

This was the gist of the situation of the national movement before the abolition of the Khilafat by Turkey. From the standpoint of practical politics this might have been expedient for the time being; yet one can say that these basic principles of Indian nationalism are not sound. The right for independence cannot be based on momentary truce. In the political field a pact may serve a temporary purpose, yet in a country like India such a pact cannot be made the permanent basis of nationalism or the fight for independence. A slight pretext or a slight friction will set at naught the truce or pact. Let us analyse the case. A bargain was made between the leaders of both the communities in 1917 for the percentage of the electorates that would be represented by each community at the municipal boards and councils. On the basis of this pact the Moslem-Indians joined hands with the Hindus and entered the National Congress *en bloc*. It seems as if the Moslems as citizens of India did not want amelioration of the political condition of that land until and unless they came to an understanding with their fellow-citizens of other religious persuasions! Then after the inauguration of

the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms those who did not accept it, continued and extended the Pact to the religious field. At the break down of Turkey after the armistice, the Moslem-Indians raised the cry that the Khilafat was in danger. The whole force of wrath was directed against the British Government, and feeling that a successful campaign of propaganda for the Khilafat which would bend the Government to its knees was not possible without the help of non-Muslim Indians, a bargain was struck between the two big communities. Those of the Hindus who were disaffected towards the Reforms promised to help the Khilafatists and the latter in turn would help the Hindu recalcitrants. With this pact the non-co-operation movement was launched forth; and in order to inflame the ignorant masses religion was put at the service of politics. And as a corollary it is natural that religious enthusiasm in a country like India in the end would give place to intolerance towards each other, and the warring sects would fly at each other's throats.

The aim of the non-co-operation movement was twofold:—the restoration of Turkey and the attainment of Swaraj. Now as Turkey was restored, a new bogey for the British was created—the restoration of those lands from the British influence where lie the holy places of Islam. Naturally the Pact was renewed, the non-Muslim Indians would help the demand for the restoration of Jazirat-ul-Arab, and the Muslim-Indians would second the demand for Swaraj. Thus it was again apparent that the Mohammedan-Indians as such did not want Swaraj or freedom but for the attempt at restoration of their religious places! Is it true then that but for this they would have remained as slaves of the British? Suppose the Khilafat or Jazirat-ul-Arab question had never arisen, then the Mohammedans of India would have remained content as British slaves? Would not the millions of exploited enslaved Mohammedans of India ever have demanded the primary rights of men but for the Khilafat? One is loath to believe it. The masses of the Mohammedan population of India, those unsophisticated, unlettered and inarticulate people would have demanded their birthright—the freedom of man—just the same, if properly appealed to. It is rather the exploiting leaders who always misguide or keep the Indian masses in ignorance and direct them according to their own inclinations.

Freedom is the primary right of man. There is nobody who likes to be dominated or exploited by somebody else. Man as such, is always ready to fight for it. Why instead of teaching him to demand his primary rights, zigzag ways should be shown to him? Man as a socius is more of a political being than anything else. The oppressed, exploited and enslaved masses of India, who have been bereft of their political rights for ages, have also the political faculties latent in them. If they are to be moved through religion, they are also to be moved to action through politics. The thing is that the political, social and economic slavery of ages have benumbed them; only as a counterpoise of all that has been taken away from them, and in order to satisfy their cravings for the rights of which they have been deprived, their exploiters left to them in the way of diversion, as a substitute, their religious faculty intact. And this they have developed in a tropical climate to an abnormal degree. This has given rise to hyper-religiosity of the Indian people and to them everything takes a religious colouring. For this reason, when the leaders of non-co-operation movement appealed to them through religion, the masses gave an immediate response. But in the case of a long-drawn political fight, when different religious communities are to work shoulder to shoulder, religious enthusiasm will not prevail in the long run. It will give rise to intolerance, suspicion and distrust of each other's motives. This has already taken place in India. The Pan-Islamic cry has given rise to the Pan-Hindu cry. If the Moslem-Indians are interested in Arabia, Turkey, Mesopotamia, the Hindus are getting interested in Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Cochin-China, China and Japan. Pan-Hinduism is the counterblast of Pan-Islamism. The Hindus say it is unintelligible to them why the Mohammadans of India should show interest in the independence of other countries than their own, and the time is not distant when the Pan-Hindus would demand that if the Mohammadans uphold the cause of Jazirat-ul-Arab, then the cause of Burma, Ceylon, Cambodia, Cochin-China, and Korea as oppressed countries should also be made a war-cry of the Swaraj movement, though several of these lands are not under British domination.

Add to these, a new spectre is being introduced in the Indian political ideology—Pan-Asianism! These enthusiasts forget that Pan-Somethingism has no reality in the domains of practical politics. Apart from

the example of the past, the late world-war has clearly demonstrated it. The economic interpretation of history is the greatest motive factor in man. This argument prevails in the long run. Turkey is not going to free India, neither Japan. If the Moslem or Hindu fanatics think that they are going to establish the dominancy of their respective sects with the help of Turkey, Afghanistan or Japan, then Bedlam is the fitting place for them. Those who dream of a Pan-Islamic or Pan-Hindu empire are not to be taken as people with normal mentality. Unless and until our people disabuse their minds of these idle visions and daydreams and realize the truth in its nakedness, there is no chance of Indian nationality.

Religion is a form of exploitation, at least the priestcraft side of it. Exploiters live on the credulity of the ignorant masses. The history of modern India has shown that many ambitious politicians have made religious or communal differences the stepping stones of their careers. These things have been their trump cards. Besides these, there are enough agent-provocateurs in the service of the Police who brew communal fights for their paymasters. For this reason, a fight or a street brawl here and there is not the adumbration of an internecine or communal war. The masses of the people live amicably together in spite of religious differences until some interested person rakes up a fight between them, or some ambitious politician exploits religion for his personal gain by stirring up communal quarrels. Over and above these, the Congress has put religion at the service of politics. That is, the masses are being exploited, by the Congress leaders, for certain aims through the medium of religion. It is no wonder, they get frightened when that mask falls or the edifice tumbles down through its own unsolidity.

For these reasons, it is proper that religion should be eliminated from Indian politics. Historic Determinism is the greatest motive force in society, and it is economic interests that bind the people together most. Therefore instead of playing on the religious feelings of the masses, the common economic interest of the masses, irrespective of religion, should be put before them. If the Indian masses are to be united, if India is to evolve a nationality, if India is to fight for freedom, then an economic programme should be put before them. If the Mohammadan masses are to survive in this world then their primary rights as men are to be taught to them. If

the Mohammedans are to survive as community, they are to be taught to fight for their freedom, not for the sake of Khalifat or Jazirat-ul-Arab, but because it is their right as men; the same with the Hindus. Pan-Islamism or Pan-Hinduism or Pan-Asianism will not free the Indian masses, but a socio-economic programme giving a new world-view to them, and beckoning towards the promised land which is free from all kinds of exploitations.

What one sows one will reap, is the old adage. Our leaders are reaping what they have sown. They have sown the future seed of dispute by exploiting the masses through religion. Instead of giving a socio-economic or at least a simple economic programme to the masses which will unite various sects, the seed of communal patriotism has been sown by them by making religion the basis of revolutionary nationalism. Everywhere in the world economics is the basis of politics. But in India the case has been otherwise. The foundation of Indian nationalism is not based on scientific principles, but on religious enthusiasm and histrionic shows. Therefore the whole structure is perpetually shaky. Our middle-class leaders are responsible for it.

To-day in many parts of India, the Indian socius is not thinking himself primarily as a political being but a religious being. There is not much of national patriotism (in some place there is absolutely none) but communal patriotism. Yet our leaders are crying themselves hoarse over the sanctity of nationalism! They are trying all kinds of fakes to conjure up a big national movement, yet they won't look the truth in the face. Nationalism has become the monopoly of the representatives of the vested interests. Indian politics has become the happy hunting ground of the fanatics, religious enthusiasts and ambitious representatives of the middle-class. Their ideology would not permit them to accept an economic programme which will unite the masses in a common struggle against all kinds of exploitation. The dominant class which is ruling Indian politics crushes any other world-view which goes against their interests. They express a pious desire to start a mass movement, but only to make the masses their tools.

It has to be affirmed again that the heterogeneous Indian people cannot unite on a religious basis, neither can revolutionary nationalism be built on it. Nationalism must be built on a concrete and scientific basis. The Indian masses are going to be the mainstay of the fight for national freedom. A

common hatred against the British is not enough as a basis of unity. For this reason an economic programme directing the fight against exploitation and oppression is the desideratum. An economic programme touching the daily life of the masses in which there is no religious or communal strife is the universal solvent. In the common economic struggle against oppression and exploitation, communal and provincial struggles will be melted down. The practicality of this hypotheses can be evinced from Indian history, as we have examples of it in the period of indigo-disturbances in Bengal. There the Hindu and Mohammedan peasants for common economic reasons united against the indigo planters. The common economic programme of passive resistance gave way to communal distrust. And the ignorant peasants through their unity, based on economic interests, made the oppression of the indigo planters a thing of the past.

To-day Indian politics is in a chaos. Our leaders coming from various strata of the middle-class are making a mess of politics. Religious enthusiasm and demagoguery are the key-notes of Indian politics. None has any clear vision of what is wanted and how it is going to be achieved. Politics should be purged of religion. What is wanted is clear analysis of the sociological and economic phenomena that are taking place in Indian society and a socio-economic programme, accordingly. Those who would fail to see it would be relegated to the past. A new generation must come to the front with new world-views and with clear vision. It is in their hands that the future of India lies. The confusion that reigns in Indian political ideology should be cleared up by a new world-view and it is a question of time only. The class of vested interest that is jeopardizing the cause of Indian Independence to-day will, in the near future, play out its role. Their bungling methods will make them eliminate themselves from the struggle for freedom. It is on the shoulders of the masses that the struggle for freedom will rest and they for that reason must be organised and be made politically-minded.

Our Indian countrymen should realize that religion must be made an individual concern. The future citizen of India will not represent his community but the country. The foremost duty of the Indians to-day is to make themselves conscious as political beings. Their safety and future existence depend on reacting to modern conditions of life. Instead



of harping on the past, they must adjust themselves to the new demands of the world. Nationalism does not mean reaction against modern advancement of civilization. Whenever nationalism and rationalism conflict, nationalism must give way. Rationalism must be applied to Indian life. Our Mohammedan fellow-countrymen must realize that irredantism may be commendable, but if they want to survive in this world, it is not by extra-territorial patriotism but by setting their own house in order that they can hope to live. They should abolish the social and economic exploitations that are sapping the root of Islamic society. They should take a leaf from what is going on in new Turkey; and instead of being bulwarks of reaction, they must react to modern exigencies of civilization. Our Hindu fellow-countrymen must understand, that instead of getting nervous at every bogey, and instead

of all the time raising alarm on Pan-Islamism or Pan-Turanism, they must have a new world-view and readjust themselves accordingly. If they want to survive in this world, they must come out of their incrustation. They must reform themselves. Social equality is the thing that is wanted in them. There ought to be many spheres of life where two Hindus can cooperate with each other. They must take to collectivism. They must abolish all kinds of social and economic exploitations, that are existing as cancer in their body-politic. Nationalism does not mean only driving out the British and rehabilitating the moribund state of Indian Society for the benefit of various kinds of indigenous exploiters and oppressors, but putting society on a new basis. The sooner we realize this, the better for us.

BHUPENDRANATH DATTA.

## IRON ORE MINE OF THE TATA IRON & STEEL CO., LTD., OF GORUMAHISANI

MANUFACTURE of Iron and Steel has been a thing common to India from the very ancient times. But the thing which was unknown to her is manufacture of Iron on so large a scale as that of the present days. Before that of the Tata's, there were two modern iron factories in operation in India—one in Madras and the other in Bengal; but none of them manufactured steel. It was the late Mr. Jamshedji Nasirwanji Tata of Bombay, who first contemplated the starting of an Iron and Steel Factory in India, prior to 1905. But unfortunately for India, before his desire could be fulfilled, he expired.

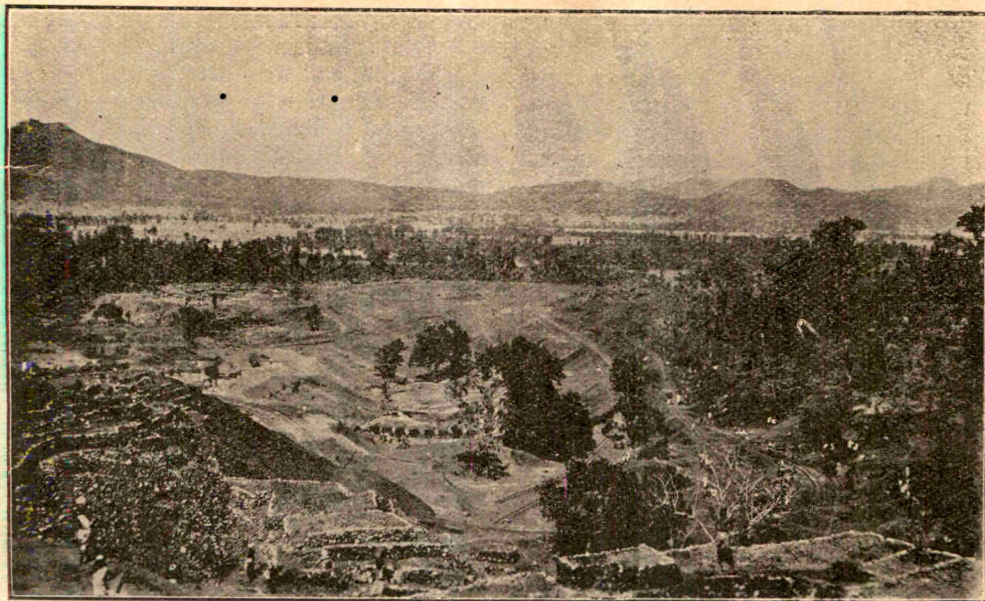
The late Mr. Tata tried hard to get a mine which might feed an iron factory at least for twenty years, and after searching hard for Iron Ore at different places, got information about the Gorumahisani Mine from a report of the Geological Survey of India.

After his death his two sons—Sir Dorabji Jamshedji Tata and the late Mr. Ratanji Jamshedji Tata and his nephew Mr. Ratanji Dadabhoi Tata formed the Tata Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., and opened a new era in the history of Indian Industry.

In 1905, the said Tatas obtained a prospecting licence from the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj to search for Iron Ore at any and every place within his territories. They prospected at several places and found Gorumahisani Ore to be the best for operating an Iron Factory. In 1911 they applied for and obtained the mining lease of the place covering an area of nearly five square miles.

By virtue of the prospecting licence they had begun to erect Boiler House and Crusher to lay Tram Lines, to build Office, etc., from 1909, and in 1912 made everything complete for starting despatch. At the end of the same year despatching began. As at first the factory was started with two Blast Furnaces and these Furnaces were fed by ores from Chanda (in C.P.) and Gorumahisani, the despatch of ore from the latter place was very small—nearly 150 tons per diem. Gradually the despatch increased and in 1916 it came to be nearly 900 tons per diem when the despatch of Chanda Ore was stopped. Thenceforth all the consumable ores were being despatched from Gorumahisani till 1922 when two other mines came into operation.





General View of Pits

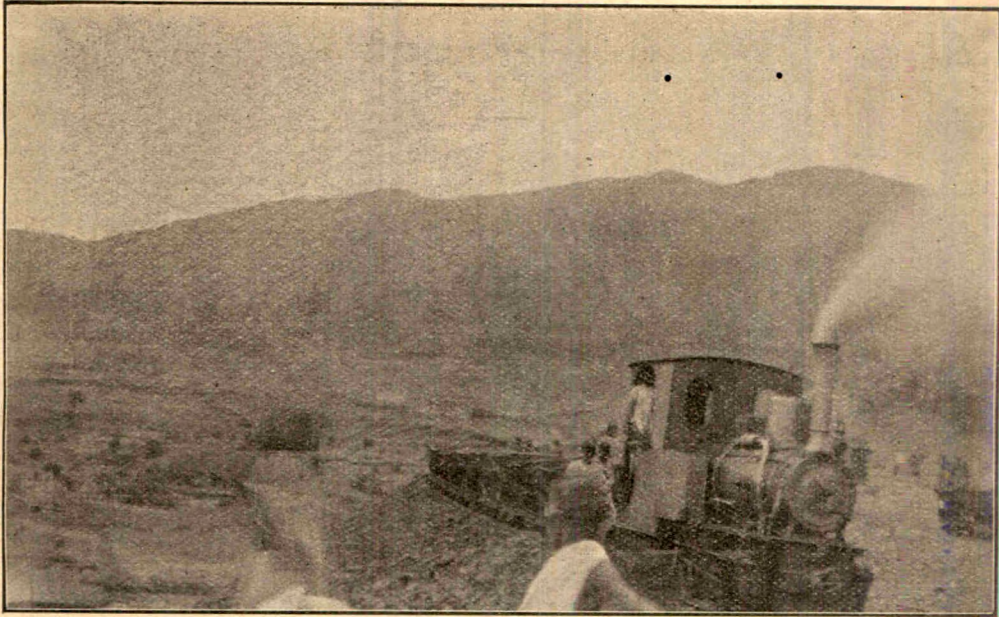


Santali Dance

The despatch of Ore from Gorumahisani  
at different years is given below:

Years.	Tons.	Years.	Tons.
1912 to 1915	• Not known.	1918	3, 38, 936
1916	2, 49, 600	1919	4, 29, 873
1917	2, 74, 600	1920	4, 03, 450
		1921	4, 38, 808
		1922	3, 60, 264





Loading of Ores in Tram-Cars



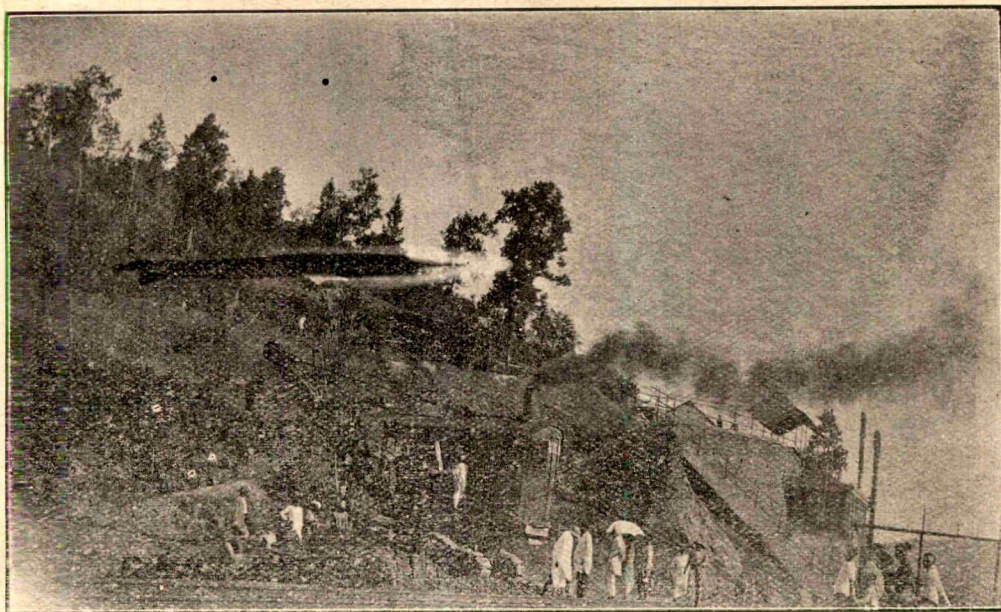
Incline

In 1918 a third furnace was opened and the despatch had to be increased over a thousand tons per day on an average. About the middle of the year 1922 the fourth furnace came into operation and the consumable ore at Jamshedpur increased up to

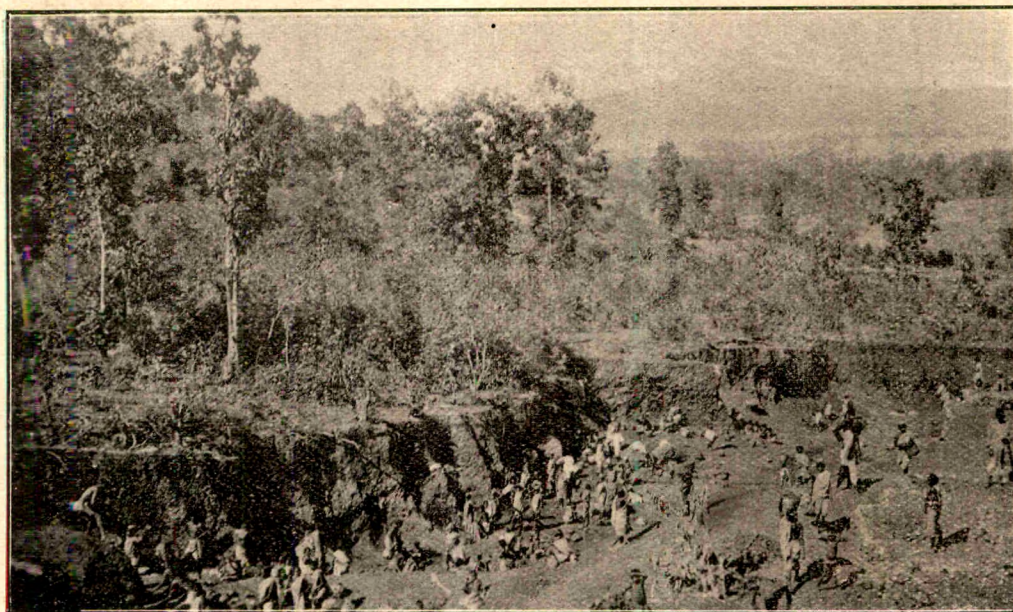
1900 tons per day. But the other two mines being then in operation, the despatch did not require to be increased.

The ore-beds of this mine consist of metamorphosed surface flows, covering the hill nearly on all sides like a sheet. These are con-





Steam Shovel Trial



Labourers Working in the Pit

stituted mainly of specular hematites of different sizes—from 2 ft. to 20 ft. or more.

Iron content of these ores vary from 65 per cent to 69 per cent. Other ores such as Limonite Laterite, etc., are not rare here; they constitute over one-third of the ore

body, but magnetite is rarely found. Ores other than the hematite give an average from 50 per cent to 54 per cent in iron content.

Mixed with earth and low grade ores the average despatch, on analysis, gives the percentage of iron between 59 and 61, and



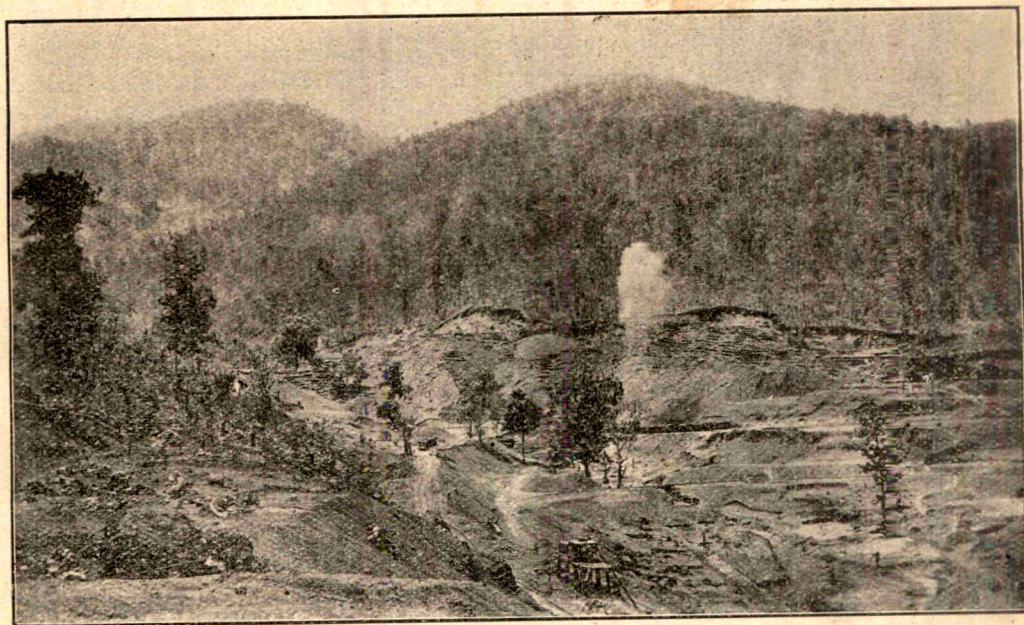
this will be evident from the following data:—

YEAR.	AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF IRON.
1917	61'92
1918	60'51
1919	60'29
1920	59'51
1921	59'61
1922	59'37

In Europe and America, furnaces are worked with ores containing even 30 per cent

various sorts of earth-cutting machinery have been devised and put in the market, yet the above system is still in vogue in India, most probably, because of the cheapness of her labour.

Fine ores are screened to separate them out from earth, and the big lumps are blasted out for loading. All the ores are stacked in the mine faces, and thence they are removed to the crusher by mine-tub-trains. The length of



Iron Ore Stack

iron, but here ores below 55 percent in iron content are rejected. Only high grade ores are taken for the production of iron.

After all, considering the quality of the ore, it can be said that it is safely comparable with the Brazilian Iron Ore Mines. The quantity of the workable ore here has been estimated to be nearly nine million tons.

Mining here is done by digging with pick-axes, spades and hand-picking and not by any sort of mechanical means. One defect of this system is that a portion of good ore is always left with the earth. If an ore dressing machinery be installed here the life of the mine can easily be doubled, and if the mine be equipped with modern machinery and plants, many unnecessary expenses can considerably be curtailed.

The above system has been prevalent here from the very beginning of the mine. Albeit,

tram line, required to be laid on here, is at present over sixteen miles. Inclines, worked in the ordinary way. Endless Wire Rope haulage or Aerial Wire Rope haulage has not yet been introduced here, but one of the former type is under construction.

Loading is done by loading coolies, which always causes variation in the despatch. Recently, two months ago, one mechanical loader has been brought here to keep the despatch steady.

The Steam Shovel strictly takes 30 seconds to load one tub, whereas four men take at least 15 minutes to load the same tub, the load being nearly two tons. So, in point of time, the Steam Shovel stands beyond comparison. Regarding the cost of loading per ton, the one is half of the other. Again a steady despatch is always possible by the mechanical loader, which is beyond question regarding the human labour.



But one disadvantage of this loader is that it requires the tubs to be always put within the range of its Boom, and that it is not portable at any and every place. However, it is a proved fact that the Steam Shovel stands high over loading by human force.

Nearly four thousand labourers work here in the mine. Most of these labourers are Santhals and Koles belonging to the non-aryan races of antiquity, and the rest are Hindus. Local labour is scanty; nearly all the labourers come from the different parts of Mayurbhanj and the district of Singhbhum. Indented labour from other districts is very small in number and most of it comes from the Feudatory States of Burma and Gangpur.

These men are simple, robust, hardy and painstaking. Their dress consists of only a piece of coarse cloth. They have got no *Purdah* system, and their women are free, though not strictly in the western sense of the word, but in no way less than that. Men and women work together, and mix freely

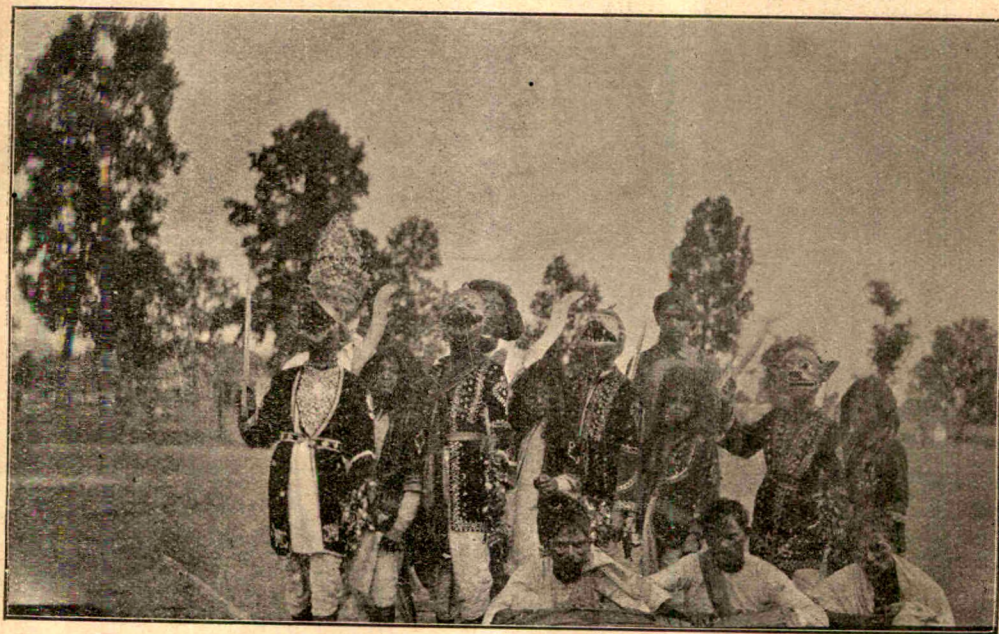
heavy ornament called "MALL". Grown-up girls have got a good sense of beauty which is indicated by their neatness and cleanliness and their liking to adorn their hair with flowers or beautiful green leaves.

These labourers work in the mine from morning till evening, finishing their meals there. In a large *Handi* they carry boiled rice, salt, chilly, etc., to the mine and appease their hunger twice or thrice or whenever they like.

These people, inspite of their hard toil, cannot earn more than rupees three and a half per week, as the rate here is Re 1--2 to 1--8--0 (according to soil) for a stack of 56 cwt., and a man on an average cannot raise more than 8 1/2 tons per week (1 ton 16 cwt.).

Inspite of all these, inspite of their thousand and one wants they are contented and happier than any other civilized people of India.

There is one difficulty regarding this labour, because nearly all of them have got with each other without the least hesitation. The women and girls are very simple, kind-



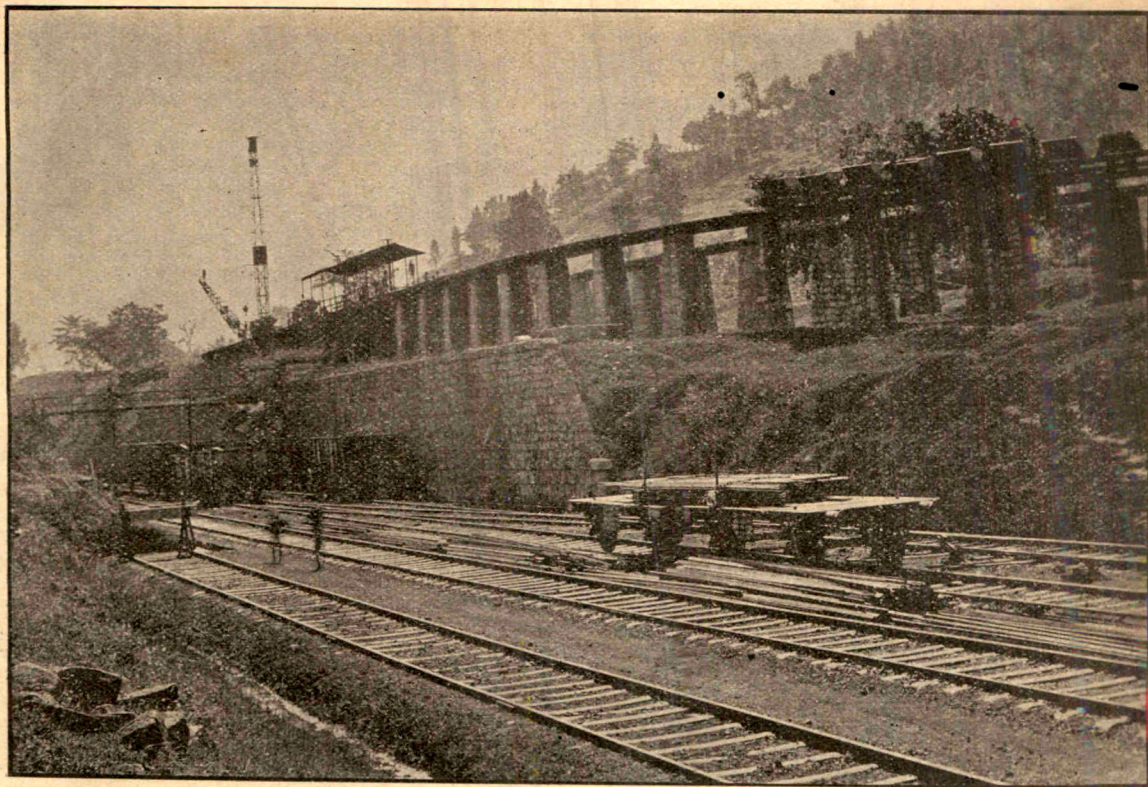
Santali Masked Dancers

hearted and gentle. For their dress they use only two pieces of coarse cloth—one for wearing and the other for covering their body. All of their ornaments are made of brass: in hand they wear "KHARU" (a kind of bangle), round the neck they wear coral necklaces, and on their ankles they wear a kind of some lands for cultivation. When the monsoon

sets in, they leave the mine and run to their respective fields for cultivation and come back after a month, and again, when the paddy ripens they fly away to their villages for harvesting. In this way scarcity of labour occurs on different occasions when the raising practically comes to nil.

Gorumahisani is a hill—2958 feet high





Crusher Machine

above the sea level and is covered throughout with a deep forest, like an armour, consisting mainly of *sal* trees. Its distance from Calcutta is 192 miles and from the factory nearly 42 miles. Before the opening of the mine, the place was under the power of tigers, elephants and bears, and no trace of habitation could be found. Now the deep forest at the bottom of the hill has

turned to a small town with its sanitation, charitable dispensary and quarters for the employees.\*

K. P. GHOSH.

\* Photographs which have been used in this article have been supplied by Messrs. H. G. Volker, G. G. Dobles and B. B. Mitra.

## WIT AND HUMOUR OF PERSIA\*

SCHOLARSHIP may be its own reward, but it brings very few other rewards in this country: and reprints and new editions fall to the lot of only a few scholars. Hence, if a really good book goes into a second edition, even though a full

generation intervene between it and the first, there is reason for thankfulness. And we should be all the more thankful that the author of "Wit, Humour and Fancy of the Persians" has been spared to revise and considerably enlarge the book in this second edition. The work contains hundreds of Persian pieces in verse, short as well as long, culled from a number of Persian works, accompanied by excellent English translations and comments that

\*"Wit, Humour and Fancy of the Persians" by M. N. Kuka, M.A.



render the original easy reading even for indifferent Persian scholars like ourselves; indeed, the book is quite readable and enjoyable by even those who know English alone. A large section of about a hundred pages consists solely of English translations of stories found in prose versions only. We wish the author had considerably shortened this purely English section, and given us instead a score or two of humorous and witty stories in prose from Saadi and other acknowledged masters of the language. In fact one cannot but feel that the immortal Gulistan, perhaps because it is so very well-known, has not been adequately represented even in the verse selections in this book. The chapters on Riddles, Charades and Conundrums and Enigmas, again, are not to our taste, though it must be admitted that there are some fine things here, too, such as Jaballi's verses on the clouds, which are very nearly good poetry. We could also have spared the apocryphal stories of Akbar, Birbal and Mulla Dopiaza as being outside the already wide domain of Persian literature.

But with all these reservations, and in spite of the inevitable fact that different tastes will choose different fare, we must be thankful to the author for a fine collection of so much that is humorous and witty and wise in the realm of Persian letters, and that is, besides so well and so choicely expressed. It is a veritable chrestomathy of stories, satires, epigrams, repartees, elegant trifles, all of them 'good morsels' and many of them of permanent value as literature. Mr. Kuka has given us a valuable "source" book illustrating one side, and that an important one, of the Persian genius. Decidedly it is a book full of human interest, a book to possess and keep handy as a cheering antidote against the worries of life.

The author starts a few hares in his all too brief introduction, and one is tempted to hunt them down. To begin with, the very mention of Dickens and Lamb and Mark Twain in the same breath is in itself a feat that reminds one of that of the great grammarian Panini, who bravely strung together in the same Sutra (aphorism) such incongruous entities as *shvan* (dog), *yuvan* (youth) and *Maghavan* (the God Indra). Outside Pickwick, Dickens does not very often excite actual laughter; Lamb scarcely ever does; while Mark Twain does scarcely anything else, at least at the first reading. The Persians may not have produced humorists like these three, as Mr. Kuka says; but they did what most English, and particularly American, humorists have not done; they gave us humour in a form that stands the test of time. The Persians have given us humour in verse of a quality that would have immortalised matter even less rich. Take some of the exquisite stories in this volume, the story of the Turk infuriated by the mystic refrain—"I don't know" of the unlucky musician, or that of the athlete who wanted to be tattooed, or that of the royal but short-tempered devotee of chess, and mark how the humour and drollery of the absurd situations is heightened and transformed by the alchemy of Rumi's style, his careless and easy magnificence of language, his grave and sonorous diction. These and similar stories in verse, again, provide a sufficient answer to another statement of the author that "the finer and subtler type" of humour, "that of description, or of investing ordinary events in a droll and grotesque garb, has not been sufficiently cultivated" by the Persians. And we could cite a score of stories from the Gulistan

alone that would give as sufficient an answer in prose.

Again, when our author says that in Persian literature "we may not come across good specimens of sustained irony like that of Swift", we fear he makes a hasty statement. The chapter on 'Ubaid Zakani' in Professor Browne's third volume on Persian literature should alone suffice to prove the remarkably Swiftian genius of 'Ubaid.' The "Akhlāq-ul-Ashraf" (The Ethics of the Aristocracy) are quite reminiscent of the grave irony of Swift. And 'Ubaid shows in his verse what Swift never possessed—a wonderful mastery of verse form and a felicitous poetic diction surpassed by only a few among the first flight of Persian poets. The delicious specimens from the "Mush-o-Gurba" and other verses quoted by Browne, as well as certain unquotable poems in his extant works, all go to show 'Ubaid's eminence as a stylist; as they also prove beyond doubt his mastery of what Mr. Kuka calls the subtler type of humour. To revert to the "Mush-o-Gurba", the grave simplicity of its diction, the power and humour of its descriptions, the drollery of its situations and the skill with which the poet makes his cats and mice so intensely human, should entitle him to an honourable place among the humorists in the known literatures of the world. This is, perhaps, a daring claim to make on behalf of the reprobate who has suffered undue neglect; but we would cite in support of it the delightfully absurd history as given by Browne, the brilliant description of the tyrant cat, the ludicrous bragging of the drunken mouse, his utter debasement when caught red-handed and the unctuous hypocrisy of the penitent cat with its exquisite ablutions and prayers and vows and even tears.

Let us repeat that the great advantage and superiority of the Persian humorists lies in the medium, in form and manner. After all it is style that tells in the long run and confers literary immortality; and it is because of their inimitable manner and inevitable form that literary masterpieces can stand countless readings, while poor Mark Twain can barely stand repetition, that terrible test of humour as of all literature. The finest thing about the Persian humorist at his best is his perfect mastery over the medium, his directness, his choice and economy of words. When wit or humour is joined to such perfection of form, there is no wonder that the result is unforgettable, a thing of beauty even if it be of a sort and a joy for ever. For a trifling example, let us take at random the delightful lines about the poets Salami and Kalami:

"Do chiz ast badtar za tighe harami  
Salame Kalami, kalame Salami".

We feel that if the Vazir did not really say so, he ought to have said so; that if the story is not true, it is *ben trovato*. Or let us take these wonderful lines of Anwari to a patron who was tardy in rewarding a poem of praise:

"Si rasm bayt buwad sha'irane tami'ara,  
Yaki madih o duwum qat'ae taqazai.  
Agar badad, siwum shukr; war nadad, haja;  
Azin si bayt do guftam: digar che farmai?"

"Needy poets have at their command three kinds of verse; the first is the poem of praise, the second demands the reward. If it is paid up, the third is an ode of thanks; if not, it is an abusive satire. The first two I have sent you; what is your command about the third?"



The cool cynicism and urbane insolence of this scarcely veiled threat should alone suffice to make the lines memorable; but when to these is added a masterly terseness of diction and wonderful economy of words, the epigram naturally becomes a polished gem, a masterpiece. And Persian literature abounds in such polished, finished gems. It is a curious delusion fostered by uncritical Western prejudice that Persian poetry is wordy and voluminous, more sound and fury than sense. At its best it is nothing of the kind; if anything, it is at times too swift in thought, too packed with meaning, to be quickly followed. There may be too much of hyperbole, the individual idea may be far-fetched, even grotesque and absurd, a mere "conceit"; but the execution will be faultless, and the poet worth the name will certainly not use ten words if he can do with nine. Take the magnificent conceit of Zahir Faryabi in praise of his patron, Qizil Arslan, quoted by Mr. Kuka:

"Nuh kursie falak nahad andishe zire pay  
Ta buse bar rikabe Qizil Arslan zanad";

"Imagination must place the nine heavens under its feet in order that it may be enabled to kiss the stirrup of Qizil Arslan".

The tremendous conceit may be objected to, but the wording is superb; there is not one superfluous word. It is strange that Mr. Kuka has not given the serio-comic sequel to this grand panegyric. It is said that Qizil was lame of one leg, and an enemy of the poet suggested with diabolical ingenuity that Zahir had indulged in a recondite sneer at this defect in the august limb. The consequence was that the poor poet was bastinadoed, fled the court and had his revenge in a savage satire. It is believed that Saadi aimed a gibe at this unhappy panegyric when he wrote:

"Che hajjat ke nuh kursie asman  
Nahi zire pa-e Qizil Arslan";

"What need to place the nine heavens under the foot of Qizil Arslan?"

The poet in medieval Persia received at times princely rewards; but often his was a dog's life.

There is one branch of humour in which the Persians stand perhaps unrivalled, but which the

author, rightly designing his book for the young and the unsophisticated, has rigorously excluded from it. This is the humour of "hazaliyyat", of ribaldry, obscenity and filth. Whatever our modern prudery may say, there is no denying the fact that deep down under the polish of the highest civilisation lies a suppressed impulse, all the more powerful because inhibited most, which takes a strange delight in expressing or hearing such ribaldry and obscenity. That this is true even of the present times will be admitted by most men who know what passes under the name of "smoke-room" or "racy" talk. Anyway, there is no doubt that some of the greatest men of genius in all climes and all ages have revelled in such ribald indecency. In Europe the mightiest names in letters from Aristophanes down to the medieval Italians and from Rabelais and Montaigne and Shakespeare down to Swift and Balzac, have left permanent records of this undoubted trait of human nature. Similarly in Persia such eminent moralists as Saadi and sombre mystics as Rumi wrote what we now call revolting ribaldry, while men of undoubted genius like Suzani and Zakani almost specialized in this kind of humour. Indeed, as said before, the Persians are perhaps unrivalled in the cultivation of this *genre*. We may regret this fact and hold up our hands in horror; or we may take it as we find it. But it must be admitted that these ribald remains of these masters are horribly humorous. And this at least can be said of these curious remains, that they are frank and gross and harmless as Nature herself. Anyway, they are infinitely less harmful than the salacious and corroding pornography of much that is greatly admired as "psychological" fiction to-day.

But we have wandered far from the fascinating book that Mr. Kuka has given us and we must revert to it once more, though only to perform the ungracious task of referring to a common failing of books published in this country, we mean misprints. Mr. Kuka's additional page of errata brings up the number of misprints in the Persian portion to the respectable number of three score.

## GRACE AND MANNERISMS IN MUSIC

BY DILIP KUMAR ROY.

I have dwelt at some length in my last article on the importance of cultivating distinct styles in music, no matter if the style be not always orthodox. Style, I pointed out there, should always in some way suggest the personality of the singer and the more it succeeds in doing, the more satisfying will its effect become. It needs some amount of culture to be able to realise the importance of culture in art. To be able to connect such things

as personality and art must have some definite idea of both. Our *ostads* are, however, quite innocent of such ideas. Consequently hardly any of them can give us the fullest satisfaction that is derivable from music. We often go to hear *ostads* and almost always find astonishing on skill born of wonderful practice and command of the technique that results therefrom. We find sweet voice, too, sometimes—though not very often now-a-days.

But we very seldom find in the musician any consciousness of the full potentiality of music, which surrenders itself only when there is a satisfying development of the artist's personality. This is particularly true in the case of music, as I pointed out in my last article, since in music the artist is in direct contact with his appreciators. Thus we often go to hear music, find many admirable qualities in the musician, but still come back more disappointed than could be easily accounted for. One of the principal reasons of this disappointment is the artist's ignorance of the importance of complete self-surrender in music.

I will deal now with some other defect of our musicians which contributes a good deal to the sum total of our disappointment. I propose to deal, that is, with the place of expression in music through other vehicles than sound, namely, bodily gestures, facial expression and so on. Let us call them "physical expression" for the sake of convenience and brevity. Our *ostads* are, as is wellknown, not only ignorant of the potentiality for suggestiveness of "physical expression" in music, but they have been curiously known to be particularly partial to those very gestures, which are anything but dignified—to say the least. They seem to be in blissful ignorance of the fact that their antics are little calculated to stand them in good stead in so far as their capacity for heightening the effect of their music is concerned. One of the reasons why they have been able so far to continue indifferent to the rôle of physical expression in music lies in the public opinion of our country not having been sufficiently wakeful. So, having been seldom subjected to sane criticism, they give the reins not only to unrestricted vociferation, but to undignified gesticulations as well. Some of these curiosities have become almost proverbial for their capacity of providing undiluted fun to the audience. I saw a cartoon the other day in which the singer is represented to be tugging frantically at the frontal tuft of his accompanist's hair. His gesticulations are often so awe-inspiring in his excitement that it is perhaps not altogether impossible for us to exaggerate the latter even to this extent. Any lover of music must know instances galore of such grandiose eccentricities in the physical expression of our professional musicians. I have seen one worthy bodily moving forward at the psychological moment of "*Sam*" (the point of maximum stress in a tune) the effect of which was more ludicrous than anything I have come across as yet.

It is only when an educated public opinion would be in a position to bring such offenders of good taste to book that such perversions could be successfully coped with.

The example of the execution and appreciation of European musicians can bring it home to our public—how much a spirit of sober and honest criticism can accomplish in the matter of effecting such reforms. The European musician will not dream of indulging in gestures which smack even of the improper, not to speak of the ludicrous. In fact he practises before the mirror in order to cultivate graceful expression while singing or playing. He thinks it well worth while because he would be hissed and hooted out were he too acquire uncouth mannerisms while performing. Thus the European public is far more critical than ours with obviously happier result to boot. Our musical public being but little alive to the mission of courageous criticism, there exists hardly any corrective to the absurd licence enjoyed by our musician with impunity. What we need, therefore, is the educating up of a public opinion which will refuse to tolerate absurd antics on the part of the musician however skilful. For this will serve as an eye-opener to the musician to the value of grace in physical expression in earning patronage and popularity for him.

Apart from the question of the objective appreciation of his music a loftier subjective ideal too tells us that the musician owes it to himself to invest his music with as much beauty of expression as lies within his power and imagination. It is incumbent on him, that is, to rediscover for himself the subjective importance of physical expression in music. A great European signer\* has said that a song has to be sung not by one's voice alone but by one's every limb. If one should want to have a proof of this; one would do well to hear any of our first-class bayaderes. No one who has heard her could fail to be impressed with the importance of "physical expression" in music. It is not quite relevant just now to dwell on the why of the lady-singer's beautiful gestures as opposed to the generally uncouth mannerisms of the *ostad*. It suffices for my present purpose to point out how much the former is the wiser for it, from the subjective as well as objective

\* I read this either in the great Italian singers Carnoo's book "*Wie man signor soll*," (i. e., how to sing) or in the great German signer Madam Lily Leman's book, I forget which. I regret I have none of these two books at hand.

points of view, since it beautifies the expression along with popularising the music.

Our *ostads* have nothing but unqualified contempt for such simply sweet singers—as they say. A Mahomedan *ostad* once sang to me a few songs, which with all their gymnastics, had not much suspicion of art or sweetness about them. His worthy pupil told me in extolling the marvellous achievement of his master (for I must confess it was marvellous in so far as technical skill was concerned):—“we do not care for sweetness, for that is easy enough (indeed!)—we want this sort of acrobatics. This is our goal, our ideal.” I quote this instance, inasmuch as it is a typical one, illustrating the general attitude of our *ostads* towards music as an art. They very often fail to realise that sweetness like beauty is rare, and that singing with an exquisite simple sweetness is almost as difficult to one who makes a fetish of difficult performance, as is the task of singing an intricate *Raga* to one who is untrained in the same. I do not, however, propose to discuss this aspect of the question just now. I will only point out that given this sort of outlook on music, the contempt of *sweet-singing* is not only understandable, but inevitable to follow. But such an undiscerning contempt of something beautiful can scarcely succeed in discrediting the latter. It tends on the contrary to recoil on itself *en revanche*, as must be apparent to any one who has contemplated even a little the sad status of our *ostads* of to-day. It is nevertheless sad to reflect how effectually are the latter making themselves more and more disliked every day and how they are being left in the cold in consequence. It is sad, because I do not think that they deserve it fully. It, however, generally happens that when once any reaction sets in, the retribution that it entails visits the offender with much greater virulence than he really deserves. We see in consequence even real merit in some of our *ostads* going unrecognised; at least this is one of the reasons of the general unpopularity that is overtaking them.

This is regrettable. But if this is to be remedied the singers to come must not only be awakened to the pity of spoiling their music with unfortunate mannerisms, but they must at the same time be brought to realise the higher mission of physical expression in music. They should be made to feel how incumbent this is on the musician not only from the objective consideration of popularity but from the subjective consideration of higher idealism as well.

Another factor which bears vitally on the musician's grace of execution is his avoidance of an overdose of effort in singing or playing. What I mean hereby is not so much an avoidance of effort but the avoidance of its display, since it is obvious that all activities must presuppose effort. What is therefore to be principally steered clear of is making it difficult for the hearers to ignore the presence of superhuman effort in the execution of the musician.

For whenever the musician shows signs of too visible a strain, he thereby takes away from the sum total of the musical enjoyment of his audience. Whenever, for instance, the nerves and muscles of the singer's throat bulge out, perspiration streams down, and painful gesticulations break out, “the listener's disagreeable sympathy with the singer's exertion deducts from the pleasurable consciousness, even if it does not produce displeasurable consciousness.” (The essay on “Developed Music,” Facts and Comments, Herbert Spencer). The last qualifying clause is to be particularly noted—specially with reference to the execution of our *ostads*. The latter being almost universally in the habit of straining their voice too much, we have now-a-days become fairly accustomed to such strains on their part, with the result that we have ceased to analyse or appraise the quality of musical enjoyment which is affected thereby. To be more explicit, we have ceased to pay much attention to the fact that a good part of our concentration on the beauties of the execution is dissipated away by being constrained to take cognizance of the visible strain on the part of the executant. Hence, even if, from force of habit, we should have neglected to take into account the resulting loss in the sum total of our enjoyment, that serves in no way to dispose of the contention of our being the losers thereby. Art, we should bear in mind, must conceal art in order that it might fulfil its highest function.

True, such musicians are rare whose command of the technique of music is so great that they seem almost effortless in their exposition. But the attainment for the matter of that of any lofty ideal is difficult and as such, instances of the same are not likely to be very common. It is unfortunate nevertheless that such musicians are not just a little more often to be met with. For in that case the inartistic effect of too visible exertion on the part of the musician would be brought home to an uncritical audience in a more convincing manner.

In what does the too much exertion of our *ostads* manifest itself? In justice to them it must be said that it is not in their rapidity of execution or mastery of technique that such an absence of ease is to be noticed. Their effort becomes too conspicuous chiefly in their singing too much at the highest pitch that their voice can reach. Our *ostads* are generally apt to dwell too long on the highest notes they can produce. Now resting too long on notes of high pitch is very trying for the voice and can thus be hardly accomplished with perfect ease. Since however the higher notes make a greater impression than the lower ones, by reason of their possessing greater charm, the *ostads* practise them at no small costs to themselves, oblivious of the fact that it is possible to pay too great a price for something desirable. That is to say, the evident and continued exertion that such a habit entails, may—as it often does—more than counterweigh the intrinsic charm of the higher notes. Consequently it is better on the balance to dwell on notes which the voice can produce at ease, than to rest too often on such ones as involve much too great a strain on the part of the musician.

And then, apart from the question of strain which thus deducts from the auditor's artistic joy, it is not good art either to dwell too long on the higher notes to the comparative neglect of the lower ones. A piece of art is most full of inspiration when it contains a happy balance or symmetry. Too great a preponderance of the highest notes that a singer can produce is detrimental to this balance or symmetry. The result is that the music becomes monotonous as is shewn by the current way of singing *Thoomri* which is

sung mostly on the higher notes. High-class *Dhrupads* or *Kheyals* possess this balance and the happy result is wellknown. But now-a-days even the *Kheyals* are often sung by singers mostly at the top of their voice. This is not *comme il faut*. A real artist will almost instinctively avoid manipulating a *Kheyal* in this way. He will try to show the real "*rupa*" (structure) of the *Raga* by first centring his voice round the bass-notes, gradually going higher and higher up till he has made a complete survey of the whole range of his voice.

Moreover singing or playing too much on the higher notes not only detracts from the symmetry of a musical piece but tends to make the same much too light, nay, even frivolous. The lower or bass-notes tend to lend dignity to the music, just as the higher notes impart attractiveness to the same. When therefore there is a harmonious blend or proportion of these two, then and then only can music take on charm along with dignity. *Per contra*, when there is an absurd preponderance of the higher notes over the lower, the music is apt to seem light and gay even to the point of frivolity, just as when the lower notes hold the sway, the music converges towards solemnity and tediousness to the point of puritanism.

To sum up: in order that a piece of music may be at once dignified and charming it is needful (1) that the execution should be easy; (2) that there should be a happy balance of treatment of the higher and lower notes; (3) there must be an entire absence of ungraceful mannerisms and (4) there should be an element of positive grace ushered in to reinforce, as it were, the musical expression of the executant.

## MAHOMEDAN THOUGHT IN MEDIEVAL SPAIN

By PROF. P. G. BRIDGE, OFFICIATING PRINCIPAL, ST. PAUL'S COLLEGE, CALCUTTA.

IT would be no exaggeration to assert that no European country has inherited so much material for a vigorous renaissance and that no nation in the vast continent of Europe was so well equipped for a remarkable revival of learning as the Iberian Peninsula was at the

close of the fourteenth century. Jewish thinkers of the first rank and Muslim philosophers of no mean standing had contributed their respective distinct share to keep alive the torch of science at a time when the clouds of barbarism were enveloping the rest of the continent of



Europe. It has been observed by a diligent student of the Middle Ages that the notable philosophical development of the Semitic races contrasts strikingly with the utter poverty of Christian thought. With the exception of Raymond Lull, who, by the way, owes so much both to Jewish and Mahomedan writers, specially to the latter, Christianity scarcely produced a thinker of marked ability. Sell, that conscientious and scrupulous investigator of Mohamedan history, unhesitatingly bears witness to the excellent system of primary education existing in the Peninsula during the Arab domination. He writes:—

"There was, such a perfect system of primary education that nearly every one in Andalusia could read and write. It would have been difficult to find a peasant there who could not write. Whilst in other European countries it would have been difficult to find one who could do so."

And with regard to higher education we know that Cordova was justly renowned throughout the cultured world. That there was a deep interest in learning is shown by the fact that no less than five thousand students were attending the University lectures at the same town. It seems incredible that such literary activity could have existed in the Middle Ages. But we have to admit that our half conscious, half unconscious prejudice against Semitic culture is responsible for our incredulity. The misnomer of dark, so persistently applied to the Middle Ages is also largely responsible for such attitude of mind. An assiduous student of Arabic history, Sr. Ribera candidly confesses to us how incredulous he was to believe that Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros could actually have burnt after the conquest of Granada so many thousands of Arabic books as he is supposed to have done. Ribera goes on to say that he considered such exaggeration as due to the prevailing tendency among certain students of Spanish history to heap calumny and to accumulate scorn on the memory of the exalted dignitary of the Roman Church. With a view to substantiating the error of this historical assertion he has devoted his life to the study of Hispano-Arabic civilization and as a result of his painstaking investigation he asserts with no uncertain voice that "it is a real and positive fact that Muslim Spain possessed two million codices." And Ribera is not the only Arabic scholar who bears witness in such unqualified language to the Mahomedan culture of the Middle Ages. The well-known Sr. Asin y Palacios and Codera, to mention only a few, join him in paying a glowing tribute of

admiration to the great thinkers of Muslim Spain.

And living Spanish scholars are not alone in making no secret of their decided admiration for Mahomedan culture. The great historians, Dozy and Scott, are equally warm in their unstinted appreciation. Scott writes in his exhaustive and masterly History of the Moorish Empire in Europe:—

"No monarch, of whom history makes mention, has equalled him (Al-Hakem II who reigned from 961 to 976) in the extent of his knowledge or the number and diversity of his literary accomplishments. In every country of the world, in the foci of civilization, in the great capitals and commercial emporiums of the East, at Bagdad, Cairo, Damascus, —his agents were stationed to secure books for his libraries...The emulation and the aspiration of distinguished authors caused their work to be transmitted to Cordova from the most distant lands."

The crowning result of such zealous enterprise was a wonderful collection of books, of which Scott says that "it was undoubtedly the greatest repository of learning which had up to that time existed in Europe." The number of books existing in the library is estimated by some writers at 40,000, while others mention even 60,000. In other words, the accumulated wisdom of Africa, Asia and Europe was to be found at Cordova. Scott concludes.

"Al-Hakem II was the worthy representative of the advanced culture, the scientific attainments, the poetry and the art of Hispano-Arab civilization, as contrasted with the intellectual darkness, the disgusting immorality, the revolting filth, the abject superstition which characterised the contemporary society of Europe."

For the last fifty years there has been in the Peninsula a praiseworthy effort to scrutinise the numerous unpublished Arabic documents buried for generations in the dust of Spanish libraries—those, namely, which fortunately escaped the iconoclastic hands of Cisneros and of his colleagues in the inquisitorial work of destruction. In doing so Spain is redeeming her past negligence. This movement has pertinently been called the new Revival of Spanish Thought. The fear that so frequently haunted the average Spaniard of the old school, a fear that kept him away from the unholy and dangerous literature of the non-Christian races, has happily vanished and to-day these revivalists devote themselves with zest and enthusiasm to the study of *infidel* learning. The father and prime mover of this revival was Menéndez Pelayo. His learning was truly stupendous. At the early age of seventeen he

published *Ciencia Española*, a book which had an enormous influence in calling attention to the hidden treasures of Spanish thinking. He gathered around his very attractive personality a real phalanx of the studious youth of the country in whose breasts he kindled a patriotic enthusiasm to unearth the beauties of Spanish literature and the discoveries of Spanish savants. One of his most insistent demands throughout his life was the revival of the study of Arabic language and history. The fruit of his untiring zeal is the striking interest we see to-day in the Peninsula for research work. Spain is truly rediscovering herself in bringing to light the by no means unimportant works of her medieval philosophers. What characterises this enterprise is the absolute independence from traditional shackles with which it is conducted. One cannot help lamenting the fact that Spain ever allowed the decadence of Arabic studies and let fall into oblivion the writings of her numerous Mahomedan authors. Coming now closer to analyse the characteristics of Spanish culture in medieval times, critics seem agreed to admit that such culture lacked the note of originality. There were not at that time original thinkers. Spain like the rest of the continent of Europe, was depending for the pabulum of her thought upon the East. The day for bold independent thinking had not yet dawned. The era of the great constructive systems of philosophy had not yet arrived. Arabic races so far have distinguished themselves more by their power of assimilation than by their original thinking. Besides, eastern thought, as we have seen, had been imported in the West in no small measure and consequently one would expect that the process of assimilation would take rather a long time, specially considering the disturbed political conditions of the Peninsula which were by no means favourable to philosophical speculation. What did Spain actually inherit from the Arabs? And what did she transmit to the rest of Europe? The labours of the School of Translators of Toledo will supply an answer to these two questions.

After the conquest of Toledo in 1081 by the Christians, this town gradually became the centre of learning and the meeting place of both eastern and western thinkers. Cordova lost her privileged position as a seat of culture, owing mainly to the relentless persecution of philosophers by some of the Almoravides rulers and their successors the Almohades. Numbers of Jews sought refuge

in Toledo and the example was followed by some of the best of Arab writers. To these martyrs of freedom of thought Toledo opened widely her arms and welcomed them with hearty greetings.

These circumstances made it possible for the then Archbishop of Toledo to gather around himself the elite of the savants of his time and to undertake the *magnum opus* of rendering into intelligible language the thought of the East. Prominent amongst them were the Archdeacon of Segovia, Dominicus Gondisalvus, or Gondissalvinus as some writers prefer to call him, and a convert from Judaism, John Avendreath by name. The method followed in the translation appears to have been rather imperfect. Gondisalvus' knowledge of Arabic was not such as to qualify him as a scholar, and his work consisted mainly in substituting a Latin word for its Arabic correspondent according to the meaning suggested by Avendreath. The structure of the sentence was in consequence more Arabic than Latin, obscuring in many cases the sense of the sentence beyond recognition. This mechanical form of translation, as Renan aptly calls it in his *Averroes et Averroisme*, was very faulty indeed, but it was the best at that time. The translations, however imperfect, were extremely valuable to stimulate thought and to create a desire to consult the originals. Nearly all the works of Aristotle were translated by these scholars. Gondisalvus is credited besides with several works of deep philosophical thinking. The works of the translators soon attracted the attention of foreign scholars who speedily betook themselves to Toledo to learn Arabic and to join in the important task of translation. Several names of European scholars, who took active part in this work have come down to us, Gerard of Cremona, Michael the Scott, and Herman the German. Haureau, in his standard work *Philosophie Scholastique*, pays a glowing tribute to the memory of Archbishop Raymond of Toledo and does not hesitate to say that the service he did to European culture is such as deserves to be engraved in bronze, that future generations may perpetually remember him.

Renan writes as follows on the influence of these translations on the philosophical investigations of the West.

"The introduction of the Arabic texts in Western thought, divides the scientific and philosophic history of the Middle Ages into two epochs perfectly distinct. In the first the human mind does not possess

more than disconnected relics of the teachings of the Roman schools heaped up in compilations like those of Marcián de Capella, Bede to satisfy her curiosity . . . . In the second, ancient learning returns again to the west but in a more systematic way and complete form, in the commentaries of the Arabs or in the originals of Greek science to which the Romans have preferred abridged manuals."

To the school of translators of Toledo, therefore, the cultured world owes a great debt of gratitude for popularising eastern ideas in the west, however imperfect the way may have been. How far-reaching was the influence of this dissemination of the new culture has not been fully appreciated, owing perhaps to the fact of the decadence of Arabic studies which followed the policy of persecution and expulsion on the part of Spain. For many years we have been accustomed in the history of philosophy, as professor Gauthier remarks, to pass from the study of ancient philosophy to that of the modern, with perhaps a cursory glance at the intervening ages, if such scant courtesy was indulged in, as if the human mind had been in a state of somnolence for so many generations. But modern investigation has abundantly shown that medieval scholasticism is worthy of consideration and the writings of the great schoolmen require for their intelligible study not a meagre background of knowledge of Mahomedan and Jewish schoolmen. Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus were to a very large extent indebted to Spanish schoolmen like Averroes or Ibn Roshed, Ibn Gabirol, Avicabron and Maimonides. The works of the latter were not easy of access and it was not in consequence possible to ascertain to what extent Christian schoolmen were borrowing from the non-Christian. Nevertheless recent study of Arabic and Jewish philosophy enables us to point to two very remarkable results of the spread of Mahomedan learning throughout Europe. In the first instance the philosophical vocabulary was enlarged and to some extent revolutionised. Sr. Bonilla, in his history of Spanish Philosophy, remarks in this connection that owing to this revolution in philosophical terminology, greater difficulty is experienced in the understanding of Albertus Magnus than in the understanding of Scotus Erigena, though the latter is farther removed from us than the former.

The extent of this influence could be more intelligently explained by the analogy of what has taken place in more recent times. The spread of the Kantian and the Hegelian Philosophy has revolutionised the vocabulary of

modern philosophy and one would expect the same effect brought about by the spread of Semitic thought in Europe. The different shades of meaning, so varied in such a rich language as the Arabic, could not but increase the philosophical lexicon.

Nor was the influence circumscribed to the mere importation of words and of expressions. Ideas and concepts were freely brought in. Sr. Asin y Palacios writes in this connection:

"In order to appreciate in all its bearings this importation of ideas, it would be necessary to start a minute and detailed catalogue of all the philosophical, theological and mystical ideas of the Christian schoolmen of the west who wrote before the twelfth century and to compare them with those of the schoolmen of the thirteenth century"

This comparison will, Sr. Asin feels absolutely sure, elicit the fact that a great number of ideas appear for the first time in the thirteenth century and on investigation they will easily be traced to Muslim or Jewish writers. The same Sr. W. Asin and Riera have lately studied carefully the writings of Raymond Lull and both have arrived at the important conclusion that the Christian sufi as Lull has been called, was largely indebted to the Mahomedan sufi Mohidin. As an illustration of this valuable conclusion, they mention the fact that Raymond Lull, in his *de Auditer Kabbalistico* and in his *Lamentatio Philosophiae contra Averroistes* employs freely the figure of a circle without explaining anywhere its symbolic significance. It may be pointed out in passing that this has led to a great deal of obscurity in the teaching of Lull. Sr. Asin has lately proved that in the works of the sufi Mohidin the same symbolic figure is often met together with a detailed explanation of its symbolism, which by the way agrees completely with Lull's doctrine. This important conclusion has been arrived at by a careful study of Mohidin's *Alfotubat*. Lull had the deplorable custom of never mentioning the sources of his information and this fact makes it extremely difficult to establish and ascertain any comparison. Perhaps the consciousness of his illumination absolved him from acknowledging indebtedness to previous or contemporary sources.

It has been suggested that the Arabic legacy to the West consisted mainly in making known Aristotle's works. Were we to limit the Arabic contribution to European thought merely to this, it would not be worth much, as the Master's writings were later on brought to Europe in their original language. The Arabs

did indeed, so to speak, imprint their own personality on Aristotle's ideas. We should not lose sight of the fact that the peculiar conception of the Aristotelian doctrines as understood by the Arabs, gives rise to most of the characteristic teaching of the medieval scholasticism. And the two schools in which Christian scholasticism was sharply divided with all their acute and irreconcilable tendencies, Thomism and Scotism, correspond to the prevailing tendencies in the non-Christian scholasticism. The voluntarism of Duns Scotus had a clear and forcible exponent in the Spanish Jew Ibn Gabirol, the Avicbron of the Scholastics. The Intellectualism of Thomas Aquinas has many points of contact with Ferabi and specially with Ibn Sina and Maimonides. Lately the often-mentioned writer Sr. Asin y Palacios has traced Arab influences in Thomism in another way. He points out that Raymond Marti, a Dominican Spanish monk of the thirteenth century, very well versed in Arabic, wrote a book entitled *Pugio Fidei* against the Averroists. Sr. Asin proves conclusively that the *Pugio Fidei* is based on Algacel's *Tehafat* or *Destructio Philosophorum*. Raymond Marti reproduces in his work the arguments used by Algacel to establish the creation *ex nihilo*, to prove that God has knowledge of, and consequently his Providence extends to, individual things and to assert the resurrection of the dead. And the significant fact is that Thomas Aquinas' "*Summa Contra Gentiles*", a work written with similar object as the *Pugio Fidei*, reproduces the arguments employed by Raymond Marti. In this way Sr. Asin establishes the indebtedness of the greatest of schoolmen to Algacel.

Finally, one cannot help being struck by the fact that the main problem with which medieval philosophy was concerned is that namely of the relation between Philosophy and theology, which had occupied for a long time the attention of Jewish and Mahomedan thinkers. Averroes has been credited with the doctrine that something could be false in philosophy and true in theology. Sr. Asin has shown in his "*Averroismo de Santo Thomas de Aquino*" that it is wrong to ascribe to Ibn Roshd such doctrine; nevertheless the truth remains that the Averroists did advocate such divorce between reason and faith.

Such were the questions which the medieval schoolmen set themselves to solve. Can we say that they are not of the first importance? Are not the same problems, in slightly different guise occupying the attention of

modern thinkers? Is not Dr. Bosanquet, for instance, endeavouring to reduce all religion and its inspirations to the platonic consolation of philosophy? These problems seem to be some of those which will perpetually baffle our human comprehension. Such was, what we may be allowed to call, the cumulative thought of the Iberian Peninsula at the close of the fourteenth century. Had anybody, not so thoroughly saturated with racial and religious hatred as the average Spaniard of the time, been asked as to the course philosophical investigation was likely to take, he would unhesitatingly have answered that the Spanish contribution to the common thought of 'mankind' ought to follow closely the lines pursued by a Marti and by a Lull. But unfortunately this was not to be, to the great loss of Spain in particular and of the domain of letters in general. The victories of the Christian armies obtained over the Muslims served to fan the latent prejudice and to accentuate the religious animosities against the Moors, the Jews and even the converts to Christianity. It is true that, on the part of earnest men of the type of Marti and Lull serious endeavours were made to consider sympathetically the condition of the Moors and of the Jews, to study their rich literature, and to enter into their life and thought. It has been remarked by a careful student of Lull's works, Sr. Ribera, that Lull, not even once in his numerous writings, is carried away by religious antagonism but that on the contrary, he praises Mahomedan writers whenever he thinks they are worthy of praise, and does not hesitate to borrow from them whenever he believes they have a valuable contribution to make. Lull stood up strongly against the policy of conversions by force, insisting throughout his life on the imperative necessity of intelligent and sympathetic discussion of religious tenets. But Marti and Lull and their followers were in the minority. The party of strong repressive measures prevailed. What a difference it would have made if Vives, for instance, that champion of the Spanish renaissance and leading humanist of his time, had taken up Lull's position and had endeavoured to understand and assimilate, as much as was possible and of worth, to preserve in the thought of Averroes and of Maimonides. The course of Spanish history would probably have altered completely. For the fact remains that ever since the expulsion of Moors and Jews, a measure considered inevitable to maintain religious unity and to insure the peace and happiness of the nation

Spain has not known peace. Across the straits, Spain has ever and anon been kept busy with the descendants of those who were unjustly expelled from the country of their adoption. But Vives was born at Valencia, a town in which anti-semitic feeling was at its highest. And Vives undoubtedly drank at his mother's breast anti-semitic animosity and could not, in consequence, see anything beautiful outside Greek and Latin models.

It may not be altogether out of place to record here the opinion of a leading Spanish historian, Menéndez y Pelayo, on the expulsion of the Moors and of the Jews, an opinion which will illustrate the lengths to which the desire of securing unity of religious belief has influenced and is still influencing Spanish thought. He writes in *Historia de los Heterodoxos Espanoles*—

"It is madness to think, that struggles for existence, ruthless rivalries of long standing, could possibly end otherwise than by extermination or by expulsion. The inferior race inevitably succumbs and the stronger and more vigorous one ultimately triumphs."

In consequence the same writer approves of the expulsion of the Jews and of the Moors as the triumph of the principle of the unity of race, unity of religion, of language and of customs. In other words the Spaniard of the sixteenth century and afterwards seems to have erected the principle of unity of religion and of race into a real fetish upon the altar of which everything else has to be sacrificed.

Besides the anti-semitic agitation there was another potent factor at work with which we have to reckon if we are to follow intelligently the course that the renaissance took in Spain. We refer to the French influence, or Gallicanism, imported in the Peninsula by the monks of Cluny. These monks, who in a sense were the forerunners of the Jesuits, set themselves to bring about a complete centralization of power in the hands of the Popes. In consequence they resolutely opposed customs and privileges which were not the customs and uses prevailing at Rome. To establish all over Europe absolute uniformity of ritual and ceremonial was their goal. The Cluny monks soon spread throughout the north of Spain, and their immediate task was the abolition of the Mozarabic rite and the introduction of the French rite, sometimes wrongly called the Roman rite. There was naturally a great outcry in the country against the abolition of its cherished provincialisms. Hildebrand, who by this time had become a Pope under the name of Gregory VII, appealed to the Kings of

Castile and Navarre, to suppress the Mozarabic rite; and an auto-da-fe was performed with the missal and other books of the Mozarabic liturgy. This policy of suppression of national elements in the religious life of the people produced in the long run the unfortunate tendency to look to France rather than to the old masters of the Hispano-Arabic school for fresh direction and guidance.

A third factor came more or less at the same time to accentuate this centrifugal tendency. Alfonso V of Aragon had finally succeeded in establishing his rule permanently in Naples by annexing to his crown the two Sicilies. His court was one of the most brilliant of his time attracting to his enlightened circle the leading humanists of the Italian Renaissance. Here promising youths of Spain met the Italian refined artists and classical writers and soon got the contagion of the new movement. Here they got thoroughly saturated with feverish enthusiasm for Greek and Latin models, and, after returning to their own country, were the means of spreading in the Universities of Spain the new learning. But with the increasing enthusiasm for classical Greek and Latin knowledge, soon waned the desire of studying the barbarous Arabic culture.

Meanwhile for causes which will take long to detail, the centre of the renaissance moved from Italy to the Northern countries, a fact which completely altered the attitude of Spain to the Renaissance. For, since then the Spaniard began to identify the renaissance with the reformation. His beloved national and religious unity, purchased at such cost in the past, was in danger and could not be surrendered without struggle. At this juncture, no wonder that the exuberance of religious feeling made itself felt. Both the renaissance, of which Erasmus was the worthy representative, and the reform of Luther were denounced as enemies and destructives of the national and religious unity in much the same language as Arabic learning had been denounced in time past. Immediately steps were taken to secure to the country the possession of the cherished unity. The first measure adopted was the prohibition of Erasmus' books. The great humanist's writings could not be imported into the Peninsula. Nor was the scrupulosity of Spanish rulers, like Philip II, contented and satisfied with forbidding the entrance in the Peninsula of heterodox ideas. A further step had to be adopted. Spanish scholars were interdicted from going abroad to visit foreign Universities

which were supposed to be contaminated with heretical doctrines. It must be said in fairness that these severe measures were not strictly adhered to, but they could not but have very deep influence in isolating Spain from the rest of the Continent. The main literary activities and philosophical inquiries of the Spanish were henceforth concerned with the counter-reformation movement and in this field of knowledge Spain produced eminent thinkers whose names will take long to enumerate. Once again in the history of Spanish thought, the shibboleth of religious unity was invoked. Spain advocated a truly suicidal policy, shut-

ting her doors to the invigorating wind of outside thought and influence.

In conclusion, we may be allowed to translate the words of an authority, Menendez y Pelayo, describing the characteristics of two representative Spanish writers :—

"When some time ago, I proposed to determine the salient tendencies of philosophical Spanish thinking, I could notice two strong currents equally marked. Vives represents the critical aspect and Lull the harmonious element. Vives represents the psychological thought in its experimental aspect, while Lull represents the synthetic and ontological, the bold and courageous identification of the *ordo essendi* and the *ordo cognoscendi*."



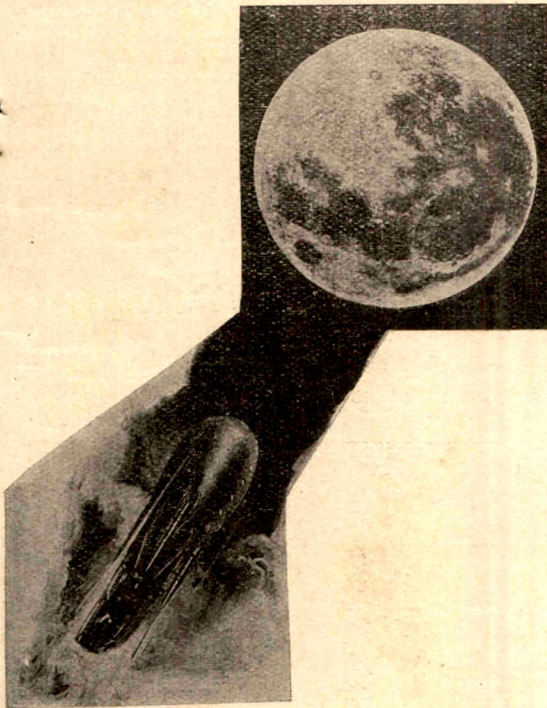
A Kashmiri Girl Husking Paddy  
Woodcut by Mr. Lalitmohan Sen



## GLEANINGS

### A Rocket to the Moon

If the proposed transpolar flight by airship is completed successfully, almost the last unexplored region of the earth will have been charted and mapped. In the restless wanderings of man over this globe only a few square miles have been left untrodden. The eternal spirit of "something lost behind the ranges" has driven men from time immemorial to seek what lies in the unknown regions.



Prof. Goddard's Moon-Rocket

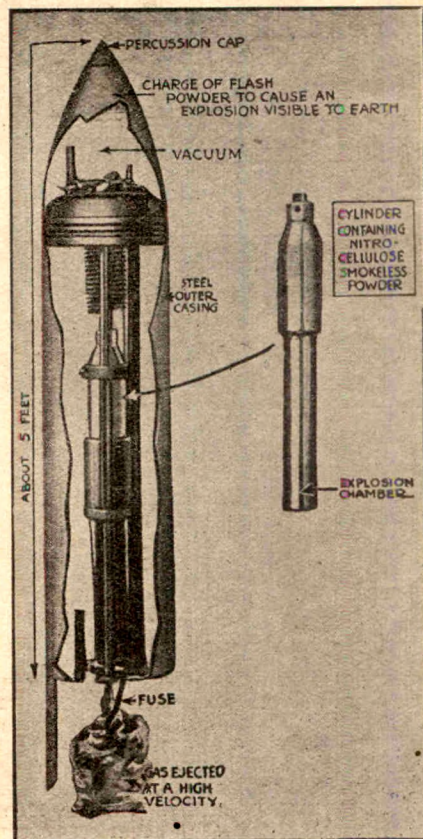
There is a territory not far away, as distances go in space—a territory explored by the eye of man, mapped, named, and described—a territory that, through the powerful eye of the modern telescope, has been brought to within a theoretical distance of 50 miles and yet which, up to the present moment, never has been reached by man. It is the earth's satellite—the moon. Toward this land the eye of the scientist and explorer has been turning hungrily. And today their indomitable spirit, in the person of Professor R. H. Goddard of Clark University, Worcester, Mass., plans to hurl into space a rocket that will bridge the 240,000-mile gap separating us from our nearest heavenly neighbor.

Professor Goddard has given his rocket an initial propelling charge of terrific force, sufficient to generate a speed of 6.6 miles a second, or enough, he says, to hurl the rocket out of the field of the earth's gravity.

To keep the rocket going, he has provided a series of successive charges that, exploding in space, by their reaction drive the rocket ahead. Free of the earth's pull, the rocket will continue till the propelling charges are exhausted—a time long enough, Professor Goddard believes, to bring it well within the gravitational sphere of the moon. Gravitation will do the rest, he says, and the rocket will fall headlong into the midst of the lunar world.

The explosive charge first used by Professor Goddard in his rocket experiments was smokeless powder; but he has recently perfected a method of burning liquid in an atmosphere of pure oxygen, a process said to generate an expansive force many times greater than the original charge.

Nor will the Goddard rocket, if it arrives on the



Prof. Goddard's Rocket to the Moon—Section View



moon, be unseen by earthlings. Its course will be carefully plotted and mapped in advance, and the spot of its ultimate arrival calculated with the utmost nicety. Powerful telescopes will be trained on that spot. In the head of the rocket will be placed a heavy charge of flashlight powder with a contact fuse. The flash of impact should be seen from earth, the inventor believes. And his assumption would seem to be reasonable when we consider that the Woolworth Building, if it were on the moon, could be distinguished by our astronomers' most powerful telescopes.



Professor Robert H. Goddard, Head of the Department of Physics at Clark University, Worcester, Mass., Demonstrating His High-speed Rocket that he Hopes to Shoot to the Moon this Coming Summer

If successful, the Goddard rocket may mark the beginning of an epoch of interplanetary communication. Such a possibility naturally leads to the question, "Is there life on the moon?"

Concerning this subject dispute has long raged. It must be admitted that the advantage of argument lies with the school that holds that the moon has no atmosphere, therefore no life. On the other hand, Professor W. H. Pickering, a noted American astronomer, thinks that there are distinct signs of volcanic activity on the moon's surface. He also believes that he has detected a thin atmosphere—even an occasional light fall of snow. There must be a moisture-retaining soil, he thinks, and life may exist under the most trying conditions.

The temperature of the moon is also a moot point. The practical absence of atmosphere would allow the direct penetration of the sun's rays: but it also would allow direct radiation. The moon may be, during its 14-day "day," either well above the boiling point or far below freezing.

Professor Pickering thinks that life on the moon is probably of a low form of vegetation, existing in hollows where the atmosphere is heaviest.

There is another possibility, hinted at by H. G. Wells, the possibility of a life carried on in vast caverns beneath the moon surface, where the atmosphere would collect in its densest form and where the bitter cold or suffocating heat would be tempered to a bearable degree.

What sort of creatures might be found there? Certainly their life would be far different from ours; for the gravitation of the moon is far less than ours. We could lift enormous weights on the moon; leap 40 feet at a stride, jump 10 or 20 feet into the air. The moon's inhabitants, if such exist, would have excessively developed lungs to live in rarefied atmosphere; their ears would have to be large and sensitive to distinguish sound vibrations transmitted through the thin air.

All this, of course, is entirely in the realm of fantasy. But if Goddard's rocket is successful, before long fantasy may be replaced with scientific facts.

### Three Wire Legs Safeguard the Creeping Baby.

The baby can crawl, but he cannot fall backward if he is wearing this new guard. Three wooden



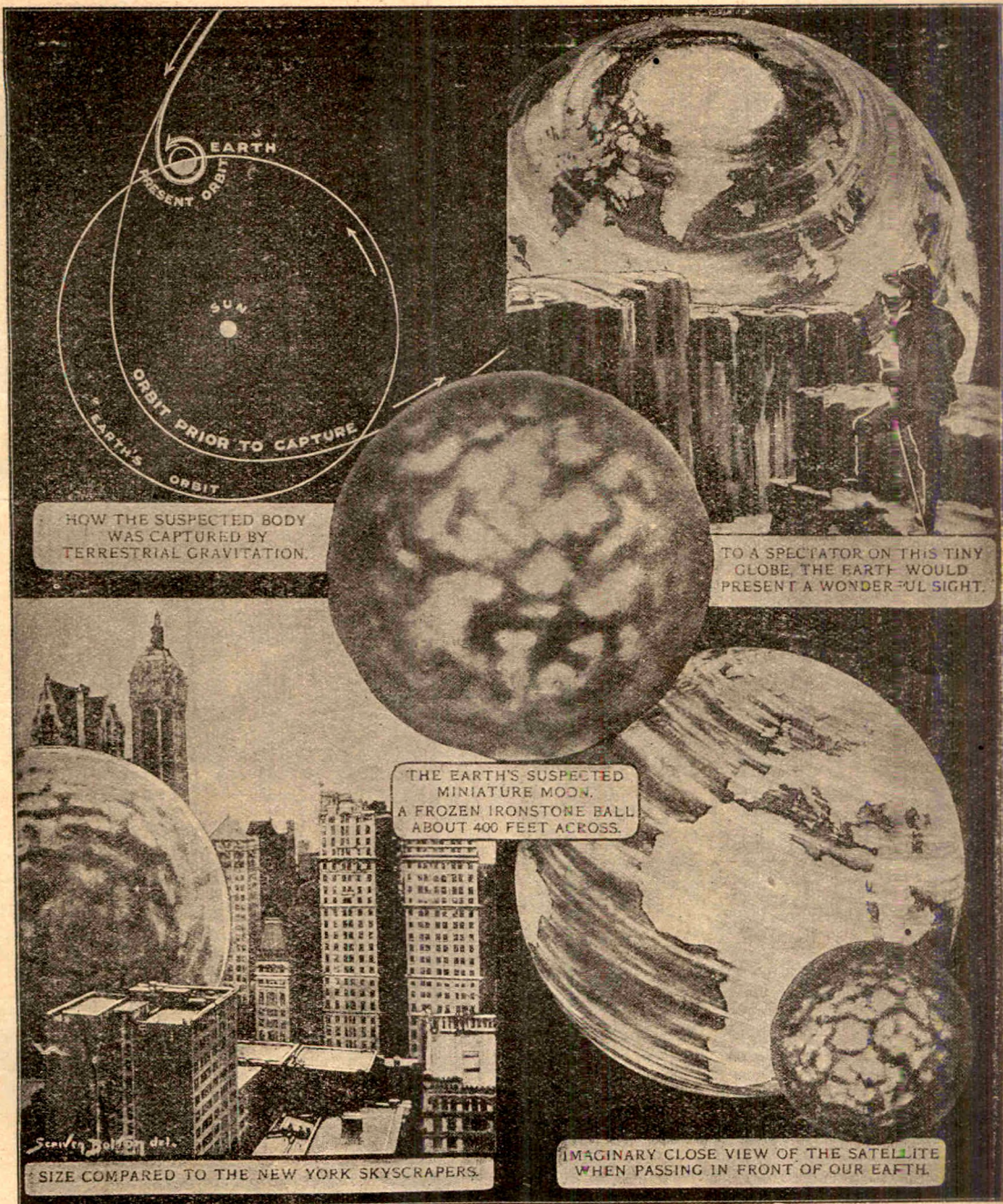
Three Wire Legs Safeguard the Creeping Baby

balls tip three sturdy wire legs that support a padded belt fastened about the baby's body.

### Has Our Earth a Second Moon?

If you are interested in popular astronomy and if you own or have access to a small telescope; you have a good chance to find a suspected second





### Has Our Earth a Second Moon ?

moon to the earth—a comparatively tiny meteoric ironstone ball some four or five hundred feet across, without atmosphere and frozen to the core.

This strange little body, pulled from its course by gravity, is believed to revolve around our earth once every three hours, traveling at a speed of

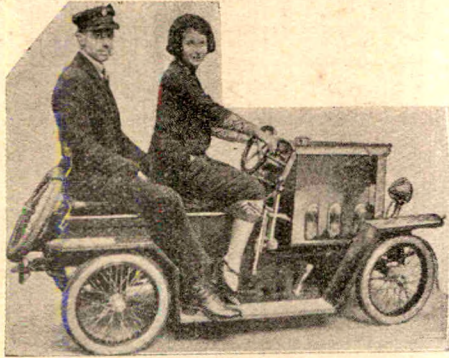
about 3 1/2 miles a second. Its orbit may lie about 2500 miles from the earth's surface.

Reports have been received that such a body has been observed, but these must be substantiated.



### A Midget Car for Two.

It may not look like one, but it's an automobile, even to the self-starter and the spare tire. In fact

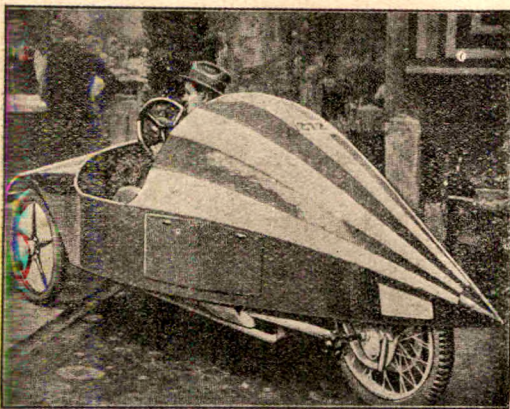


A Midget Car for Two

its German makers claim it has virtually every mechanical feature found on large cars. The upholstered seat carries two.

### Driver Sleeps in Three-Wheel Touring Car.

Narrow roads, crowded hotels, or stormy weather would concern but little the motor traveler touring in this odd three-wheeled car, exhibited at a recent motor carnival in Germany.

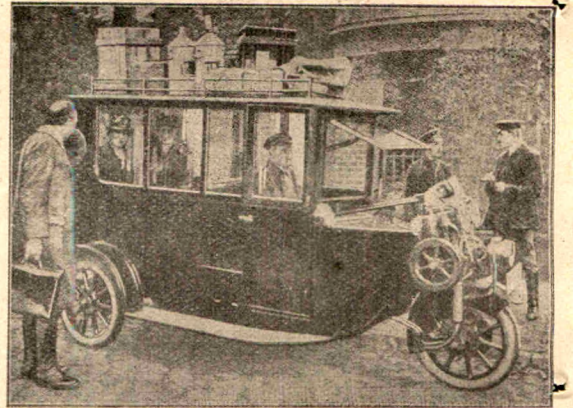


The Streamlined Hood Provides Sleeping Quarters for the Driver

The hood abate the driver provides sleeping accommodations.

### Motorcycles Transformed into Mail Coaches.

To meet the situation created by the suspension of rail services to many parts of Germany, because



Motorcycles Transformed into Mail Coaches

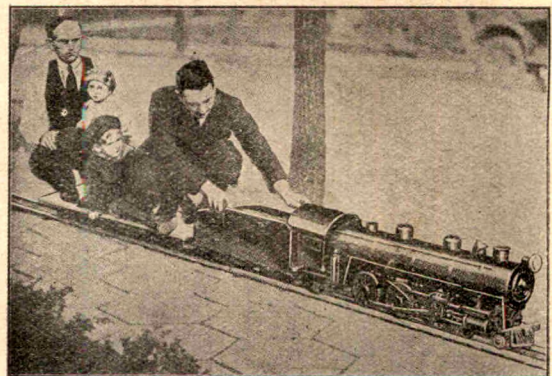
of the coal famine, the German post-office department has made over several hundred motorcycles into odd, three-wheeled cars of the type shown here. Besides carrying mail, they more than support themselves by conveying passengers.

The motorcycle motor, of four cylinders, gives the car a maximum speed of 35 miles.

The car accommodates the driver and five passengers. Mail and packages are carried on the roof in a railed inclosure where they are out of the way of the passengers.

### Four-Foot Locomotive Pulls Four Persons.

A Four-foot locomotive that pulls three or four persons on a tiny flat car was built recently by R. H. Harris, of Atlanta, Ga., to demonstrate a



Mr. Harris' Four-Foot Locomotive Pulls Four Persons



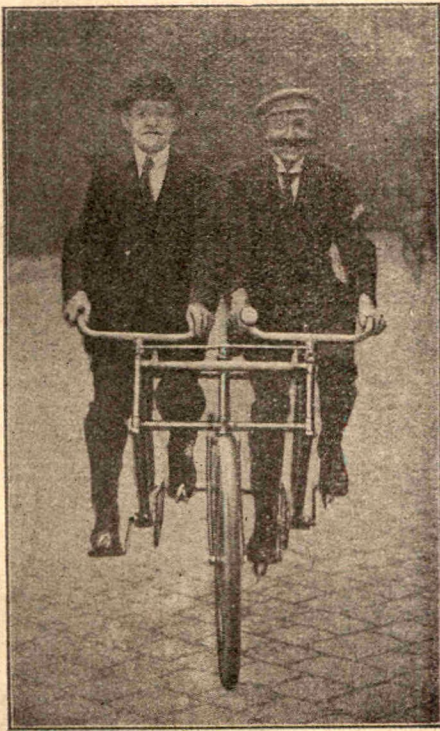
steam valve he had invented. It is said to be the smallest locomotive in the world capable of pulling an adult.

The tender is two feet long and the driving wheels are only six inches high. Under full steam it develops 1 and a half horse-power.

Down to the minutest detail, it is said to be a miniature of the full-sized locomotive.

### Ride Side by Side on Odd Tandem Bicycle.

Mounting this unusual two-seated bicycle is the hardest part of riding it.

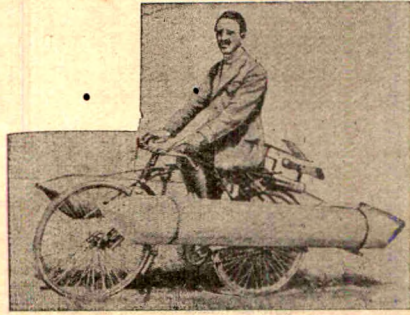


Riding Two Abreast on the Bicycle

Balancing is said to be no more difficult than with the old-style front and rear seat tandem.

### Motor Cycle that Runs in Land and on Water.

A motor bicycle that runs on land or in the water is equipped with pontoons, one on each side. In the water, the pedals drive a small propeller. The handlebars control a rudder back of the rear wheel.



A Motor Bicycle that runs on Land and in the Water—one of the latest oddities in Motor Cars.

### Cane Holds Baby Carriage.

A collapsible baby-carriage attachment for a walking-stick has been devised by an inventive



Carriage Fastened to the Walking-stick

London parent. The wheeled carriage is fastened to the stick by two thumbscrews. When not in use it can be folded flat.



## Motorized Rapid Transit in the Far North.

The march of science into the frozen expanses of the Far North is bringing a new era of rapid communication across the wilderness of snow. Mail planes equipped with landing skis, and swift motorized sleds soon may replace the picturesque dog teams, just as the motor car is replacing the camels of the desert.



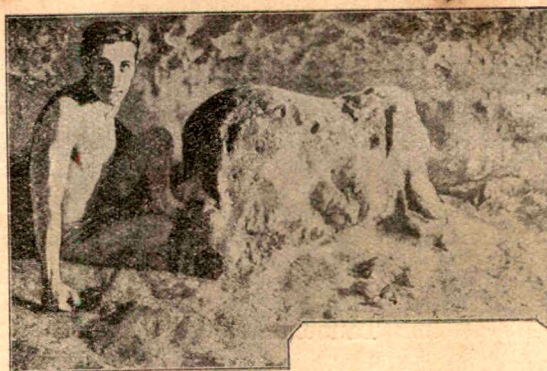
Motorized Sleds in the Far North

At the same time an ingenious motorized sled has made its appearance at Helsingfors, Finland. The machine is propelled by a motorcycle engine belted to a bicycle wheel. The contact of the rubber tire with the snow is said to create sufficient friction to drive the sled forward.

## Swimmer Finds Art and Writing of Cavemen.

In a 1300-foot cavern at the heart of a high, wooded foothill of the Pyrenees, Norbert Casteret, a young French archaeologist, of Toulouse University recently found what are perhaps the most remarkable specimens of prehistoric art ever recovered, estimated to be 25,000 years old.

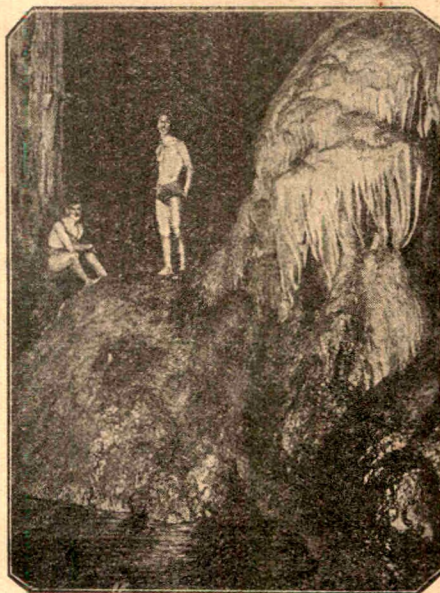
A subterranean stream flows through the cavern, winding through halls and passages that lead back into the bowels of the hill. In many places the roof of the cave dips down into the water, forming a barrier that for centuries has guarded the prehistoric secrets from the curiosity of science. Uncertain as to how long these submerged stretches were, no one ever had had the courage to swim through them.



Norbert Casteret, Young French Swimmer and Scientist, Sitting beside a Prehistoric Model of a Bear discovered by him in a Watery Cave in the Pyrenees

M. Casteret, one of the ablest swimmers in France determined to undertake the submarine journey. Carrying a candle and matches in a rubber case, he plunged into the watery cavern diving deep where the rocky roof descended below the waterline.

After swimming nearly a mile he reached a dry gallery about 250 feet long. On the walls were engravings, made by flint instruments, of prehistoric animals—bison, stags, mammoths, reindeer and wild



A Cavern View

horses. Also there were clay statues of animals, a large one of a bear and some 20 smaller ones, mostly of horses, badly mutilated by the drip of water from overhead.

A clay figure of half of a woman's body and some statues of tigers were found near by. Crude mural engravings, fingerprints, the claw marks of bears and



mysterious, red ochre symbols marked the walls—pre-historic records of inestimable value.

### Your Legs—Yardsticks of Brainpower

If you have a small body and long arms and legs, the chances are that you are highly intelligent and will find success in some kind of brain work.

If you have a large body and short arms and legs, brain work probably is not your forte, and you would do best to follow some manual trade, or at least a line of work requiring steadiness and accuracy rather than quickness of mind.

If you are of a normal type—that is, if your limbs are not disproportionately long or short in comparison with the size of your body—you may be either intelligent or unintelligent. Whether you are suited for brain work or manual labor cannot be told accurately from your bodily measurements.

These in effect are the conclusions science has reached as a result of the latest investigations in the field of physiological psychology. You will notice that it is not stated that intelligence is an attribute of only small-bodied, long-limbed men. One of the most brilliant men a scientist of international reputation is squat and short-legged, and probably would be working as a day laborer if the classification given above held true in all cases.

On these pages are pictured the four Americans



Henry Ford

*Long-legged, Short-bodied Type of Man*



Orville Wright

*Long-legged, Short-bodied type*

recently selected by President M. L. Burton of the University of Michigan as the outstanding men of the twentieth century. Two of them—Henry Ford and Orville Wright—belong to the long-legged, short-bodied type of man, a type which, according to the new theory explained by Doctor Garrett in the accompanying article, indicates high intelligence. The other two—Thomas Edison and Theodore Roosevelt—belong to the normal type, midway between the long-legged and the short-legged types. Note that the short-legged type, said to indicate low intelligence, is not represented.

This relationship between bodily proportions and intelligence cannot, of course, be merely accidental. There must be some scientific reason for it. Viola, an Italian scientist, offers the opinion that the man with the small body and long legs has advanced further in the scale of evolution than the normal man or the man with long body and short legs, just as the animals we know today show in their bodily conformation and abundant brain capacity an advance over the huge, unwieldy, short-legged prehistoric monsters.

Persons whose thyroid glands are active usually

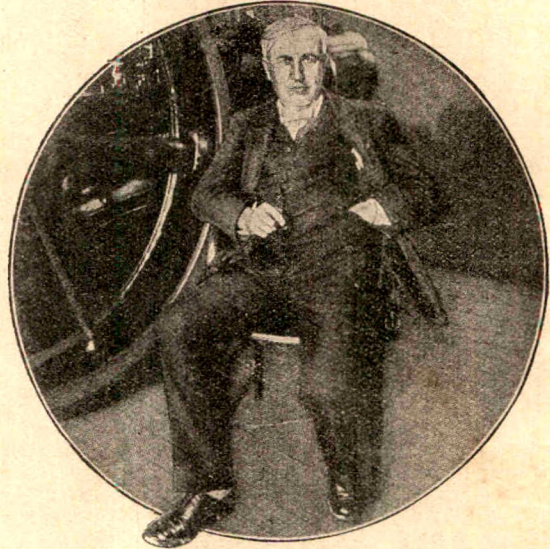




Theodore Roosevelt  
*Normal type*

To find whether you belong to the long-legged, short-legged or normal type of man, first measure the volume of your trunk, dividing it in three sections:

1. Measure length of chest bone, depth of chest, and width between armpits. Multiply dimensions.
2. Measure from chest bone to end of ribs, width and depth of middle chest. Multiply dimensions.



Thomas Edison  
*Normal Type*

3. Measure from end of ribs to hip bone, width depth of waist. Multiply dimensions.

Add these three volumes to obtain total volume of trunk. Now measure the length of one arm and one leg.

Divide combined length of arm and leg by total volume of trunk. The result will give a fraction—your "morphologic index." If this is between '035 and '022, you belong to the short-legged type; if between '035 and '048, to the long-legged type. Normal is about '035.

will be of the small-bodied, long-legged type. They are likely to be alert and active, to have a vivid imagination and a good memory. Sometimes they are excitable, and, if their thyroids are overactive, they often are dreamers and theorists, rather than doers.

The large-bodied, short-legged man, on the other hand, is likely to have a thyroid gland that is not especially active. Though he often has greater endurance than the man with small body and long limbs, he is slower mentally and physically. This type often makes the cautious hard-headed businessman the doer rather than the thinker or dreamer.

### In Armor of Nails, Hunter Will Battle Wolves

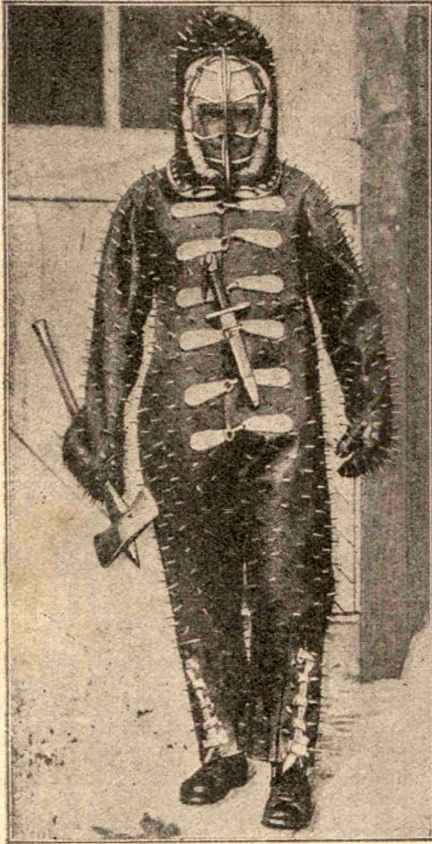
Enveloped from head to feet in a suit of armor spiked with a thousand nail points, Stanley Carlson, of St. Paul, Minn., is venturing into the wilds of northern Ontario to meet and conquer hungry wolf packs in hand-to-hand combat.

It consists of a cowhide suit through which more than 1000 nails have been driven with their points projecting outward; helmet and gloves with similar spikes, and a wire mask, resembling that of a fencer. The armor weighs only 27 pounds.



### Will You Be Able to Do This When You Are 70?

At the age of 70, Tom Onzo, nationally famous walker and speciality acrobat, still can scratch the top of his head with the toe of his shoe. He formerly was with Ringling Brothers' circus and also was a vaudeville performer.



The Wolf Hunter in his Nail Armour



Old Tom Onzo's Feat

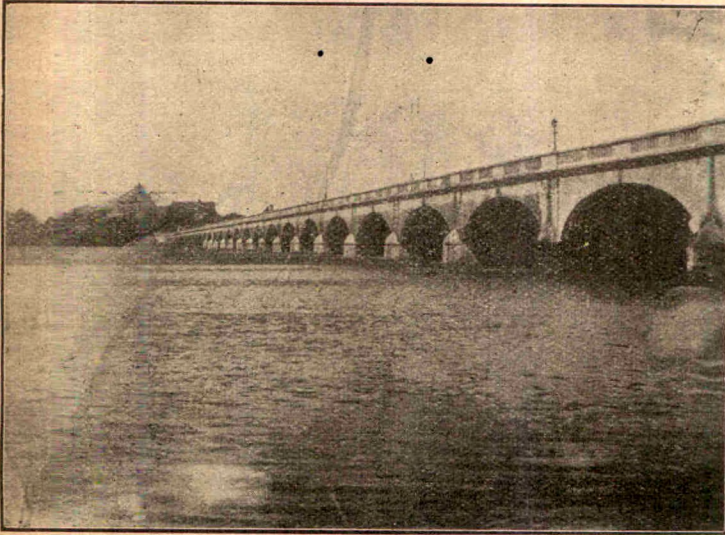
## SOME INTERESTING FEATURES OF TRICHINOPOLY

**T**RICHINOPOLY, a famous ancient town on the south bank of the river Cauvery, possesses some attractive features of scenic, historic and archaeological interest. There is a rock in the centre of the town, which rises abruptly to a height of 273 feet above the level of the streets at its foot, and is a source of great pride to the pious Hindu and a veritable cynosure of the pleasure-seeking tourist. On the top of the rock is a small temple dedicated to the god Ganesa, surrounded by a gallery which commands an admirable view of the whole town, of the river Cauvery, of the tall towers or gopurams of Srirangam and

Jambukeswaram and of the French Golden and Sugar-loaf Rocks and other historical places of importance. It is from this gallery that the English observed the movements of the enemy during the sieges of the town by the French in 1751-54.

On the right side of the ascent to the Pilliar Pagoda, there is the bell-tower, a fine strong work of masonry with a bell weighing 2 1/2 tons and measuring 4 ft. high and 4 ft. in diameter at the base. The bell is rung six times a day at fixed hours, synchronising approximately with the hours of worship at the temple of Matrubhooteswar.





River Cauvery and the Bridge at Trichinopoly

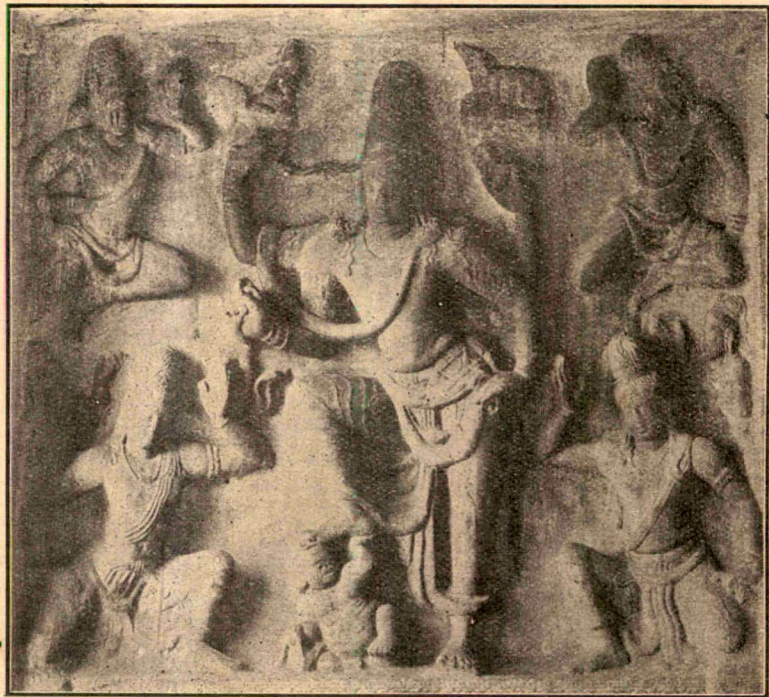
That the place has played an important part in history from the earliest times, is evident from some of the ancient buildings and inscriptions in the rock-cut cave temples. Half-way up the rock can be seen a cave temple facing exactly south and commanding a view of the bazaar road. It is supposed to have been excavated by the Pallava King Mahendra Vikrama Varma of the seventh century. His workmen excavated the sides of hills leaving portions standing as pillars, carving on the walls statues in bas-relief, or high-relief or in the round, and the image for worship. There is a hall about 20 cubits in length, 10 cubits in width and 6 cubits in height with shrines, a square room to the east of it facing west. There must have been a phallic emblem inside it. In a niche on each side of the entrance into the shrine a Dvarapala or door-keeper is carved.

On the west of the hall there is a fine group of statues. The central figure is Siva with four arms, having four Rishis kneeling

about him and two gandharvas with hands raised about him. Besides these there is carved on the wall a Sanskrit inscription of considerable literary merit which eulogises the beauties of the Cauvery and of the Siva temple and of his own glories. This cave temple was used as a Magazine by the English during the siege.

There is another cave temple just below the Siva temple at the foot for the south-west corner of the rock. It is also very much of the same form as the one already described, with various statues and pillars cut out of the rock.

During the reign of the Naicks, Trichinopoly was their important capital for some time. There is the 'Prestons Battery', the only part that is preserved of the double wall of fortifications said to have been constructed by the King Viswanatha Naick, the founder of the Naick dynasty. One of his



Group Statuary in the Upper Cave Temple at Trichinopoly

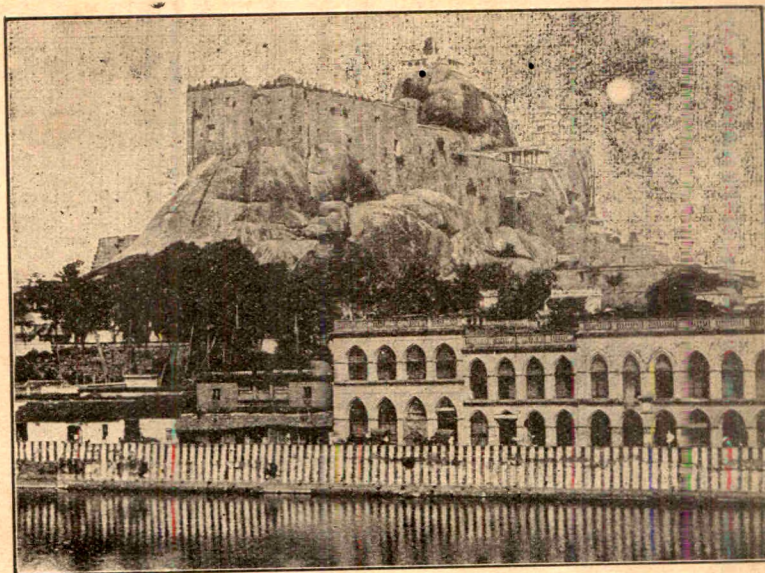


successors, Cholla Naick (1662-82), erected the building known as the Nawab's palace, a portion of which was used as the audience hall by Rani Mangammal. It is said that he brought down the necessary materials for its construction by demolishing portions of Tirumala Naick's palace at Madura. It is a fine massive structure surmounted by an octagonal dome and colonnades all round. There are other palatial buildings of Oriental architecture and of strong masonry in which some of the public offices are now located.

In front of the Nawab's palace is the Coronation Garden with the Wenlock Fountain within, which was founded to celebrate the coronation of His Majesty King Edward VII. It contains various flower-bearing plants and trees whose picturesque and refreshing verdure enhances the beauty of the surrounding scenery. Near the Trichinopoly Fort Railway Station one can see a big dome-shaped building said to have been constructed by Chanda Sahib. This is the Mausoleum of Nathar Shah Aulia, a saint believed to have come from Constantinople years ago, and contains the tombs of Chanda Sahib and Mahammad Ali. It seems that the building had once been a Siva temple which was converted into a Mosque, the head of a phallic emblem being made to serve as a lamp-post and the Mandapam at the entrance being left in its original state.

The town is one of the great educational centres in the Madras Presidency and contains two first-grade colleges and one second-grade college, the former under the Protestant and the Roman Catholic Jesuit Missions respectively and the latter an indigenous institution maintained from endowments and public funds. It has besides these, high schools and other Secondary, Primary and Training Schools educating in all more than 10,000 youths of the locality.

Far to the south of the town one can find



The Trichinopoly Rock Fort

a number of buildings under construction near the Golden Rock where the South Indian Railway Company has arranged to locate the Railway Workshops which are now at Negapatam. The wide arid waste has been neatly laid out and spotted with a number of strong buildings enclosed by a compound wall. It promises to be a miniature town within a few years.

A few words about the busy commerce of the place will not be out of place here. This town occupies a central position and is the emporium of all kinds of commodities produced and manufactured in and around the place. The extent of the large volume of export and import trade can be readily gauged from the bustling traffic in and near the Fort Market and at the Railway Goods Stations.

These are some of the interesting features of Trichinopoly, and I have carefully avoided mentioning the legendary stories regarding the origin of the name Thayumanavar, the Uchi-Pillaiyar and the Vibhishanarpadam, as they might not interest people in this rationalistic age. But to the pious Hindu, the Mathurbhutheswarasami Temple, the Srirangan and Jambukeswaram temples are sacred places of pilgrimage attracting many devotees from all parts of India.

L. N. GUBIL SUNDARESAN.



# THE AKALI REFORM MOVEMENT

BY "PUNDIT."

WHO ARE THE AKALIS ?

**W**HO are the egregious Akalis adored by many, dreaded by some and hated by others? They are the fearless men who carry their life in the hollow of their hands and dedicate themselves to the protection of temples and the preservation of their faith. Brought into being by Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Guru, they are characterised by his fierce zeal for reform, his sturdy spirit of independence and his readiness to court sufferings. In the eyes of some they are men of misguided zeal but in the eyes of others, they are heroes who undergo persecution for their religion, martyrs who invite death in the cause of truth and reformers who wish to clean the Augean Stables of their faith. They march in military formation, and wear "Kirpans" (swords) and this gives them the appearance of warriors or "armed bands." They are not a sect apart from other Sikhs but they are distinguished from them by their greater religious fervour, their more active sympathy with the Panth and their willingness to sacrifice themselves for the cause which they hold dear to their hearts. In fact, they might take the following lines of Henley for their motto:—

"Out of the night that covers me,  
Black as the pit from pole to pole,  
I thank whatever gods may be,  
For my unconquerable soul.  
In the fell clutch of circumstance  
I have not winced nor cried aloud.  
Under the bludgeonings of chance  
My head is bloody, but unbowed."

"Unconquerable soul" that describes them better than anything else. They cherish the five Kakkas as a soldier cherishes the colours of his regiment or as a Christian cherishes the Cross. Kesh (long hair), Kanga (comb), Kara (iron bracelet), Kachh (drawers), and Kirpan (sword)—these are the five symbols of the Sikh faith and these are always found on the person of an Akali. Over and above these, he puts on a black turban, but this does not betoken sadness or gloom and is not a symbol of mourning. On the other hand, it shows that the wearer of it has conquered death and is ready to immolate himself at any time for his Panth. A peculiar dialect is fashion-

able with the Akalis which shows their light-heartedness and their courage. This dialect is the index of their frame of mind: their immense faith in themselves, their determination to look always at the bright side of things, and their joy in glorification of the ordinary things of life, their resolve not to be daunted by any physical disability or privations and their hearty desire to have things done. An Akali regards himself equal to a lakh and a quarter, and parched grams are almonds in his eyes; a peasant's thatched hut is his crystal palace and blind man is to



S. Kharak Singh, B.A., LL. B., Reis., Sialkot

him the bright-eyed. Thus he possesses high spirits and whistles under difficulties. But he is, above all, obedient to his leader and amenable to discipline. Even in these degenerate days when obedience is a virtue conspicuous by its absence, people have seen the Akalis face the heaviest odds in obedience to the commands of their leader. They are not much



educated but their faith is strong, their devotion unbounded and their discipline strict. Whenever the existence of the Panth is threatened or the effecting of a reform is necessary, the Akalis come to the rescue. They are really the "armed guardians" of Sikhism, as Cunningham calls them.

#### THE GENESIS OF THE PRESENT MOVEMENT

But what are the causes of the Akali Reform movement in the Punjab that is hanging like a dark shadow over the province? It is not possible to enter into details here, but the most important causes may be briefly indicated. Just like the Christians, the Sikhs have a trinity of their own; they worship the three G's—the Gurus, the Guru Granth Sahib, and the Gurdwaras. The Gurdwaras (Holy Temples) were founded by the Sikh-Gurus and have ever remained centres of the social, religious and political life of the Sikhs. The Granth Sahib (the Sacred Book) is installed in every one of them and it is the religious duty of all Sikhs to visit the Gurdwara every day, read the Holy Book and sing hymns. Thus the Gurdwaras preserve all that is noblest and holiest in the faith and take an active share in conserving as well as propagating it. They exercise much influence over the congregation and their disintegration is dreaded very much. What the Church was in the Middle Ages to the Christians, the Gurdwara is to the Sikhs—the dominating influence for good in their lives. But all things are subject to decay and corruption and the holy temples of the Sikhs were not exceptions to this rule. They had fallen into the hands of Udasi priests who had become venal, corrupt vicious. Instead of thinking themselves to be the trustees of the temples and holding themselves responsible to the Panth, they began to regard the temples as their inherited property and treated the congregations with contempt. Some of them were bad characters and were addicted to wine and women. They kept mistresses, used liquors and intoxicating drugs, domesticated birds, associated with low company, spent their time in gambling and took no heed of their religious duties. It is alleged that nautch parties were sometimes held in the precincts of some of the temples and Sikh ceremonies and rituals were at discount there. The deplorable condition of their temples filled the Sikhs with indignation and they vowed to reform them and appoint those men as their custodians who should be men of unimpeachable character, have faith in the Sikh scriptures and rituals and think

themselves to be responsible to the Panth. The temples were a source of revenue derived from the offerings of the pilgrims and the landed estates attached to many of them. Instead of using this revenue for philanthropic purposes, such as running a free kitchen where all were welcome to dine, the priests were squandering it on their carnal pleasures and in the upkeep of their mistresses, and this was gall and wormwood to the soul of the Sikhs. Hence they attempted an organised revolt against the priest-craft.



S. E. Sardar Mehtab Singh, Bar-at-Law

#### MUTTERINGS OF THE STORM

However, it is not to be believed that the movement was so comprehensive in its aim in the beginning. Its beginnings were humble, though it has assumed huge proportions and a threatening aspect at present. What is now a



black cloud on the horizon of the Punjab was only a speck, a dot in the beginning and before the Akalis fought some pitched battles, they had many skirmishes. The spirit of reform engendered by the Nirankaris and the Namdharis, two puritan movements aiming at reviving the old religious fervour of the Sikhs, manifested itself in many ways. This was the beginning of the Sikh awakening and the Sikhs concentrated their attention on asserting the rights of the Punjabee as the vernacular of the Punjab, removing the curse of untouchability, founding reform leagues such as the Khalsa Diwan and educational centres such as the Khalsa College. But soon this spirit of peaceful reform was turned into the spirit of aggressive reform. The public-spirited Sikhs liked to rid the Khalsa College of official control, but the Government would have none of them. This sowed discontent in the minds of the loyal Sikhs, which was further intensified by the happenings which came in rapid succession one after another. The Rikab Ganj affair was the spark that set fire to the spirit of revolt. Rikab Ganj is a Gurdwara in Delhi built on the site where the body of Guru Tegh Bahadur was cremated. It was proposed by the Government to demolish its enclosure wall but the Sikhs protested against it. An agitation was set on foot and the result was that the Government made a compromise with the Khalsa Diwan, Delhi, not to touch that wall. The Sikhs further insisted that the portion of the wall which had been demolished should be restored by the Government. S. Sardul Singh Caveissieur, one of the pioneers of the movement, appealed to the Sikhs to gather a band of 100 volunteers who should rebuild the wall with their own hands. The suggestion was much appreciated and it is said that about 1000 young men and women volunteered themselves for the purpose. However, before they had moved in the matter, the Government restored the wall and avoided the friction. This was the first triumph for the Akalis and it heartened and encouraged them as nothing else had done before. They saw the potentialities of organised public opinion and turned their attention to the nationalisation of the management of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, and that of the Golden Temple. They tried several methods to effect reform but all of them were of no avail. They tried to boycott the Gurdwaras whose priests were charged with negligence of their duties, but this did not affect the priests in the least. Many of them had hoarded wealth and this made them independent of the offer-

ings of the Shrine. Pressure of public opinion also did not prove effective, while litigation with its tortuous methods, proverbial delays and heavy outlay proved ruinous for the reforming party, whose means were slender and who could not give battle to the priests with all their wealth and the privileges and immunities which wealth can buy. To take only one case out of many, we may refer to the Gurdwara of Babe-di-Ber at Sialkote. A case was started against the Mahant, but it hung fire for a long time. In the meantime complaints against the Mahants began to pour in from all directions from Kabul, Benares, Patiala, Kapurthala, Dacca, Assam, Kartarpur. The Sikhs tried their level best and the Chief Khalsa Diwan formed a Sub-Committee for the reform of the Gurdwaras, but it was too weak to cope with the situation. Soon the Golden Temple became the storm-centre. The Golden Temple at Amritsar with the Holy Tank is the central place of worship for all Sikhs and it was the sore and long-standing grievance of the Sikh Community, that its administration was not in the hands of the Panth but was entrusted to a Government nominee. Some time back a Committee of nine Sikhs with a president or Sarbrah nominated by the Government was appointed to manage the affairs of the Golden Temple but soon the Committee was dropped and the control was vested in the Sarbrah who looked up to the Deputy Commissioner for instructions. The Sikhs smarted with indignation at this and urged that the Sarbrah should be elected by the Panth and not nominated by the Government. The Government was aware of the storm that was brewing and said in a communique of July 14, 1920,

"The question of management of the Golden Temple at Amritsar has been under the consideration of Government for some time. It has been decided to defer the action until the Reforms Scheme has been brought into operation. The elected representatives of Sikh constituencies will then be consulted as to any changes which may be contemplated."

But with the boycott of Councils in the air and with the Komagata Maru affair still fresh in the minds of the Sikhs, they did not set much store by this communique. They held protest meetings and passed resolutions against the Sarbrah who had presented a robe of honour to the far-famed General Dyer in the days of Martial Law. They demanded his resignation and threatened that they would carry the Manager's effigy as in a regular funeral. This unnerved him and he came to



the Sikhs and begged with folded hands to be forgiven, since he had resigned. After this the management was entrusted to a committee of nine Sikhs, all reformers, with the Sarbrah at their head, but soon it was taken over by Shiromoni Gurdwara Prabhandak Committee.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE S. G. P. C.—A LAND-MARK

Thus the battle over the Golden Temple was fought and won. After this a general assembly of the Sikhs was convened on 15th November, 1920, in front of the Akal Takht to elect a representative committee of the Panth to control the Golden Temple and all other Gurdwaras. Delegates were invited from different places and all were required to possess some qualifications. Each was to be a baptised Sikh—one who read the scriptures regularly, possessed the five K's, was an early riser and devoted 1-10th of his income for the Panthic cause. They formed a Committee of 175 members to control all the temples and included the 36 members who had been appointed by the Government to administer the affairs of the Golden Temple. The S. G. P. C. was registered on 30th April, 1921 and four-fifths of its members were to be elected by different constituencies in the Punjab. Every initiated Sikh who was not less than 21 years old and observed the rules of conduct laid down in the Sikh scriptures was given a vote, if he paid a fee of four annas. A Working Committee of 7 members was appointed and local committees for some of the Gurdwaras were also formed. Sardar Kharak Singh, B.A., LL.B., of Sialkote, a man of uncalculating generosity, of immense capacity for suffering, and of great power for organisation and S. B. Mehtab Singh, Bar-at-Law, late Public Prosecutor, were its president and secretary respectively. The S. G. P. C. was thus the accredited representative committee of the Sikhs and it has wielded an authority over them such as no other organisation has enjoyed. The Sikhs have left their ploughs and their shops whenever it has summoned them for the service of the Panth. Its clock-like regularity, its management of grave situations, the way in which it has kept up the enthusiasm of the people, the reforms which it has introduced in the Gurdwaras under its control have all been a marvel to the people. Many times threatened with extinction, it has survived all such shocks and is a compact, alert, vigorous and living organisation still. Its members are wedded to Gurdwara reform and their methods are avowedly non-violent.

#### THE TARAN TARAN AND NANKANA TRAGEDIES

The S. G. P. C. entered upon its labour of love with all the vigour and zeal which God has bestowed upon the Sikhs so lavishly and generously and many Gurdwaras were rid of priestly domination and affiliated to it. Yet this was not an easy and peaceful affair. The S.G.P.C. was not in the lucky position of Julius Caesar and it could not say with the Conqueror 'I came, I saw, I conquered.' Many dire battles were fought against the vested interests and heavy sacrifices made. At Taran Taran the priests put the reforming Akalis to much trouble and beat them. But the Taran Taran incident pales into insignificance when compared with Nankana Sahib Tragedy. Nankana Sahib is the birth-place of Guru Nanak and here are to be found the tree where he took shelter after he had distributed his father's money amongst the poor, the place where Guru Gobind Singh had tied his horse, and another place where Guru Nanak had learnt his lessons. This is one of the most sacred temples for the Sikhs and is visited every year by thousands of devout Sikhs. Its income runs into lakhs and it has many Jagirs attached to it. Its control was vested in the hands of an Udasi Mahant, Narain Das, who did not possess good character and was to prove himself a monster of cruelty. It was proposed by the S. G. P. C. to hold a Diwan there and call upon the Mahant to reform himself. The Mahant got scent of this and collected desperadoes and stored fire-arms, battle-axes, lathis and kerosene oil to fight the Akalis. It is said that some of the Akalis while they were in their act of devotion before the Holy Scriptures were murdered in cold blood and burnt after being soaked in kerosene oil. The murdered Akalis were hailed as martyrs and the following words were added to the standard Sikh prayer:—

"Those who, to purge the temples of the long-standing evils, suffered themselves to be shot, cut up, burnt alive with kerosene oil, but did not make any resistance or utter even a sigh of complaint:—think of their patient faith and call on God."

#### THE GURDWARA BILL

So far the Government had remained neutral but the Nankana Tragedy alarmed it and it appointed a Committee of Enquiry to consider the existing management of Sikh Gurdwaras and Shrines. The Gurdwara Bill was passed with the help of Moslem

members, but it was wholly unacceptable to the Sikhs. In fact, Sardar Mahtab Singh, a leader of the Akalis, spoke as follows at a Diwan held at Lahore, "I would ask the Government not to make a second mistake by passing the Gurdwara Bill. As long as the Sikhs have got beards on their faces, the Gurdwara Bill, if passed without the consent of the Gurdwara Prabhandak Committee, would certainly become a second Rowlatt Act. No bill whatever can be acceptable to the Sikhs as long as the leaders of the Khalsa are in humiliation". This was not merely a threat but the Sikhs meant what they said and they stuck to their words. The Government was in a predicament, for it wished to give the Akalis their due without being unjust to the custodians of temples. This was very difficult, and hence the bill widened the gulf between the Akalis and the Government who were determined to fight the thing out. Hence the S. G. P. C. adopted a truculent attitude. Seeing that many Sikhs were arrested in connection with Gurdwara reform and were rotting in Jails, the S. G. P. C. passed a resolution of non-co-operation with the Government and asked the Sikh members of the provincial council to resign their seats.

#### THE KEYS AFFAIR

While the things were in such a state of ferment, a Government official demanded the keys of the Golden Temple from the President of the local Gurdwara Committee. The Government issued a communique in which it expressed its desire to "divest itself by legal process of the control which by long practice it had exercised over the affairs of the Darbar Sahib of Amritsar". This was a challenge thrown to the Sikhs and gladly they accepted it. They held protest meetings where fervid speeches were delivered calling upon the Sikhs to defend the honour of their faith. The Government applied the Seditious Meetings Act to some districts, but this did not damp the ardour of the Sikhs nor stemmed the torrents of their soul-stirring eloquence. The result was that many Sikhs were arrested and put in prisons. The Sikhs also retaliated by boycotting the visit of the Prince of Wales and gave it out that they would never accept the keys unless all the Sikhs arrested in connection with the keys were released. At this time the repression was in full swing but the enthusiasm of the Sikhs also ran high. Soon the Government

released the Sikh prisoners and S. Kharak Singh received the bunch of keys wrapped in red cloth amidst the shouts of Sat Sri Akal, the battle-cry of the Akalis.

There was no love lost between the Akalis and the Government and the Akalis were being harassed everywhere. The Kirpan (swords) was the burning topic of the day and its length was a much debated question. On the top of it all came Guru-Ka-Bagh affair where the Akalis were beaten for chopping wood from a grove which they thought to be the property of the Gurdwara but which the Mahant claimed as his own. The Guru-Ka-Bagh affair excited lively enthusiasm everywhere and men like Pandit Malaviya, Mr. Andrews and others came to witness the beating administered to the Sikhs. Mr. Andrews wrote:

"When I reached the Gurdwara itself, I was struck at once by the absence of excitement such as I had not expected to find among so great a crowd of people.... What was happening to them was truly, in some dim way, a crucifixion.... I saw with my own eyes one of these Police kick in the stomach a Sikh who stood hopelessly before him."

The Government was in a tight hole, when Sir Ganga Ram came to the rescue. He took the land of the Gurdwara on lease from the Mahant and told the Government that he did not require the Policemen for his protection. Thus ended the Guru-Ka-Bagh affair, a fateful chapter in the history of the Akalis which marked the time when the sympathy of the non-Akalis was greatest for the struggle of the Sikhs.

#### THE JAITO AFFAIR

Thus the Akali became a name to conjure with everywhere. His boundless zeal, his indifference to persecution and even to imprisonment and his capacity for suffering became proverbial. He gave the Government battle and shrank from no consequences. The Akalis courted imprisonment and filled the prisons. The Abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha was like a rock thrown in the Sikh waters. It created universal excitement and the Akalis wanted to hold a religious Diwan in the Nabha territory which was forbidden. Ever since that time, bands of 25 Akalis go to Nabha every day after taking the vow of non-violence before the Akal Takht (Immortal Throne). Six Shahidi Jathas of five hundred each have already been sent there and the work is still proceeding with the regularity of a clock.

## THE CONCLUSION

We have outlined the story of the Akalis for the freedom of their shrines. The Akali movement has had a chequered career, but it has had its own lessons. It has shown the power of public opinion and the advantages that are to be derived from a compact organisation and the readiness to suffer for a noble cause. There was a time when the Akalis had won the sympathy of all—Hindus and Mohammedans alike, but now they have alienated the sympathies of the Hindus and the Muhammedans to some extent. In spite of the Akalis' insistence on non-violence, it is urged that they have not refrained from using force on some occasions. Moreover, it is held by some people that they are taking possession of shrines which belong to the Hindus and are dispossessing the proper owners. The Government is also suspicious of them, because it believes that in spite of their alleged freedom from any political motives in their present struggle, their zeal for political power is masquerading as religious zeal.\* Held in the highest estimation by some,

\*To prove this they point to the doings of the Babbar Akalis who brought about a reign of terror in some places by their anarchistic methods.

they are regarded as fanatics by others. We have admiration for them and sympathise with their object so long as they pursue it by peaceful means and confine their attention to the reformation of Gurdwaras which are their own. The Akali problem still defies solution. In spite of the efforts of the retiring governor of the Punjab, no way has as yet been found out of the difficulty. The Akalis will not think of any compromise unless the S. G. P. C. leaders are released and an acceptable Gurdwara Bill vesting the possession of the Gurdwaras in the S. G. P. C. is formulated. They also demand the freedom of worship at Jaito and wish that the abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha should be proved to be voluntary. The unconditional release of all prisoners and the recognition of the S. G. P. C. as a representative body of the Sikhs are also urged as part of the Akali demands. There seems to be yet no way out of the wood. In the meantime, the Akalis have not yet reached the end of their tether. Persecution has only stiffened their opposition and imprisonment has only steeled their will to win. They know no half-way and would not like to abate their demands by one jot. The future is unknown, but the problem is knotty and complicated and requires delicate handling.

## THE LEGACY OF GREECE.\*

"THIS book (as the Editor explains in the Preface)—the first of its kind in English—aims at giving some idea of what the world owes to Greece in various realms of the spirit and the intellect, and of what it can still learn from her."

The object which the Editor set before him has been amply fulfilled. Each of the essays is written by a scholar who may be considered as an authority on the special topic selected by him, and the output is a volume which is most instructive and interesting. Some of them have a distinction of style which is rare in a book of antiquities.

Professor Gilbert Murray leads off with the essay on *The Value of Greece to the Future of the World*, and strikes the keynote of the volume in the opening paragraphs. We can give only the barest outline of his views. Professor Murray says,

"In looking back upon any vital and significant age of the past, we shall find objects of two kinds—first, there will be things like the Venus of Milo or the Book of Job or Plato's *Republic*, which are interesting and precious in themselves, because of their own inherent qualities; secondly, there will be things like the Roman Code of the Twelve Tables or the invention of the printing-press or the record of certain great battles, which are interesting chiefly because they are causes of other and greater things or form knots in the great web of history—the first having artistic interest, the second only historical interest, though, of course, it is obvious that in any concrete case there is generally a mixture of both. Now ancient Greece is important in both ways. For the artist or poet it has in a quite extraordinary degree the quality of beauty."

\* *The Legacy of Greece*: a collection of twelve essays, edited by R. W. Livingstone, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 1921. pp. xii & 424. 7s-6d nett.



The historical interest is not touched upon in this essay.

There is a growing tendency among European scholars of the present generation to deny that Greece was largely indebted to foreign, that is, Egyptian and Asiatic civilisations. Most of the writers of this volume are staunch defenders of the originality of the Greek mind; some of them seem to suffer from a mild attack of furor Hellenicus. The following extracts from Professor Murray's essay will set many an Indian reader musing:

"It seems quite clear that the Greeks owed exceedingly little to foreign influence. Even in their decay they were a race, as Professor Bury observes, accustomed 'to take, little and to give much.' They built up their civilisation for themselves. We must listen with due attention to the critics who have pointed out all the remnants of savagery and superstition that they find in Greece: the slave-driver, the fetish-worshipper and the medicine-man, the trampler on women, the blood-thirsty hater of all outside his own town and party. But it is not those people that constitute Greece; those people can be found all over the historical world, commoner than blackberries. It is not anything fixed and stationary that constitutes Greece: what constitutes Greece is the movement which leads from all these to the stoic or fifth century 'sophist' who condemns and denies slavery, who has abolished all cruel superstitions and preaches some religion based on philosophy and humanity, who claims for women the same spiritual right as for man, who looks on all human creatures as his brethren, and the world as 'one great city of gods and men.' It is that movement which you will not find elsewhere, any more than the statues of Phœdrias, the dialogues of Plato or the poems of Aeschylus and Euripides." (p. 15)

The writer does not forget to point out the transience of the brilliant efflorescence of Greek civilisation.

"From all this two or three results follow. For one thing, being built up so swiftly, by such keen effort, and from so low a starting-point, Greek civilisation was, amid all its glory, curiously unstable and full of flaws."

Here are a few words about its freshness:

"Again the near neighbourhood of the savage gives to the Greek mind certain qualities which we of the safer and solidier civilisations would give a great deal to possess. It springs swift and straight. It is never jaded. Its wonder and interest about the world are fresh. \*\* Lastly to an extraordinary degree it starts clean from nature with almost no entanglement of elaborate creeds and customs and traditions."

Professor Murray thus sums up his conclusions:—

"In this essay we have been concerned almost entirely with the artistic interest of Greece. It would be equally possible to dwell on the historical interest. Then we should find that, for that branch of mankind which is responsible for western civilisation, the seeds of almost all that we count

best in human progress were sown in Greece. The conception of beauty as a joy in itself and as a guide in life was first and most vividly expressed in Greece, and the very laws by which things are beautiful or ugly were to a great extent discovered there and laid down. The conception of Freedom and Justice, freedom in body, in speech and in mind, justice between the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, penetrates the whole Greek political thought, and was, amid obvious flaws, actually realised to a remarkable degree in the best Greek communities. The conception of truth as an end to pursue for its own sake, a thing to discover and puzzle out by experiment and imagination and especially by Reason, a conception essentially allied with that of Freedom and opposed both to anarchy and to blind obedience, has perhaps never in the world been more clearly grasped than by the early Greek writers on science and philosophy. One stands amazed sometimes at the perfect freedom of their thought. Another conception came rather later, when the small City States with exclusive rights of citizenship had been merged in a larger whole: the conception of the universal fellowship between man and man. Greece realised soon after the Persian war that she had a mission to the world, that Hellenism stood for the higher life of man as against barbarism, for Arete, or Excellence, as against the mere effortless average. First came the crude patriotism which regarded every Greek as superior to every barbarian; then came reflection, showing that not all Greeks were true bearers of the light, nor all barbarians its enemies; that Hellenism was a thing of the spirit and not dependent on the race to which a man belonged or the place where he was born: then came the new word and conception, '*anthropotes*' humanitas, which to the stoics made the world one brotherhood. No people known to history clearly formulated these ideals before the Greeks, and those who have spoken the words afterwards seem for the most part to be merely echoing the thoughts of old Greek men."

"These ideas, the pursuit of Truth, Freedom, Beauty, Excellence are not everything. They have been a leaven of unrest in the world; they have held up a light which was not always comforting to the eye to see. There is another ideal which is generally stronger and may, for all we know, in the end, stamp them out as evil things. There is submission instead of freedom, the deadening or brutalism of the senses instead of beauty, the acceptance of tradition instead of the pursuit of Truth, the belief in hallucination or passion instead of Reason and Temperate Thought, the obscuring of distinctions between good and bad and the acceptance of all human beings and all states of mind as equal in value.\*.\* But at any rate, through calm and storm, she does hold her lights; she lit them first of the nations and held them during her short reign the clearest." (pp. 21—23)

There is another side to the shield; but it was not the writer's business to bring into prominence the defects of Hellenes.

The next essay, that on *Religion*, is from the pen of W. R. Inge, D. D., Dean of St. Paul's. It is well worth attentive reading. "Without what we call our debt to Greece," says the Dean, "we should have neither our

religion nor our philosophy nor our science nor our literature nor our education nor our politics." (p. 28) It is difficult to exaggerate what Christianity owes to Greece.

"The Christian Church was the last great creative achievement of the classical culture. It is neither Asiatic nor mediæval in its essential characters. It is not Asiatic; Christianity is the least Oriental of all the great religions. The Semites either shook it off and reverted to Judaism purged of its Hellenic elements, or enrolled themselves with fervour under the banner of Islam, which Westcott called 'a petrified Judaism'. Christian missions have had no success in any Asiatic country. Nor is there anything specifically mediæval about Catholicism... outwardly, the continuity with Judaism seems to be unbroken, that with paganism to be broken. In reality the opposite is the fact." (pp. 31, 32). "The clerical profession, in nearly all its activities, is directly descended from the Hellenistic philosophers." (p. 33)

One of the most important events in the history of the human race was the Hellenization of Christianity. Harnack traces three stages in it. Dean Inge, while contesting some of his statements, observes that—"the process... began, in fact, as soon as Christian preachers used the Greek language. .... The Logos-Christology, to which he (Harnack) justly attributes the greatest importance is already present in St. Paul's epistle." (p. 35)

He denies that there has ever been a "period at which we can speak of a complete conquest of Christianity by Greek ideas" (p. 36) and makes the attempt to distinguish, first, those parts of current Christianity which are not Greek,.....and then those which.....are Greek by origin or affinity. From his masterly exposition of these two topics we cull this following under the second head:

(1) Philosophy—"The conception of philosophy as an *ars vivendi* is characteristically Greek. .... The Hellenistic combination of Platonic metaphysics with stoic ethics is still the dominant type of Christian religious philosophy." (Hence the ceaseless struggle within the Christian Church between the praise of isolated detachment and of active social sympathy.) (p. 45)

(2) The Place of Asceticism in Religion—"Asceticism has a continuous history within Hellenism." "The assiduous practice of self-mastery and the most sparing indulgence in the pleasures of sense are the 'philosophic life' which the Greek spirit recommends as the highest. The best Greeks would blame the life of an English clergyman, professor, or philosopher as too self-indulgent; we often forget how frugally and hardily the Greeks lived at all times." (p. 47)

(3) The Influence of the Greek Mysteries upon Christianity—"Cumont says that the mystery-cults brought with them two new things—mysterious means of purification by which they proposed to cleanse away the defilements of the soul, and the assurance that an immortality of bliss would be the reward of piety."

"The formation of brotherhoods for mystic worship was also an important step in the development of Greek religion. These brotherhoods were cosmopolitan, and seem to have flourished especially at great seaports. (p. 49) Much of St. Paul's theology belongs to the same circle of ideas as these mysteries. Especially important is the psychology which divides human nature into spirit, soul and body, spirit being the divine element into which those who are saved are transformed by the knowledge of God (p. 50)

There are many other parallels which prove the close connexion of early Christianity with the mystery-religions of the empire.

(4) The Fall of Man—"The biblical doctrine of the Fall of Man, which the Hebrews would never have evolved for themselves remained an otiose dogma in Jewish religion. It was revived in Christianity under Greek influence." p. 53)

(5) Redemption—"Redemption was brought to earth by a Redeemer who was both God and man. This again was in accordance with Greek ideas." (p. 53)

(6) Immortality—"The maturest Greek Philosophy regards eternity as the divine mode of existence, while mortals are born, live, and die in time. Man is a microcosm in touch with every rung of the ladder of existence and he is potentially a participant in the divine mode of existence which he can make his own by living so far as may be in detachment from the vain shadows and perishable goods of earth. That this conception of immortality has had a great influence upon Christian thought and practice needs no demonstration." (p. 53)

This is the abiding lesson taught by Greek religion:

"What has the religion of the Greeks to teach us that we are most in danger of forgetting? In a word, it is the faith that truth is our friend, and that the knowledge of truth is not beyond our reach. Faith in honest seeking is at the heart of the Greek view of life". (p. 55)

The third essay is on *Philosophy* and it is written by Professor J. Burnet, who has won continental reputation by his two books on *Early Greek Philosophy*, and *Greek Philosophy from Thales to Plato*. We commend the second paragraph to our readers in the hope that some one competent for the task will subject it to a sifting examination:

"The word 'philosophy' is Greek and so is the thing it denotes. Unless we are to use the term in so wide a sense as to empty it of all special meaning, there is no evidence that philosophy has ever come into existence anywhere except under Greek influences. In particular, mystical speculation based on religious experience is not itself philosophy, though it has often influenced philosophy profoundly, and for this reason the *pantheism of the Upanishads cannot be called philosophical*. It is true that there is an Indian philosophy, and indeed the Hindus are the only ancient people besides the Greeks who even had one, but *Indian science was demonstrably borrowed from Greece after the conquest of Alexander, and there is every reason to believe that those Indian systems*



which can be regarded as genuinely philosophical are a good deal more recent still. On the other hand, the earliest authenticated instance of a Greek thinker coming under Indian influence is that of Pyrrho (326 B. C.) and what he brought back from the East was rather the ideal of quietism than any definite philosophical doctrine. The barrier of language was sufficient to prevent any intercourse on important subjects, for neither the Greeks, nor the Indians cared to learn any language but their own. Of course philosophy may culminate in theology, and the best Greek philosophy certainly does so, but it begins with science and not with religion." (p. 58)

To draw the pointed attention of our readers to them we have italicised the two passages, which appear to us to be most open to criticism. The statement about the lateness of the genuinely philosophical systems of India is not made offhand; it is only a variant of what Professor Burnet said some years ago in his *Early Greek Philosophy* where we find the astounding assertion (p. 18) that "everything points to the conclusion that Indian philosophy arose under Greek influence."

We reproduce Professor Burnet's concluding observations:

"But the interest of Greek philosophy is not only historical; it is full of instruction for the future too. Since the time of Locke, philosophy has been apt to limit itself to discussions about the nature of knowledge, and to leave questions about the nature of the world to specialists. The history of Greek philosophy shows the danger of this unnatural division of the province of thought, and the more we study it, the more we shall feel the need of a more comprehensive view. The 'philosophy of things human,' as the Greeks called it, is only one department among others, and the theory of knowledge is only one department of that. If studied in isolation from the whole, it must inevitably become one-sided. From Greek philosophy we can also learn that it is fatal to divorce speculation from the service of mankind. The notion that philosophy could be so isolated would have been wholly unintelligible to any of the great Greek thinkers, and most of all perhaps to the Platonists who are often charged with this very heresy. Above all, we can learn from Greek philosophy the paramount importance of what we call the personality and they call the soul. It was just because the Greeks realised this that the genuinely Hellenic idea of conversion played so great a part in thinking and in their lives. That, above all, is the lesson they have to teach, and that is why the writings of their great philosophers have still the power to convert the souls of all that will remain their teaching with humility." (pp. 94-95)

Then comes the essay on *Mathematics and Astronomy* by Sir T. L. Heath, which is necessarily largely technical, and will not, perhaps, attract the general reader, but to students of Mathematics it will prove of the highest interest. After giving a lucid account of the achievements of the Greeks in the domain of Mathematics and Astronomy, the writer brings his survey to a close in the following words:

"Such is the story of Greek mathematical science. If anything could enhance the marvel of it, it would be the consideration of the shortness of the time (about 350 years) within which the Greeks, starting from the very beginning, brought geometry to the point of performing operations equivalent to the integral calculus and, in the realm of astronomy, actually anticipated Copernicus." (p. 136)

Sir T. L. Heath is followed by Professor D'Arcy W. Thomson with his illuminating essay on *Natural Science: Aristotle*. It would be marrying its beauty to make any extracts from this brief discourse; our readers must read it through in order to realise how very fascinating a piece of writing on a scientific subject can be.

The next essay is on *Biology: Before Aristotle and after Aristotle*, which is written by Charles Singer, Lecturer in the history of Medicine in University College, London. To the Indian Student it is of the utmost value as giving an erudite but perspicacious account of the progress of the science of Biology among the Greeks, and suggesting many points for comparison and contrast with the achievements of the people of India in the same department of knowledge.

The seventh essay, which is on *Medicine* is also from the pen of Professor Singer. How much a comparative study of Greek and Hindu medicine is a desideratum will appear from the following remarks of the writer which occur on p. 202:

"It is the distinction of the Greeks alone among the nations of antiquity that they practised a system of medicine based not on theory but on observation, accumulated systematically as time went on. The claim can be made for the Greeks that some at least among them were deflected by no theory, were deceived by no theory, were hampered by no tradition in their search for the facts of disease and in their attempts at interpreting its phenomena. Only the Greeks among the ancients could look on their healers as physicians (naturalists, physis=nature), and that word itself stands as a lasting reminder of their achievement."

We have no quarrel with him when he says (p. 248) that "modern medicine may be truly described as in essence a creation of the Greeks", if by "modern medicine" he means "modern *European* medicine;" but the countrymen of Charaka and Susruta will be reluctant to admit the accuracy of the statement made in the first sentence of the passage quoted above. If Hindu medicine in its most flourishing period were entirely empirical and not based on observation, it could not have had such a long and vigorous career. It has not yet run its course. Even to-day, in this very city of Calcutta, there are *Kavirajes* who charge the same fee as the oldest

members of the I. M. S. And the present writer has tried to show in his own humble way in his *Socratis*, Vol. I, that the spirit of the Greek physician's practice as illustrated by the 'Hippocratic oath' was not far different from that of his Indian *Confrere*.

But after all the essay is a mine of information, and couched in a form which leaves nothing to be desired. We heartily commend it to the distinguished practitioners of the indigenous system who are at the same time graduates of Indian Universities. There is an enormous mass of literature bearing the names of Hippocrates and Galen, the most brilliant stars of Greek medicine; but much of it has not yet been translated into English. Some of the works are available in Arabic versions.

The essay on *Literature* which follows is written by the Editor. The essential qualities of Greek Literature are, according to him, Simplicity, Perfection of Form, Truth and Beauty. It would be labour lost to try to give the gist of this informing monograph containing as it does the nicest appraisal of what constitutes one of the chief glories of the Hellenic people. Those who desire to pursue the subject will find, after going through it, Professor Livingstone's *The Greek Genius, and Its Meaning to us* very helpful.

The ninth essay in the series is named *History*, and it is written by Professor Arnold Toynbee. It is a rapid sketch of the 'plot of ancient Greek civilisation,' and contains a critical estimate of the literary expression of the plot. The writer treats his topic in a novel way, and the essay will handsomely reward attentive perusal.

This is followed by the essay on *Political Thought*, contributed by Professor A. E. Zimmern who has already made his mark by his volume on *Greek Commonwealth*. It is in historical literature and politics that the Greek genius stands in marked contrast to that of India. For we have inexhaustible materials for history, but no history proper, at any rate no history in prose; and not even the wildest admirer of India would venture to place the authors of *Raj-tarangini* and *Mahavanso* and *Dipavanso*, under the same category as Herodotus and Thucydides; and though there are valuable treatises on politics in Sanskrit, the writers approach the study of the subject from a standpoint fundamentally different from that of the Greek thinkers. Professor Zimmern's essay should therefore be carefully studied by every educated Indian who takes a lively interest in

the present-day political affairs of his country.

Professor Zimmern begins his illuminating survey of the political contribution of Greece by summarising its limitations.

"They arise," says he, "firstly, from a *difference of scale*, and secondly, from a *difference of outlook*, between ancient and modern political thought." (p. 322) "Ancient Greece was, for political purposes, a congeries of sovereign states, generally centring round the urban metropolis of a rural district smaller than that of an average English country. The material upon which Greek political thought worked was, therefore, from our modern point of view, not only small but almost Lilliputian." (p. 322) "Let us see what results from this difference of scale. In the first place Greek political thought although (as we shall see, it aimed at *Universality*, at arriving at certain definite laws or conclusions about politics, never succeeded in divesting itself of a certain element of local or national individuality." (p. 323)

"A second result which flows from the small scale character of Greek politics is that we nowhere find an adequate treatment of the problem of *foreign relations*." (p. 326)

In this connection, Professor Zimmern has some very hard words to say about the League of Nations:

"So long as the peoples remain self-absorbed, the governments will continue to conduct their mutual relations on a basis of individual self-interest, and the meetings of the Assembly of the League of Nations will remain what they are at present, not gatherings of statesmen solely bent, each from his own angle and upbringing, on the welfare of humanity, but barterings of politicians who (with rare exceptions) have come to the fair to do the best business they can for their own clients." (p. 327)

"There is a further point to be noted under this head. If Greek thought gives us no guidance in foreign policy, it is no more helpful, except very indirectly, in another difficult reign that of *industrial policy*." (p. 329)

Anent industrialism, the following extract will perhaps be found interesting to Indian readers:

"When men so diverse as Tagore the Indian sage and Rathenau the German Trust magnate tell us that the disease from which we suffer is 'mechanisation', and that our crying need is for greater simplicity, it seems safe to predict that Plato would not reject the possibility of providing a 'good life' for the modern man in a world divested of most of the rattling and tinkling paraphernalia of which the nineteenth century so plumed itself as the inventor." (p. 329)

The writer sums up the second limitation by saying that

"Whereas modern political thought, like modern thought generally, works from the inner to the outer, from the individual to the state and society, the ancient thinkers habitually work in the opposite direction, setting the interests of the community or state above those of the individual." (p. 329).

Would not the history of India have been different, if the ancient thinkers of the East were of the same mind as those of the West?



"The liabilities thus frankly stated," the writer turns to the assets.

"The first valuable contribution the Greeks made to political study was that they invented it. It is not too much to say that, before fifth-century Greece, politics did not exist. There were powers, principalities, governments and subjects, but politics no more existed than chemistry existed in the age of alchemy \* \* \* Rameses and Nebuchadnezzar, Croesus the Lydian and Cyrus the Persian, ruled over great empires; but within their dominions there were no politics because there were no public affairs. There were only the private affairs of the sovereign and his ruling class." (pp. 331-2)

It might be incidentally remarked that if Professor Zimmern's view were correct, there were no politics in ancient India outside the autonomous republics.

"The Greeks having made clear to themselves that public or common affairs existed, sat down resolutely to study them." (p. 332)

"Let us dwell for a moment on the attitude of mind in which the Greek citizen approached political problems. He was both a Conservative and a Radical; or rather he brought to politics the best Conservatism together with the best Radicalism. He was a Conservative because he revered tradition and recognised the power and value of custom. None of our modern conservative writers and defenders of the existing order, not Burke himself or Bismarck or Chateaubriand, had a deeper sense than the Athenian for those unwritten ordinances whose transgression brings admitted shame. Athens was a Conservative democracy." (pp. 334-5)

"But, within these well-recognised limits, the Greek citizen was a Radical; that is to say, he was ready to apply his reason to public affairs without fear or prejudice. He loved straight and sincere thinking; he tried hard to face the real situation before him and not to be clouded or led astray by side-issues or inhibitions." (p. 336)

"This leads on to a further reflection. The Greeks in their political thinking, were essentially realists, rather than idealists. This is true of all Greek writers, even those who, like Plato, starting from the market-place of Athens, lead us up to a Utopia in the clouds. They were realists in that they based their political studies on the world as it is and human nature as it is, rather than on some personal and fanciful conception of what man and the world ought to be. To put it in other words, they are realists because they are psychologists, because they applied the psychological method to political problems." (p. 336)

"The cardinal merit of the Greek political thinkers, as of the Greek contribution as a whole" was this: "They saw all problems: but saw each in its place within the larger whole. They saw life steadily and saw it whole." (p. 342)

Our *resume* of the essay has run into disproportionate length: this is because we consider straight and sober political thinking as the need of the hour.

The last two essays are on Greek Art and Architecture. They will specially appeal to fairly equipped art-critics; this does not mean that they are devoid of interest for those

who have not made a life-long study of these subjects; the points dealt with are presented in an easy and enjoyable style, and the essays are not cumbered with avoidable technicalities.

The penultimate monograph, *The Lamps of Greek Art*, is from the pen of Professor Percy Gardner. He finds in Greek art eight notable features: (1) Humanism, (2) Simplicity, (3) Balance and Measure, (4) Naturalism, (5) Idealism, (6) Patience, (7) Joy, (8) Fellowship. The whole production is an elaboration of this thesis.

The new school of Indian art will take exception, and rightly, to the following sweeping statement of Professor Gardner:

"But for ancient Greece, the art of Europe would to-day be on much the same level as the fantastic and degraded art of India." (p. 354).

But we have no hesitation in calling the attention of those who pursue "art for art's sake" to the grave pronouncement of this distinguished student of Greek art on a question of vital importance:

"In our schools and colleges, until quite lately, the religion of the New Testament and the tradition of the Greek and Roman classics have gone together, the one preserving us from superstition and materialism in religion, the other making war upon the inherited barbarisms and brutalities which we have from our not very distant ancestors. The spirit of anarchy in religion would persuade us that there is no divine sanction for goodness and no eternal stamp on vice, that morality is a matter of convention which every society and every nation has a right to invert if it judges such inversion in the line of its interests. The spirit of anarchy in art proclaims that all the works of nature are equally beautiful or equally ugly, that nothing which exists is unfit to be represented in our galleries and public places, that so long as a picture or a statue arouses a sentiment it does not matter whether the sentiment be one of delight and aspiration or one of horror. If once the idea of beauty as the end to be aimed at be expelled from art, art sinks like a stone to the bottom of the sea. Some people are ready to tolerate any monstrosity in art, however remote from nature, however offensive to decency, however repugnant to humanity. The whole artistic inheritance of the race from the day when men began to climb out of barbarism is liable to be thrown away by an age which has unbounded confidence in its own wisdom." (pp. 394-5)

The last essay, that on *Architecture*, is written by Sir Reginald Blomfield. It is impossible to convey any idea of it in a short space: it must be read whole in order to be enjoyed and appreciated. Scholars who are conversant with ancient Indian architecture will find much food for thought in it.

The essays on Natural Science, Medicine, Art and Architecture have an adequate

number of beautiful illustrations which have considerably added to their charm.

We shall conclude this lengthy review with a humble suggestion: there ought to be a book like this on India. If we have not yet had a volume of essays entitled the *Legacy of India*, the reason is not that there is a

lack of writers who are fit to undertake the task, but that literary collaboration is still in its infancy in this country. May we hope that either the premier Indian University or the *Vishva-Bharati* will take up the work?

RAJANI KANTA GUHA

## THE SCIENTIFIC USE OF WOOD

By K. N. CHATTERJI, B. Sc. (LONDON), A. R. C. S. (LONDON), TECHNICAL CHEMIST  
AND CHEMICAL ENGINEER.

THE wealth of a country is measured in the terms of its natural resources, and the wealth of a nation in the efficient and economic utilisation of its natural wealth. The efficiency consists in getting the highest possible return, and the economy in the least wasteful exploitation.

A nation's place in the scale of material civilisation—with which alone we are here concerned—depends on these alone, for wealth and efficiency are the twin watchwords of progress and civilisation means progress.

The natural resources of a country consists principally of its mineral, forest and agricultural wealth. And the greatness of a nation depends upon how much it gets, in the shape of useful commodities, in proportion to the total content of the stores of wealth in its possession in the shape of these resources.

It is impossible to discuss in full the position of India in these respects, in the course of a single article, and besides that belongs more properly to the sphere of an economist. But it is apparent to all that, high as the place of India may be amongst all the countries of the world in regard to her natural wealth, low indeed is her position—and that of her peoples—when the considerations of efficiency and economy are brought in. For inefficiency and waste are rather the rule than the exception in all such matters in this country. An appalling waste of valuable minerals, due to faulty methods of mining and mineral production, waste of forest products due to primitive methods of forestry and ignorance of scientific methods of wood utilisation, and waste of many other kinds, are to be seen everywhere.

These are subjects for specialists to discuss, but one may be excused if he tries to draw the attention of others to this state of affairs in the hope that some improvements may take place.

It is proposed to describe, as concisely as possible, the scientific utilisation of wood, in this article. All points cannot be covered, but the writer will attempt to show up the points where the maximum of waste takes place.

The general plan of putting to use the various parts of a tree is given in the following list. Needless to say, not all trees can be utilised economically in all the details as shown. For example, in the case of Sal (*Shorea robusta*) the timber is valuable but its bark is not much used; in the case of the India Rubber tree (*Ficus elastica*) the latex is valuable but nothing else. But the attempt should be to try and find out uses for everything, as the less the waste the more is the gain.

If all the items on the list be taken in order it can easily be seen how far the utilisation of forest products is carried on efficiently in this country.

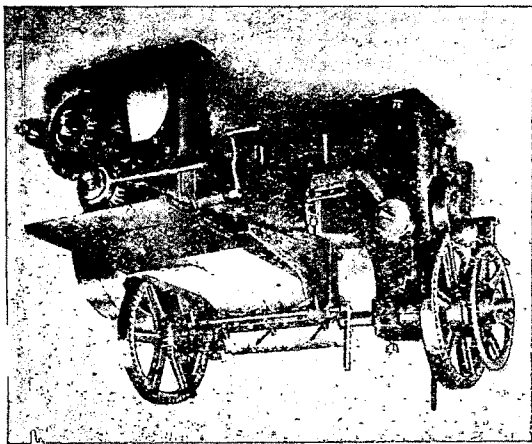
ITEM I. BARK:—Hardly much technical use of bark as a tanning material is made on scientific lines in this country. The collection is made in the crudest way possible and no attempt is ever made to replenish the depleted forest areas. The result is that the collection has to be made further and further from the lines of transport. Very little is done in the way of tanning extract production, the chief reason being that no one aims at export and at home most of the tanneries use the chrome tanning method. As regards the production of medi-



cial extracts or drugs, the Government factories are the only ones in that line, although there is sufficient scope for work in this direction with every hope of profit.

**ITEM II. TRUNK WOOD:**—This is the only part of a tree that is at all utilised to any great extent here. But even in this line there is a great deal of waste, as the method of timber extraction is very faulty, excepting in the case of very valuable timber, such as Teak or Sisu. Added to that is the factor of ignorance and the stupid conservative nature of the timber-user in this country, because of which a good many useful sources of timber are either neglected or else used only as fuel. For example, the furniture-maker—and for that, the furniture-user—will use only Teak and Sisu of all local timbers, though there are many others, equally as good for their purpose, available at a very much lower price. For example, *Adina Cordifolia*, *Terminalia Manii*, *Terminalia Bialata*, and a host of other trees are neglected in this way. Thus while some are being cut down to the point of extinction—the price going up all the time—others are not touched at all. Sal and Padauk are used for sleepers only, whereas both of them could be used as furniture and building timber.

When other channels of the utilisation of timber are looked at, the case is still more



Veneer Peeling Machine

hopeless. Veneer peeling is hardly done at all, one European firm being alone in the field, although abroad that is one of the main uses of timber. Production of three or five ly wood—in which thin sections of wood are glued together (and, in the latest method,

stitched together with linen thread as well) in such a way as to cross the direction of grain between each successive layer—is a vast industry abroad. A thin piece of three-ply board is as strong as a much thicker piece of the natural wood planking and has the further advantage of being equally resistant to stresses in all directions, thus showing a three-fold increase in efficiency in being lighter, more resistant and more economical from the point of view of the amount of timber used in the work. The only disadvantage is in its being vulnerable to moisture in excess, so that when it is intended for use under conditions of exposure to moisture, a special system of varnishing or enamelling is necessary to make it wet-proof. The use of veneer, made from valuable wood, in furniture making is so well known as to need no special description. Such furniture is not made in this country, as it does not very well stand the local climatic and weather conditions, but there is every chance of such articles being good exportable commodities, if well designed and finished.

When we turn to the question of soft woods, the wastage and the non-utilisation factors assume gigantic proportions. Firewood or, at the most, cheap household goods are all the use they are put to. And yet, if properly used, they become one of the most valuable sources of income that a nation may possess. Two gigantic industries, namely paper and match, and a great many subsidiary ones depend almost entirely on the supply of soft woods (coniferous timber preferably).

Wood pulp, which is the basis of almost 90 per cent of all the paper produced in the world, is obtained from soft woods. There are two processes used mainly, the mechanical process and the chemical one.

In the mechanical process the timber is cut up into short pieces about two feet in length, and after cleaning and stripping off the bark, is ground by mechanical grinding into a fibrous pulpy mass. The grinding machine consists of a large grindstone about 54 inches in diameter and 27 inches thick. This rotates inside a casing at a high speed. A number of pockets form part of the casing and into these pockets the pieces of wood are thrown in. The grindstone revolving at a high speed rubs off a finely ground mass of pulp from these pieces of wood. This pulp is carried off the surface of the stone by a current of water which is played on it.

In the chemical process the above-mentioned billets of wood are further cut up

into chips about half an inch thick and an inch square. These bits are boiled under pressure, in specially constructed boilers, with chemicals—either caustic soda or acids, entailing the use of sulphurous acid. By this treatment the resinous and non-fibrous portion of the wood is taken out, leaving the fibrous mass (known to the trade sometimes as cellulose) behind in a fairly pure state.

It is impossible to give even a summary, in the course of this article, of the processes involved in the production of wood pulp. That is a highly specialised industry requiring an enormous amount of capital and at the same time a very high degree of efficiency in order that the producer may compete with the existing suppliers. The demand, on the other hand, is constantly on the increase and vast quantities are consumed. A group of three London newspapers in 1920 consumed over 50,000 tons of wood pulp in a year. Wood pulp enters into the composition of almost all the varieties of paper in ordinary use.

There is a common mistaken idea that only the cheapest inferior paper is composed of wood pulp and higher grades contain none or very little of it. The following table of the compositions of modern printing papers will show how erroneous that belief is. Of course, mechanical wood pulp can be used only in the manufacture of cheap and inferior grades of paper only. But good chemical (sulphite) pulp is certainly equal, if not superior, to esparto grass pulp.

#### COMPOSITION (FIBROUS) OF TYPICAL PAPERS

##### *Fibrous Content*

Paper	Esparto	Sulphite
	80 per cent	20 per cent
Heavy Imitation Art	90	10
Imitation Art	45	55
High-class Art	95	5
Antique wove printing	80	20
Esparto printing	—	100
Sulphite printing	90	10
Common Art	10	90
Common news	80	20
High-class news	99	1
Cartridge		

With regard to the position of India in match industry the reader is referred to an article that appeared in this Review in June, 1923.

So it is seen that as far as the utilisation of timber in bulk is concerned, this country has certainly progressed beyond the primitive stages but is *hardly* in advance of the medieval.

#### ITEM III. Next come the fruits and fruit

products. All the uses to which fruits are put may be summarized in a few words—eating (when possible), buying and selling! There are lemons and citrons grown in enormous quantities here, but no citric acid is produced and hardly any preserves. There are olives in plenty but no olive oil; Nux Vomica grows wild all over the South, but not an ounce of Strychnine is produced. The only shining exception is in the case of coconut, where some oil is produced; but even there the amount that is exported as copra is out of all proportion to the amount expressed for oil, considering this is the homeland of the article.

Myrcabalans are mainly exportable articles of commerce. A factory was started near Ranigunge for the production of extracts from myrcabalans. Let us hope that it still exists, although it is a foreign capital concern. And the same is the case with many other articles of the same type.

ITEM IV. SCANTLINGS:—Boughs, branches and all such parts of the main growth in a tree which are not convertible into sizable timber are known as scantlings.

This is the item with regard to the utilisation of which this country is most backward. Considering the immense forest areas in the land and the fairly extensive scale on which timber extraction is being done here it is a shame that such a waste should go on, especially if the value of the commodities that could be produced be taken into consideration.

With the sole exception perhaps of Teak wood, all scantlings obtained in this country are either left to perish as waste in the forests or else used as fire wood or for charcoal production. At present there are only two factories, both Government-owned,—one Imperial and the other Mysore State—where these are scientifically used for production of charcoal and valuable bye-products.

It is intended in this article to describe the process of utilisation of scantlings in a scientific way and the industrial possibilities thereof. The process is known technically as that of the Destructive Distillation of Wood.

ITEM V. As regards special products, the only two that are produced here on a commercial basis are Turpentine and Rosin at Dehra Dun and sandal-wood oil at Mysore. The scientific and commercial production of gums (such as India Rubber, Gutta Percha, etc.), Resins, Balsams, etc., has a vast field, too great to be described in detail here. This much can be said that precious little is done



in this country either in the way of economic production or of utilisation.

### The Destructive Distillation of Wood.

In wood-distillation only such parts of a tree are used as cannot be utilised as timber, either owing to smallness of size or to the coarse nature of the structure. These parts are generally known as scantlings in the trade and consist of the boughs, branches, etc., of a tree that are lopped off the main trunk during the trimming of the log. In certain districts charcoal-burners use these as the basis of their trade; elsewhere the only use found for them is that of firewood. Considering the amount of valuable chemicals that could be got out of this "waste product" or rather "wasted product"—and also considering the economic importance of these chemicals, the use to which they are put can only be regarded as being wasteful in the extreme.

It might be thought that this industry is a minor one, and that its importance is not such as to weigh very much in the scale of a country's economic welfare. But the following statistics would show how mistaken that idea would be.

Before the war, the amount of capital sunk in this industry alone in Europe amounted to about £ 40,000,000. The United States of America had a somewhat bigger amount invested. This should be sufficient to establish the right of such an industry to be considered as an important and valuable factor in the well-being and progress of a country. By the wealth that is won thus from waste material, by the undeniable technical importance of the products it puts on the market, by the amount of employment it gives to both the highly trained scientist and the raw untrained labourer, its claim to be called a "Key Industry" has been put beyond challenge.

#### THEORY OF THE PROCESS.

The chemical compounds that go towards the formation of the tissues of a tree are of a very complex nature. It is impossible to describe within the limits of a magazine article any group amongst them in detail.

As is well known, these tissues are built up from cells containing an incrustated matter. The walls of these cells are formed chiefly of substances generally known as cellulose bodies. The inner material is of a complex nature, M. Payen found four principal compounds in this body, which he named Lignose, Lignine, Lignone and Lignorose. These bodies are all insoluble in water and soluble in potash and

soda. Lignine and Lignorose he found to be soluble in alcohol as well. These bodies have more hydrogen in their composition than cellulose.

The cellulose bodies of the exterior parts of the cells are also of different kinds. They are almost all isomeric bodies, that is, their chemical composition is the same in most cases. M. Fremy found a great many of these isomeric bodies in plant tissues, the principal ones being Xylose, Paraxylose, Fibrose, Medullose, Dermose, etc.

Besides the above, there are others, as for example, Pectose, which is almost always present with the cellulose bodies in the tissues of plants.

The chemical composition of cellulose has been found to be

Carbon—	44·4	per cent.
Hydrogen—	6·2	" "
Oxygen—	49·4	" "
	<hr/>	
	100·0	

Whence the empirical formula,  $C_6 H_{10} O_5$ , that has been given to it. But in view of the chemical determinations that have been made the empirical formula is regarded as indeterminate and as a rule the formula ascribed to cellulose is— $n.(C_6 H_{12} O_6)$ .

The most typical article that can be regarded as cellulose is bleached cotton fibre, the bleaching agent having removed the associated substances.

The substance of the ground tissue of woods is formed by a group of bodies known as Lignocellulose. The simplest type of this is the Jute fibre, which is the lignified bast of the Jute plant. By chemical means the lignone ( $C_{19} H_{22} O_9$ ) can be separated from the cellulose in it.

The chief components of plant tissues are the following:—

Cellulose bodies,  
Epiangiotic bodies (covering the cellulose membranes),  
Pectose and its derivatives,  
Cutose (in the bark),  
Suberin (in the suberic cells),  
Mineral matters.

If a piece of wood be analysed chemically without any reference to the different parts of its body, that is, taken as a whole and not in different units, it is found that the elements that chiefly enter into the composition of it can be sharply differentiated into two sections, namely, the combustible part and the ash.

The combustible part is composed mainly of the elements carbon, hydrogen, oxygen and nitrogen. Carbon constitutes from 48 to 50 per cent of the body of the dry wood, hydrogen 5.5 to 7 per cent, oxygen 43 to 45.5 per cent and nitrogen, 5 to 2 per cent. The ash consists of alkaline and alkali earth bodies chiefly, such as Potash, Soda, Lime, Magnesia, etc., with small amounts of other bodies.

From the above a fair idea can be obtained about the composition of wood. The only substance that has not so far been mentioned is water, that is mechanically held in the plant tissues and pores. In some timbers the amount of water thus held amounts to 60 per cent of the total weight. The water content varies considerably with the seasons. Completely freed from water the composition of wood may be approximately taken as:—

Carbon	50	per cent
Hydrogen	6	" "
Oxygen	42.5	" "
Ash	1.5	" "

When wood is subjected to destructive distillation by heating without contact of air, these component bodies forming the wood, start splitting up or decomposing. Of what happens exactly no details can be given with any certainty.

It is known that when cellulose is similarly heated up to 250° C and beyond, an extremely complex group of reactions follow. The products of the reactions are on an average as follows:—

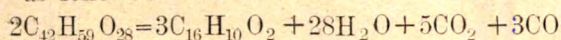
Solid 30 per cent—(charcoal);

Liquid 50 per cent—acetic acid (2 per cent), Methylalcohol (7 per cent), acetone, furfural (12 per cent);

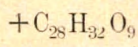
Gaseous 20 per cent—chiefly CO and CO<sub>2</sub>).

With Ligno-cellulose similarly a very complex set of reactions follow which give results similar to the above, with the addition of Methyl furfural and Methyl and methoxy derivatives of Pyrogallol.

Klar, perhaps the greatest authority on the subject of wood distillation and allied industries, represents the decomposition of wood in the process of destructive distillation as follows:—

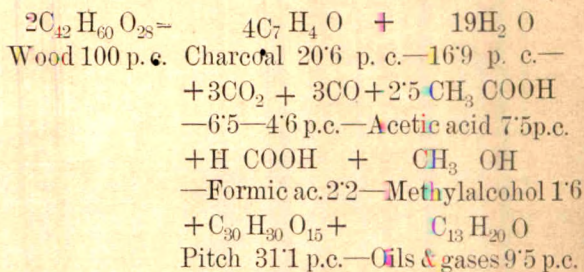


Wood      Charcoal



Total amount of products  
contained in Pyroligneous  
acid, wood-lye and wood gases.

According to Klason the reactions are:—



It is evident, therefore, that the distillation products of wood are chiefly derived from the cellulose group and from lignone and similar compounds. Therefore it follows that the harder the wood the more valuable are its distillates. The one exception is in the case of pines, which yield less distillates than softer woods.

In the case of coniferous woods a good deal of Turpentine and Rosin is given off. But where these articles are chiefly sought after, the method of distillation and the apparatus are different from what are in use ordinarily.

#### THE PROCESS AND APPARATUS.

The main principle underlying the process of destructive distillation of wood is the well-controlled application of heat to the wood under treatment with the least possible access of air to it.

Under the prolonged action of heat, the tissues forming the body break up, as has been shown previously, yielding a large quantity of solid, liquid and gaseous products.

The process varies according to the nature of the products desired as the result of the distillation. If, for example, metallurgical charcoal is the chief objective, a fairly high temperature is necessary, which means better charcoal but a poorer yield of volatiles. If volatile products are the main objective, low temperature distillation has to be done, which produces a lower grade of charcoal but at the same time gives a much higher yield of volatiles.

The distillation is as a rule done in closed retorts, made either of metal or of firebrick and masonry. In the former case the retorts can be made portable, which is impossible with masonry retorts.

The retorts are of various sizes and shapes. The usual type consists of three or more chambers, built of firebrick and masonry. There



are vaults at the bottom constructed of refractory material where the firing is done. This is so arranged that there is an uniform degree of heating over the entire range of retorts taken as a whole. But the firing point being directly under the centre of the retorts, the hottest point naturally is there.

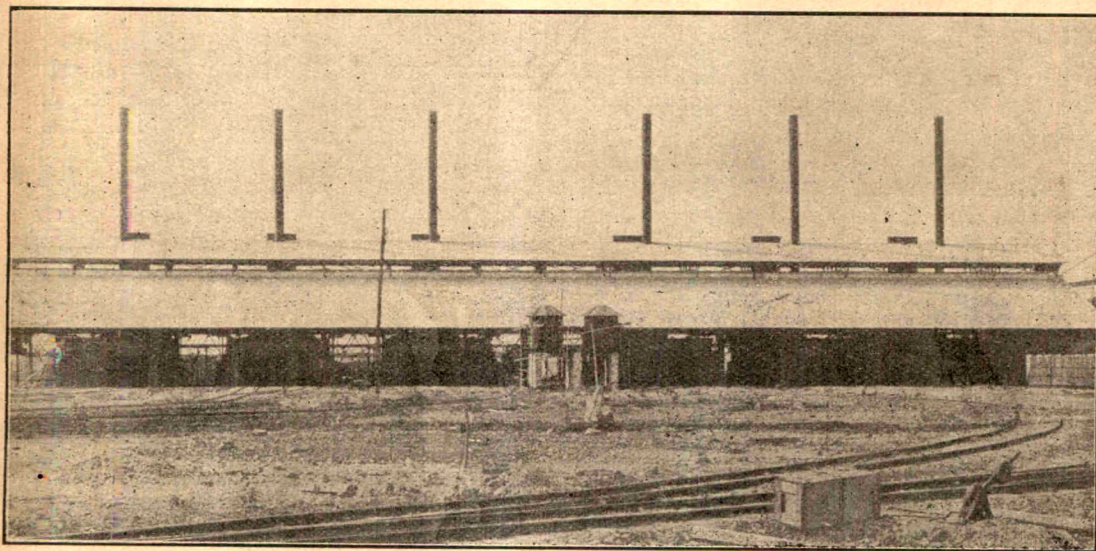
The charging is generally done by means of all steel or iron cage waggons which are loaded up with billets of wood outside the furnace.

These waggons run on rails that lead into these chambers. As a rule about three of these waggons are led in at a time in each

The solid and liquid products are separated into different components by means of apparatus that will be described later on.

In order that the distillation period may be shortened, an exhausting arrangement is usually attached on to the delivery pipes from the retort vents.

At the beginning only water with a very small amount of carbonic acid gas and some combustible gas comes over. By the time the chamber has been heated up to about 150° C almost all the water is exhausted. After that a mixture of non-condensable gas with



DISTILLATION PLANT

Showing arrangement of lines in front of the battery of retorts (Mysore State Plant)

retort. After the charging has been done the chamber is hermetically sealed by means of iron doors that close it completely. Then the chamber is heated up slowly in order that the wood may not disintegrate owing to sudden heating.

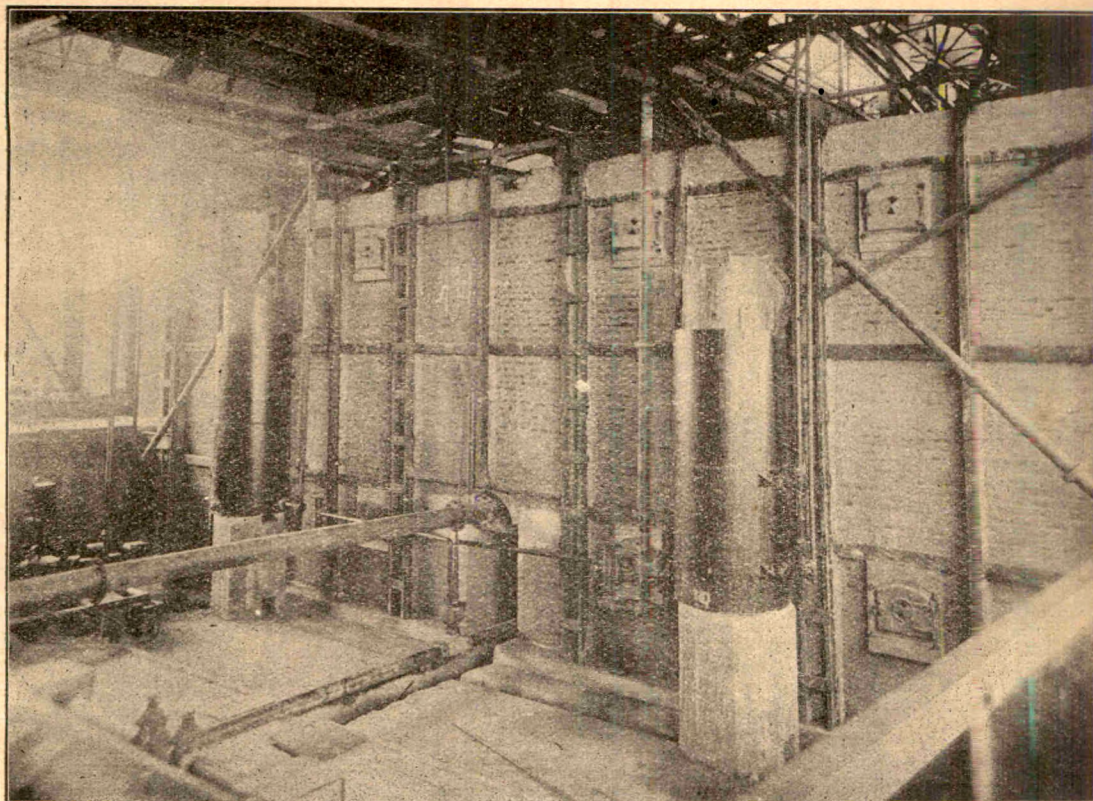
The wood starts decomposing slowly first, the rate of carbonisation being gradually accelerated.

The products of distillation are led out of the chamber by means of suitable vent or vents that are situated at the top. The liquid and solid portions are trapped by suitable means. The gaseous products are usually led back to the furnaces, after being scrubbed and cooled in order that all available condensable matter be extracted from it. After which the only use it could be put to is to help heating up the retorts.

acetic acid, methyl alcohol, acetone, etc., starts coming over, together with a lot of a watery mass of tar until the temperature gets in the neighbourhood of 100° C. Beyond 300° C the distillate consists mainly of tar.

The delivery pipes from the vents at the top of the retort are generally of a very wide section in order that there may be no choking up due to the tarry mass distilling over. The delivery pipes lead to a tar separator from which the distillate passes into a series of copper coils cooled with water. The distillate partially condenses here. The condensed part is drawn off into suitable receptacles and the non-condensable gases go back to the furnaces underneath the retorts as said before. On the way, there is a water seal interposed so as to prevent the fired gas from firing back into the furnace.





Back View of Distillation Retorts Shewing firing arrangement

There is usually a bye-pass along which the non-condensable gases may be let out into the open air. The reason for this is that at the beginning the gases come out in a pulsating movement, the pressure inside the retort not being enough to maintain a steady current of gas. As there is a likelihood of a series of explosions taking place, if such a pulsating stream of gases be fired, therefore at the beginning of the operation the gas is allowed to escape into the atmosphere.

The entire operation usually takes about 12 hours for completion.

At the end of the operation the hot mass of charcoal, still loaded in the steel cage waggons is drawn out and allowed to cool off in enclosed iron cylinders. If kept in open air the hot mass starts oxydising rapidly and eventually bursts into flames.

The separated mass of tar is distilled much in the same way as coal tar. It is rich in various substances such as hydrocarbons, high boiling phenols such as paracresol, guaiacol, kreosol, pygallic esters, fatty acids, etc.

The condensed liquid mass from the copper coil condensers, is added on to the supernatant liquid mass which usually separates out from the wood tar on standing. This is known collectively as pyroligneous liquor, and consists of a watery solution of acetic acid, methyl alcohol, acetone and small quantities of other substances such as propionic, butyric, formic and other acids, methyl acetate, allyl alcohol, furfurol, phenols, amines, ketones, etc., and also a fair amount of tar partly dissolved and part in suspension.

The treatment of all the above for separation into components and purification will be described later on. It may not be out of place to go into the preliminaries of such a concern here.

#### PRELIMINARIES OF SUCH A CONCERN.

It is evident that the first consideration in this case is an abundant supply of cheap wood. Water-borne wood is not suitable, because during the long seasoning (about a year) and drying that the timber has to undergo previous to distillation, a lot of decomposition



akes place which means lowering of the products both in quantity and value.

A twenty years' supply within easy reach of the factory is all that is essential. Of course a larger supply is an advantage. Generally twenty years are enough for the re-lanted saplings to grow up to a suitable size or distillation.

An abundant supply of good water is also necessity, or else elaborate arrangements for water recovery and cooling have to be done, which adds considerably to the initial outlay. Coal and lime (as free as possible from magnesia) should also be available easily.

For the disposal of the products, easy and cheap means of transport to markets where the charcoal could be disposed of, should also be available. Otherwise the charcoal is likely to remain as a dead load. Of course it could be used up in firing the retorts, but that would be an uneconomic procedure.

The other products being comparatively valuable in comparison with their bulk, can stand freight charges over a fairly long distance, and therefore can be despatched to the best markets for disposal.

(To be continued)

## SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA AFTER THE DEATH OF SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

By J. N. MUKHERJEE D. SC. (LONDON), *KHAIRA PROFESSOR OF CHEMISTRY*  
AND  
S. K. MITRA, D. SC. (CAL. AND PARIS), *KHAIRA PROFESSOR OF PHYSICS.*

At a critical juncture in its history, the University of Calcutta has lost the guiding and masterful influence of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Every body feels that the void cannot be filled up and the public have reasons to be apprehensive of the future of the University. In a country where educated public opinion of the type that is necessary to intelligently criticise and guide educational policies scarcely exist, the loss of one who was undisputedly the greatest educationist in the land is a severe blow to the cause of education.

The loss will be the more felt at a time when certain urgent matters of university reform are about to be taken up. We are referring to the University Bill in particular. The members of the University staff or the general public are at present in the dark about what is happening. Of course it may be resumed that when the committees that are deliberating have finished their labours the public will have an opportunity of discussing their reports when they come out. We are perhaps voicing the general feeling that in the absence of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee the proceedings of these committees should have wider publicity than they had hitherto with a view to create public confidence in their deliberations. Is it too late to so modify the

personnel of the committees as to include some representatives of the teaching staff of the University and some educationists of note so as to partially make up for the loss of the sound advice of Sir Asutosh? We the teachers do feel that some such step is necessary. It cannot be denied that there are in the University staff men who are as much qualified and have as much right to be heard as there are elsewhere.

The most important question agitating the mind of the public may be summed up in one sentence: "Why is it that our graduates after their university education are as helpless as any body can be in the struggle of life?"

As has been pointed out in the *Modern Review*, Sir Asutosh wrote in the *Mysore Economic Journal*—"The waste of the finest human material involved in the present system is truly appalling." We know indeed, how much he was thinking of so recasting the under-graduate education, specially the science curricula as to provide a more suitable and up-to-date training.

It cannot be denied that the question raised above is one of supreme importance to the public in general which must be answered and solved by those who profess to be educationists or who have the facilities

and power to guide educational policy. A system of education and also people who have the privilege of initiating and working it can only justify themselves in the public eye by providing a satisfactory solution of this problem. Though the problem is certainly not so simple, we do not doubt that a solution is possible. We have the great experience of the West to draw upon and these are after all problems which have been more or less partially solved in other countries. All that is needed is an active co-operation between men who are really competent to have a say in the matter and those who have the privilege of giving effect to the recommendations of the educationists. We shall discuss the various aspects of University reform from time to time, and we might remark that the report of the Sadler Commission offers a basis for such a solution.

The public and specially the guardians ought to be wary and to demand full value for the money that they spend on their young hopefuls. Ultra-educational considerations ought not to stand in the way of necessary reforms. We have to learn a lot from the difficulties and the experiences of the recently constituted universities. As an instance of what may happen if the public are not sufficiently watchful, we might mention the case of one of these newly established Indian Universities where it has been decided (we are told) to abolish the post-graduate classes in physics and in chemistry! We find it

necessary to point out that the post-graduate classes of most Indian Universities carry on the teaching of the Honours course of British Universities. So that the abolition of the post-graduate classes really means that we have institutions in India which go by the name of Universities but which provide only for pass training in subjects like physics and chemistry. It has been suggested that a particular University ought to afford facilities for university training in a particular subject only; this is an instance of university specialisation with a vengeance. It is perhaps possible in India only (but we hope excepting Calcutta) that such a proposal can be really seriously discussed and tolerated. There are some subjects for which education of the university standard must be provided in any modern University and specialisation is possible only in the less important groups. We shall deal with this question more fully in a separate article, where we intend to discuss the intimate connection between research and education in modern Universities and its role in the industrial development of the country.

The task before those who take any interest in the affairs of the University is to keep a watchful eye on the developments that are likely to take place in the near future and to ensure that the structure which Sir Ashutosh raised for the ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING be fully consolidated.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Si-nhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

### ENGLISH.

SATYA-PRATISHTHA OR ESTABLISHMENT OF TRUTH: By an Indian seer. Translated from the Bengali by Manmatha Nath Chatterjee. Published by J. K. Gai, Sadhan Samar Office, 98-1 Beniatola Street, Hatkhola, Calcutta. Pp. 63. Price 4 as. Suggestions practical; ideal very high.

RAO SAHIB V. MAHADEVA AIYER: By Rev. L. Laccabbe S. J. Published by Catholic Truth Society, Triclinopolis. Pp. 116. Price 6 as.

A short biography of Mahadeva Aiyer. He belonged to a Brahmin family and afterwards embraced Christianity.

STUDIES IN OCCULT CHEMISTRY AND PHYSICS. Vol I :



By G. E. Sutcliffe. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Pp. 320. Price Rs. 3-5.

The author tries to prove that 'the facts and theories of Western Science and occult research' may be co-ordinated and that scientific truths may be or have been deduced from theosophical occultism.

THE WHEREFORE OF THE Worlds: By Paul Richard. Translated from the French by Aurobindo Ghose. Published by S. Ganesan, Triplicane, Madras, S. E. Pp. 120.

It contains 12 chapters, viz. (i) The Unknown, (ii) In the Beginning, (iii) The Uncreated, (iv) Wherefore the World, (v) The Creative Principle, (vi) The Desire to Be, (vii) The Primary Data of Being, (viii) The Synthesis of Movement (ix) The Absolute Manifestation, (x) The Absolute of the Being, (xi) The Second Genesis and (xii) Love the Creator.

In these essays, the author has tried to develop a form of monistic philosophy. The ideas of the author have been rendered in clear and delightful English.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS:—Nos. 176—178 (Feb.—April, 1924). Volume XXVII. Part 4. The Mimamsa Sutras of Jaimini. Translated by Pandit Mohan Lal Samyāl, M. A., LL. B. Published by Sudhindra Nath Vasu, at the Panini Office, Bhuvaneshwari Asrama, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. 335—598. Price Rs. 4-8. Annual Subscription—Inland Rs. 13.

This volume contains the last 13 sutras of VI, 3, and also VI 4, and the Seventh, the Eighth and the Ninth Chapter of the Mimamsa Sutras. Being well edited and translated.

A STUDY ON MATHURANATHA'S TATTVA-CHINTAMANI-RAHASYA: By Saileswar Sen. Pp. 66.

The author studied Navya Nyaya under Pandit Sitanath Sidhanta-bhusana and went to Holland to prosecute research Studies in Hindu Philosophy under Prof. Dr. B. Faddegon.

The aim of this book is to illustrate Mathuranath's style and method by the translation and analysis of a portion of his commentary on Gangesa's Vyapti-pancaka.

The book is divided into 5 parts. The first part is the introductory chapter and in the 3rd section of this Introduction the author has given an English translation of the Vyapti-pancaka and in the fourth section has discussed problem raised in the Vyapti-pancaka rahasya.

The second part deals with the chronology of the Navya Nyaya.

In the third part the author has explained the technical terms of the Nyaya Philosophy.

In the fourth part he has translated a portion of the Vyapti-pancaka-rahasya and in the fifth part has analysed the portion translated.

The book is highly technical and the author has freely used logical symbols.

It is a very useful publication.

Bengali Students are referred to Vyapti-pancaka with Mathuri Didihi annotated and translated by Pandit Rajendranath Ghosh (pp. 124—480).

THE SCIENCE OF EMOTIONS: By Bhagavan Das. Third edition revised and enlarged. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Pp. XXXVI & 556. Price Rs. 5.

The first edition was published in 1900, the second edition in 1908, the third edition is twice the size of the second and three times that of the first.

The book is divided into 12 chapters under the following headings—(i) Preliminary remarks on the analysis and the classification of the emotions. (ii) The factors of Emotion. (iii) (A) The essential nature of Emotion and (B) on the nature of desire and its relation to Emotion, and to pleasure and pain. The definition of emotions and the principal Emotions and their elements. (v) The subdivisions of principal Emotions. (vi) Certain possible objections. (vii) Emotions and character, or virtues and vices. (viii) Complex Emotions. (ix) The correspondence of Emotions. (x) Emotion in Art. (xi) The place of Emotion in human life and its pabulum. (xii) The high application of the science of the Emotions.

The book is based on Hindu Metaphysics. The author has drawn his materials largely from Hindu Philosophy, Hindu Scripture and other branches of Hindu Literature. But he has not ignored European Psychology. His comparison of Hindu ideals with the ideals of Western philosophers is very interesting.

The book is recommended to those who take an interest in the subject.

MAHESCHANDRA GHOSH

HEBER'S INDIAN JOURNAL:—A selection, with an Introduction by P. R. Krishnaswami. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1923. With a frontispiece.

This book has become classic and famous for the beautiful and faithful pen-pictures of the places, persons and events of the India of Heber's days. This book was reviewed at great length in our Review. So we need not dwell upon it again in detail. This book is indispensable to students of Indian History.

From Manger to Cross—the Story of the World's Famous Film of the Life of Jesus: By Henderson Bland who represented the Christ. With a Message from the Bishop of London and an Appreciation of J. M. Bullock, LL. D., Editor of the Graphic. Hodder and Stoughton Limited, London. Illustrated.

In this book has been described how the scenario of Jesus's life-history was taken in the countries where the events are supposed to have happened actually, to give the scenario a local atmosphere. The description of the process and progress of enacting and photographing the story is interesting.

A STUDY IN HINDU SOCIAL POLITY: By Chandra Chakravarty. Published by Ramchandra Chakravarty, M. A., 58 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. 293 Pp. 4s. 6d. net. 1923.

In this book the author has brought together the materials with which he intended to write a cultural history of the Hindus but the idea of writing which he abandoned after reading R. C. Dutt's *The Civilization in Ancient India*. However, these hastily drawn sketches of the ancient cultural history of Hindu India are interesting and valuable. The book is divided into seven chapters and the subjects treated in them are as follows: Physical Geography of India, Ethnic Elements in Hindi Nationality, Hindu Myths, Hindi Languages, Hindi Scripts, Caste, Social Organisation. This is a book which may interest Ethnologists, Philologists,

Sociologists, and students of Comparative Religion. It is a storehouse of historical materials. C. B.

PLAYS BY TOLSTOY: *Translated By Louise and Aylmer Maude, Oxford University Press, Bombay, Pp. 398.*

Tolstoy is a world-force whose views on life and letters, politics and religion, society and government, art and morality are known to the farthest ends of the world. A man of idea essentially, he knows how to express his idea simply, concretely and beautifully—in one word, artistically. He is a master craftsman who uses short stories, essays, novels, and dramas with equal ease and skill for the propagation of his ideas. He turned to drama very late in life, but this mode of expression, it is said, pleased him much. In all he wrote six plays—plays of unequal merit and beauty and in all of them he embodied his favourite doctrines. "The First Distiller" is a prohibitionist pamphlet wherein he declares drink to be "the cause of it all." Drink arouses in us the fox, the pig, and the wolf, in fact, makes us cunning, greedy and quarrelsome. "The Power of Darkness" is another play in which the blighting influence of lust is clearly exhibited. Adultery is responsible for the ruin of a house and the ruin of many souls and sin is the greatest mischief-maker in the Universe. In the stuffy and suffocating atmosphere of sin and lust, drinking and deception, Akin's presence seems to be like the fresh mountain-breeze in the morning. "Fruits of Enlightenment" seems to be tirade against the Doctors and their new-fangled theories of microbes and germs and the upstart doctrine of spiritualism. The Fat Lady, Leonid Fedorich, Anna Pavlovna, the Professor—all these are comic figures but Tanya, Lady's maid seems to be as resourceful and clever as the maid-servant of Ali Baba. She seems to be the only vital character in the play. "The Cause of It All" is another temperance pamphlet, whereas "Light Shines in Darkness" seems to be the weakest of all. Here Tolstoy gives expression to his views about property, military service and what not, but the characterisation is feeble and business of little or no importance. Many of the characters seem to be so many cheap imitations of Tolstoy himself and speak in his accents.

But the most powerful of all is "The Live Corpse." We are not sure if other plays can go well on the stage but this is the most spectacular and moving and makes a powerful appeal to the eye and the heart. Here the inequity of divorce laws in Russia is held up to our ridicule and the interest of the play is never allowed to flag for a minute. Masha, the young gypsy girl and Fedza are noble characters and their nobility is not eclipsed even by the depravity of their lives.

These are the plays of Tolstoy whose value does not depend on the personality of the author, their form or the ideas they contain, but upon all these taken together. In them we have a subtle combination of art and ideas while above them hovers the grim, stern, and self-tortured personality of Tolstoy.

DIWAN CHAND SHARMA.

CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS IN THE CENTRAL MUSEUM, LAHORE: *By S. N. Gupta, Assistant Principal, Mayo School of Arts, Lahore. Royal 8vo., 156 pages. Cloth. Gilt letters. Illustrated. 1923. Rupees 15.*

The pictures have been catalogued according to the subjects dealt with in them. A short description and history of each picture and the subject it

depicts have been appended after the number and name of each picture, and this has enhanced the value of the catalogue. The book contains 23 plates. The pictures have been neatly reproduced. Six of them are in colours, and the rest are in photo-gravure.

The different classes of paintings and drawings dealt with in the work are: Persian and Indo-Persian drawings and paintings, portraits of Mughal emperors and noblemen, European subjects, composite animals, portraits of the Sikh period and rulers of the Punjab States, paintings of subjects from Hindu mythology, portraits of saints and religious leaders, paintings of miscellaneous subjects, paintings of the Rajput school, paintings of Radha and Krishna, drawings, animals and birds, decorative drawings, modern paintings of Bengal, etc. Some five specimens of calligraphy have also been catalogued.

Besides those mentioned in "Errata", there are some other misprints and mistakes.

The book will be very useful to both casual visitors to the Lahore Central Museum and serious students of art.

C. B.

PEASANT PROPRIETORSHIP IN INDIA: *By Professor Dwijadas Datta, M.A., M.R.A.C. (Gloucester), Simla Press, Comilla, Bengal. Price Rs. 3.*

Peasant-proprietorship was the land-law established in India from time immemorial and continued to be so to the end of Mogul times. Under section 39 of 24 Geo. III, cap. 25 passed in 1784, the East India Company was bound down to "the laws and constitution of India" as "the only legal basis of legislation" in regard to agricultural land in India. Under those laws "the land of the country is not the property of the king. Men are the owners of their lands. The arable land is the property of the reclaiming cultivator. Forests are ownerless." There was no rent in the sense of "unearned increment" in India, but only *vahi* (contribution) or "tribute" paid for services rendered, in the form of a proportion of the actual produce varying in value with the actual yield of the soil. There was no room for making famine prices a ground for the enhancement of rent. In return for the *vahi*, the ruling power had to protect crops, etc., advance loans without interest, supply pastures, compensate for loss by theft, and settle all disputes free of charge. There was no room for our existing "endless chains of subinfeudation". Now that the Royal Proclamation of 1919 promises full representative Government to the people, Lord Cornwallis's mistake of the Permanent Settlement which was a settlement of the revenue and not of the land should be rectified by the exercise of the right then reserved for "the protection of the cultivators of the soil" and peasant-proprietorship which has given new life to the civilized world should be restored to the Peasantry of India. If our Government instead of remaining a mere sleeping partner of the produce, took an active interest in securing increase of production, such is the elasticity of our agricultural resources, the profits of the husbandman as well as the revenue of the Government, are bound to be ten times what they are now.

The above is the substance of Mr. Datta's book, which coming as it does from the pen of the late Professor of Agriculture of Shibpur College, may well claim the merit of an expert production, and the views set forth, however unpopular they may



be, deserve the consideration of every student of Indian economics. There would, we believe, be less popular objection to the revision of the Permanent Settlement if the people could be more certain than they have reasons to be at present that more revenue in the Government Treasury would mean greater wealth to the country. As it is, the chances are that the additional revenue would be misapplied in military extravagance or in increasing the fat emoluments of the higher Civil Services. Mr. Datta has gathered his materials from all possible sources, and laid ancient Sanskrit literature as well as the historians of medieval India freely under contribution. He is no novice in the art of writing, and is an accomplished thinker and scholar. A book on the economic condition of the peasantry, their rights and the ways and means for ameliorating their abject poverty must be welcome to all who are interested in their welfare. We wish the get-up of the book had been more attractive than what is within the reach of a mofussil press. The letter press is however bold and distinct, and the book is printed on thick paper. We hope Mr. Dutta's book will stimulate discussion, and the peasantry being the back-bone of the country, the intrinsic importance of the subject need not be emphasised.

POL.

## HINDI.

**BHARATIYA SAMPATH SASTRA**; *By Pt. Prannath Padyalankar, Professor, Hindu University. Published by the Pratap Pustakalaya, Cawnpur. Price Rs. 5. Pp. 879. 1923.*

This work on Indian Economics and Fiscal Policy is written from the national stand-point. The author compiles from every possible source his materials which he arranges historically and tries to show the decadence under British rule on every side of our economic life. These facts from the past history are a special feature of this work. The author supports the views of Fredrick List and the Indian Nationalists in certain matters, but in considering the question of lands he suggests that there should be free distribution of plot among agriculturist, and that income tax should be levied on the same principle as on these merchants and industrialists. The writer has taken great pains to make the work comprehensive and interesting and we hope it will be popular to the Hindi-knowing public.

**HINDI KA SAMKSHIPTA ITIHASA**; *By Ramnares Tripathi. Published by the Hindi Mandir, Allahabad. Price as 6. Pp. 98.*

This little book originally formed the introduction to the "*Kavita-Kaumudi*" compiled by the author. While in jail, he revised his introduction, and incorporated new facts and opinions in the present work. This is a very laudable attempt. The author gives in a nutshell the whole history of Hindi literature. He differs from the general view in some important point, e. g., the time of the origin of Hindi literature, and the relation between the "*Brajabhasha*" and "*Hindi*." The passages from the Hindi poets give a special interest to the readers.

**VIRA KESARI SIVAJI**; *By Nandakumar Deb Sarma. Published by the Hindi Pustak Agency, 126 Harrison Road, Calcutta. Pp. 714. Price Rs. 4.*

Though there are several works in Hindi on the life and times of Sivaji, the author compiles this work with the help of well-known scholars' original contributions. As is now known to the public, the Marathi scholars have taken to the task of bringing out the old records and of studying these most carefully and critically. So the author has done well by drawing his materials from those quarters. The works of Kincaid and Parnis, and of Prof. Sarkar are monumental studies and they have been aptly utilized. This work is bound to be popular. Maps, chart and contemporary pictures would have added to the worth of the book.

**PREM**.—*Translated by Pannalal Jain. Published by Hindi Pustak Bhandar, 93 Lower Chitpore Road, Calcutta. Price as 8. Pp. 51.*

This booklet is translated from the original Bengali of the late Aswini Kumar Dutta. The picture on the cover is well designed.

RAMES BASU.

## TAMIL.

**MARUTHUVASASTRUM OR A MANUAL OF MIDWIFERY**; *By K.M.M. Radha Krishnan, L.M.P., Medical Practitioner, Tinnevely. With illustrations and charts. Pp. 182. Price Rs. 2-8.*

A very useful manual. Illustrations require to be very much improved.

**THE PROPHET AND HIS FOUR FRIENDS**; *By B. Daudshah, Madras. Pp. 142. Price Re. 1-8.*

A very fine book that ought to be in the hands of every Tamil Muslim. We have in this work a good description of Arabia before the advent of Mahomed. The noble life of the Prophet as well as that of the first four caliphs are then vividly described. The book is closed with the most interesting chapter—the chapter on Muslim Democracy. The lives of Mahomed and the Second Caliph especially are full of lessons to the humanity.

The author's catholicity of view and literary capacity are made evident by his simple style and quotations from the Epic of Mahabharatham, and Thirukural.

MADHAVAN.

## GUJARATI.

**RATHA-YATRA**; *Published by the Yugadharma Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. Price Re. 1 (1921).*

It is a translation of Rabindranath's work and has been priced so cheaply as to make it popular.

**ANANTA**; *By Aranyak. Published by the Yugadharma Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. Pp. 104. Price Re. 0-8-0 (1924).*

This is a play, written to illustrate the principle that if one wants to live the life divine, one would find it surrounded by the forest of endlessness. In the forest, it is said are entangled several Ganges rivers which sometimes let themselves loose, and change the ideal of life. It is on this allegory that the writer has worked and produced a book which, before it could be understood, requires an effort to follow its trend.

**KAVYA SAMUCHCHAYA :** By Ramnarayan V. Pathak, of the Gujarat Mahavidyalaya, Ahmedabad. Thick card board. Pp. 187. Price Re. 1. 1924.

To introduce the students of the Vidyalaya to the best poems and songs to be found in recently written Gujarati verse literature is the purpose of this collection, and it is literally well carried out. This is the first part and a second one is promised soon.

**TWO NALAKHYANS :** By Ramlal Chunilal Modi. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick card board. Pp. 144. Price Rs. 2 (1924).

Mr. Ramlal Modi has by now made a name as a scholar of old Gujarati MSS. and poems. Kavi Bhalan, an old poet who flourished about four hundred years ago has written two Nalakhyans, and Mr. Modi has published, rather edited, both of them in this book, with a suitable introduction, and very well-written notes. The first poem is worthy of the pen of the poet in every way: the second seems to be spurious. There is no reason for one and the same poet to write two poems on one and the same subject. What we specially wish to stress in this book is the admirable way in which the poem is edited and annotated.

**REPORT OF THE VIJNANA SAMITI :** Published by Pritamirai Varajrai Desai, Hony. Secretary of the Society. Printed at the Jnan Mandir Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover: Pp. 96 & 64. 1924.

The Gujarati Sahitya Parishad has of late established a science section, and the report embodies the work done by it: though not encouraging, it bears the stamp of sincerity on the part of its workers, who have under discouraging circumstances tried whole-heartedly to prevent the section slipping into a moribund state by means of public lectures. As the print shows, they are useful and interesting. The collections of scientific terms, at the end, is a step in the right direction.

**BHAVANA SRISTI :** By Prof. Vishnuprasad Ranehdallal Trivedi, M. A. Printed at the Ganderi Printing Press, Surat. Paper cover. Pp. 100. Price Re. 0-10-0. 1924.

This is a collection of very small stories, written in the vein of rhapsody of imaginary events. They

are pleasant to read for the time being, but would hardly leave any lasting impressions.

**SPEECHES AND SERMONS OF SWAMI RAMTIRTH :** By Syed Ata-ul-tuh of Palampur. Published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 501. Price Rs. 2-4-0 1924.

This is the third volume of the speeches, sermons, etc., by Swami Ramtirth. With this, i.e., the third volume, begins the Urdu Section of his writings and they have been well rendered into Gujarati.

**SHARIR-BIJNANA :** Published by the Dakshina Marti Vidyarthi Bhavan, Bhavnagar. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick card board. Pp. 240. Price Re. 1-0-0. 1924.

This Model Bhavan of Bhavnagar caters for the bodies as well as the minds of its pupils. A series of interesting papers on all that goes to make up a sound body written in the simplest of styles is to be found in this book. Students are told how and why to take care of every member of their body, and the lessons on these subjects are driven home with apt examples.

**COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY, PART I** By Chandulal Bhajubhai Dalal, Adhyapak, Gujarat Mahavidyalaya, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 472. Price Rs. 2-8-0. 1924.

Being the first book of its kind in Gujarati, we welcome it heartily, as it betokens an advent of such useful books from the pen of the teachers of the Vidyalaya. Everything pertaining to the commerce of India would be found in this book, as almost all the literature on the subject seems to have been studied in writing it. It will prove of use not to students only but to other commercial men also.

**VIRAJ-VAHU :** Translated by Mchadev Haribhai Desai, and published by the Navnvan Prakashak Mandir, Ahmedabad. Thick card board. Pp. 162. Price Re. 0-10-0. 1924.

A very pleasant translation of Babu Sharat Chandra Chatterji's Bengali novel. Its great beauty is that it reads like an original work and sustains the interest of the reader unflaggingly till the end.

K. M. J.

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[ This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticising it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. No criticism of reviews and notices of books will be published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, "The Modern Review." ]

**Mr. C. R. Das and Obstruction in Council of Reforms Concerning Women and Children.**

Allow me to contradict a few statements which

appeared in the editorial "Notes" of your paper, of June, 1924, re "Mr. C. R. Das on Women's Rights and Welfare".

In the the editorial comments it has been said



"But if Mr. Das and his party want to go in for *discriminating* obstruction, and if in their opinion all women's movements and all measures of reform relating to women and children are fraught with evil consequences to the country, then it would be necessary to remind them that as the Swarajya party is professedly a wing of the Congress, it cannot go against any policy or resolution of the Congress which has not been reversed or rescinded."

Now, it seems that the above "Note" is simply unnecessary, specially when the well-informed Editor knows fully well that Mr. Das has never regarded that "all women's movements and all measures relating to women and children are, fraught with evil consequences to the country"; neither has the Swarajya Party, the "professed wing of the Congress" gone against any Congress policy or resolution. It is a well-known fact that the two prominent women workers in Bengal at present Sm. Hemprova Majumder and Santosh Kumari Gupta belong to the Swarajya Party and Mr. Das helps them to his utmost in all their good endeavours. Neither, we believe, is it unknown to the Editor of *The Modern Review* that it was Mr. Das who helped his sister Sm. Urmila Devi to found the "Karma Mandir" for the women workers of the Congress and even now the other women's organisation "Mohila Karmi Samsad" of which Sm. Hemprova is the secretary, is being maintained almost entirely on Mr. Das's patronage. Moreover every informed man knows that during the last Social Service Conference held at the Overtoun Hall, Calcutta, a few months back, Mr. Das openly denied the allegations made in certain quarters that as Mr. Das had renounced the sect which was known for its "Reformed Ideas", he had renounced the ideas of social reforms as well. Not at all. As a matter of fact any one who has some knowledge of Mr. Das and his family, knows well enough that he is *practically* far more advanced in social reforms than many who loudly *profess* their "ideas and convictions." During the last Municipal election in Calcutta the Swarajya (party?) of the Congress made special arrangements to collect votes of the newly enfranchised women of Calcutta. Again, it was Mr. Das who proposed the name of a well-known woman worker for the post of an Alderman in the New Corporation and one woman educationist has been taken in the Primary Education Committee of the Corporation.

Under these circumstances, it is really regrettable that the responsible Editor of the *Modern Review* should spend so much ink and paper on a subject, long exploded to be a baseless and malign rumour.

GOPAL LAL SANYAL.

### Editor's Note.

It is quite unnecessary for us to make any comments on the contents of the foregoing irrelevant letter.

Our editorial note in the last June issue was based on a paragraph in the May number of *Stri-Dharma*, which we quoted in full. There it is distinctly stated that "He (Mr. C. R. Das) is determined to obstruct every reform concerning women and children *which has to be passed through the Legislative Council. He will aim at preventing a single woman in the Province gaining the vote for either mufassal Municipality or Legislative Council for the next four years.....*" (The italics are ours.) Our note was concerned not with the question whether Mr. Das continued to be a social reformer or a patron of women workers and their institutions, but with the question whether he or his party would "obstruct every reform concerning women and children *which has to be passed through the Legislative Council,*" etc. If the writer of the letter had quoted the two sentences of our note just preceding the one he has extracted, it would have been quite clear that our observations were made only with reference to the alleged policy of the Swarajya party in Councils. In the middle of June last, a fortnight after the publication of our June number, we read in a daily that Mr. Hemanta Kumar Sarkar of the Swarajya party will move a resolution in the Bengal Council that women be given the franchise for the provincial council on the basis of the same qualifications as men. If this be true, it shows either that the Editor of *Stri-Dharma* somehow made a mistake, or that Mr. Das and his party have changed their mind after the date of her interview with Mr. Das. Any way, it was open to Mr. Gopal Lal Sanyal simply to say that the allegation regarding the Swarajya party's policy in Council was not true; instead of which he has indulged in irrelevant talk.

## SONG WITH NO WORD

By YONE NOGUCHI.

*Translated by the author from the original Japanese*

Mine is the song denying progress,  
(Song with no word, not ruled by form.)  
A birth of life,  
Accident inevitable,

Ascension of creative sense,  
Passion indefinable;  
Oh, song, you are a phenomenon but not  
achievement!

The spirit descends when it is shaped into words;  
 With the loss of structural force soul is gained.  
 The decadence is evolution's turning point;  
 What a bankruptcy of nature when autumn is over.  
 The new strength comes from the North,—  
 Winter broods in silence to work its own mystery;  
 Let Nature slowly recover from her wounds.

I say the reign of beauty has passed;  
 I say there is more soul in the imperfection or ruin;  
 What a suggestion, what a possibility of redemption,  
 What a reality in life's repentance,  
 What a poetry in psychical change!  
 Oh, song, you are a wind, the singer  
 of dateless life and time!  
 What a new elation of yours in modern pulse!

## A "NO" MASK OF WOMAN

BY YONE NOGUCHI.

*Translated by the author from the original Japanese.*

When you tread on the bridge\* beating a  
 step of soft white rhythm,  
 Your body is trembling delicately with more  
 than five senses,—  
 The senses squeezed out of the embrace of  
 tears and laughter,  
 What wild reality gains from its purification  
 with prayer,  
 You walk along the passion-world of shadow,  
 dark yet clear, cold yet dear.  
 Ah, what a genius did carve you?—  
 He must have given you the last precious  
 mood that remained  
 From the distillation of senses with a physical  
 experience;  
 Then you awoke to a wide and deep world of  
 imagery, a world of poesy.  
 Whenever I see you, I wonder at your reserve  
 of passion, and your way of expressing it,  
 You are the extraordinary possessor of  
 feeling,

And no other stage of the world will see such  
 an economist of passion like yourself.  
 (The real art must begin with the economy of  
 feeling.)  
 Oh, 'tis wonderful to see how even a little  
 touch of emotion makes you cry, or smile,—  
 or do both at the same time,  
 (I know that laughter and tears stream out  
 of the same source.)  
 Ah, what a neutral wonder of emotion is in  
 you!  
 Your long slender eyes, your pair of eye-  
 brows apart and high,  
 Your nose squatting ponderously, thick and  
 flat  
 Your mouth with the white teeth and the  
 under-lip turning upward,—  
 Somewhere in you the women, all of them,  
 will find their own likeness,  
 You are no one woman,  
 But all the woman in one,—  
 A thing created with the essence of all  
 women pounded in a mortar  
 You are the very ghost of all of them.

\* The bridge called Hashigakari is a long, raised  
 passage leading to the stage.



## NIGHT.

By, YONE NOGUCHI.

*Translated by the author from the original Japanese.*

I stand in the garden before the entrance-  
hall,  
To lock up the front gate,—  
I feel the clear light of stars piercing into  
my bones.

I return to my study, I stir the fire in  
a brazier,—  
The copy papers on my desk are there as  
three days before,  
The ink in a bottle is dried up.

Across the darkness of deep night,  
The sound of a carpenter's stone-hammer  
comes from a distance,—  
"He's making haste with his work. So I  
must too!" I murmur.

The clock ticks,  
The stars shine in my soul's eyes,—  
My soul's ears echo to the stone-hammer  
sounding sharp.

## AN AFTERNOON

By YONE NOGUCHI.

*Translated by the author from the original Japanese.*

Three o'clock  
In the afternoon,  
The vibration of a cicada  
(The proud voice of its existence)  
Pierces the rocks;  
The shadows of trees  
Are still  
Feeling all the summer heat:  
Lizards  
Hide in a hole:  
I alone watch  
The ants  
Running between the sun-plants.

The garden is quiet,  
Like a quiet shell,  
Forgotten by life  
And world, . . . . .  
Three o'clock  
In the afternoon.

Outside the garden,  
The sudden cry is rising  
Like a cloud,  
Saying:  
"Extra, extra!  
Great strike,—extra"

## IN APPRECIATION OF CHRIST'S CHARACTER

CHRISTIAN readers of the *Modern Review* have been shocked by the conclusions of Mr. M. Ghosh, and many an Indian admirer of Jesus Christ must have had the same impression. Anyhow, as we are not here concerned with impressions

and sentiments but with rational conclusions only, and a certain method of securing them, we should like to suggest a way of reading and understanding the Gospels, at once fairer and more scientific.

A perfect saint\* ought not to possess any passions, we are told. Now Jesus had His passions: He got angry: was intolerant: cursed His adversaries and even a poor fig-tree, tolerated slavery and slaughter and the whole Judaic system. His love was narrow and sectarian; His religion is but a mercantile bargain 'do your duty exclusively for the sake of rewards. He always talked in parables perfectly unintelligible with the set purpose of sending to the flames of an eternal hell all those who might choose to be of a different opinion. In brief, "*the mind of Jesus was the most unpsychological.*" (M. R., August, 1923, p. 196)

Therefore the character of Christ Jesus is far inferior to the moral attainments of Gotama Buddha.

To generations of Christian men and women Jesus has been their one and all, the one inspiring ideal and the secret power of all their moral greatness, their God. They have read the Gospels: they are still reading them, and strange to say, they are not shocked by those very texts which do shock Mr. Ghosh so very deeply. Here lies an interesting psychological problem and one well worth a few moments' consideration. How does it come to pass that generations of men have worshipped Him Whom Mr. Ghosh so profoundly disregards and despises?

Do Christians believe that Christ was without passions? By no manner of means. The human touch in Christ's character is too intimately interwoven with the whole texture of the Gospels, and too dear to all Christian hearts to permit them to deny or doubt so vital a point. Christ Jesus had His passions: regulated, no doubt, by the dictates of reason, but true human passions they were.

What then do Christians reproach Mr. Ghosh with? With just this little assumption: *Jesus was not a Buddhist, therefore He was not a Saint.*

I explain myself. Mr. Ghosh starts from the Buddhist ideal of Saintliness: he reads the Gospels and to his great astonishment finds that Christ was not a perfect Saint according to that Buddhistic conception of his. You are right, Mr. Ghosh, *Jesus was not a Buddhist Saint*: He never meant to be. His conception of life is altogether different and so is the historical and metaphysical background of His doctrine. If that be so—and this much every reader will grant—Mr. Ghosh in his numerous articles has not even attempted a proof to the contrary—is it fair and scientific to judge *Jesus Christ* by a standard that was not His, and could not be His?

Buddha had an ideal, a conception of life: and so had Jesus: far from being identical or similar, their ideals are altogether conflicting so much so that it is impossible to conceive a deeper and a more far-reaching antithesis. Buddha has tried to realise his own ideal, and so did Jesus. Rightly may we contrast their respective views. Rightly too may we compare the seriousness of their respective efforts in realising their ideal. All these are noble subjects quite worthy of the Indian mind so deeply religious. So far, so good. But for goodness' sake, do not suppose even unconsciously that Christ Jesus can be judged and condemned by the standard and ideal of Gotama Buddha.

To consciously do so would mean sheer folly. Is there a more abiding difference than the one

which severs *Optimism* and *Pessimism*? Yet, if these terms be used to qualify, not separate aspects of a doctrine, but the very drift and purpose of two systems, no fitter terms can be found to characterise respectively the doctrine of Christ and the system of Gotama Buddha.

According to Buddha, *passions* are intrinsically bad: hence there can be no question of mastering them: they have to vanish.

According to Jesus, passions are the God-given instincts by which that frail organism of ours is able to resist the thousand hostile powers of our environment.

*The desire to live* is bad, according to Buddha: hence springs all pain.

Life indeed may be hard and does appear hard, yet the desire to live is good, according to Jesus: being good, (but the good of a limited being) it can be perfected more and more even unto the radiant vision of God.

*Get rid of pain*, that's all you can do: thus the Buddha.

*Take up thy cross every day*, and follow me, thy crucified saviour, that is Jesus.

Did Buddha believe in that God so beautifully described in one of his articles by Mr. Ghosh himself? No! *No God*, no soul for Buddha.

Without the *Providence of God*, so kindly feeding the sparrow and clothing the lily of the field, the very reason of Christ's Optimism has to disappear. Jesus feels confident, because His soul and the soul of every human being, at all times and everywhere is grounded in God, resting on God, as a poor, helpless child would nestle on his dear father's heart.

Now, if the desire to live is the *one* deep reality that courts, as Buddha would have it; if to its survival is due all pain, if the only aim of life can be to get rid of pain, then go on rooting out all passion, all desire; reach the passionless peace of Nirvana, but be sincere and allow me to say, that as the Buddha is logical in conceiving his ideal of Holiness, so would it be sheer folly to assimilate his ideal with the ideal of Christ Jesus.\*

Mr. Ghosh quotes the 13th article of the Church of England to the effect that the works of nature in general and passions in particular are evil. Those are individual views which at times have been taken by isolated reformers in the Church of Christ; the Great Church as well as the deeper instincts of life, infused into Christian Europe, protest against such partial utterances. Buddha's ideal at no time has been the ideal of a Christian Society, nor could it ever be so: Christ was not a Buddha, neither can Buddha be a Christ.

I know Mr. Ghosh will ask me for a text in which all this is clearly laid down. But really does he think that Mark, Matthew and Luke are text-books of Theology? Do I come and ask him to prove his views by a single text from the Veda, the Puranas or Tantras? Yet even the simple study of such a notion as the kingdom of God in the Old Testament, with the Baptist, and in Christ Jesus would amply justify our account.† Many a text taken apart may be susceptible of various, often contradictory interpretations, but Mr. Ghosh knows only too well that texts are to be read in

\* For simplicity's sake, Mr. Ghosh will kindly allow us to quote his thoughts rather than his words.

\* We do not deny the beauty of universal pity preached by Gotama. Touching in itself, it is the logical outcome of his entire system.

† See Note at the end of the article.



their context, literary and historical, and according to the main drift of the system. We shall not even go so far as to say that such a notion as the kingdom of God can have no other meaning than the one suggested above. We know full well that three main conceptions have been held, and are still being held by Biblical Scholars. But *two facts* are perfectly clear according to us:

(i) *Moral Self—Perfection is the Ideal of Christian Europe.* If the impulse did not come from Christ, where does it come from? Is the living reality and the permanent tradition to give way before a few dead texts, broken from their living and life-giving texture and meaning?

(ii) No, surely not. All the more so, as Mr. Ghosh frankly admits *he cannot understand the Psychology of Jesus*. I feel sorry for him. The Christ of the Gospels, as we have viewed Him, is so utterly simple and translucent; honesty and straightforwardness, according to the best Biblical Scholars, are the very characteristics of His nature. The Christ of Mr. Ghosh looks indeed, a perfect fool, we cannot help pronouncing the word, shocking and blasphemous though it be. On the one hand, utterances about God as *sublime* as the human mind has ever conceived (think of the parable of the vine and the branches; His descriptions of God both in the Synoptics and especially in John, v. g., Jo iv. 23, 24); on the other hand, a purely *mercantile* religion, if our opponent be right. Whatever Christ says and does is *to the point* (Mt. xxii 15—33) yet only a perfect fool would go and *curse a poor fig tree* because it bore no fruit at a time when figs were not to be found anywhere yet. Apparently, He only talks for His own secret society, yet people do understand the main drift of what He says. If the parables were meant for an aristocracy of initiated members, how is it that we find them so clear and simple after nineteen centuries have gone by? Christ knows no selfish regard (Mt. vi., 24, 33; Mk. viii 32, 33, 36) yet His love is narrow and sectarian. See the enthusiasm He arouses (Mt. xii. 23; Luke xi. 27) because His charity knows no bounds... Yet (says Mr. Ghosh) be careful, all this means ruse, wile, hatred and set purpose into eternal flames all those who may choose to oppose Him. Is Christ a knave or a fool? One could prove from Mr. Ghosh's writings that He was both a knave and a fool, a real record forsooth, as a fool cannot be a knave nor *vice versa*. Ought we not to reflect when faced by impossible results? Is not unity of understanding the test of a true interpretation of a text as of a character? While deciphering his Sanskrit or Pali texts, I suppose Mr. Ghosh is looking for an intelligible meaning, and should he reach a translation that has no sense or bears no meaning, he would stop, reflect, and overhaul his work, sure that, somehow or other, he has made a slip.

And that is precisely what we should like to suggest in his case. Mr. Ghosh has all the qualities required to make a Biblical Scholar, if he will only strive to understand the unity of Christ's character by not building up an hypothesis on the most obscure texts, and by not severing single texts from their living context, literary and historical as well as from the general drift of the system.—*Intelligenti pauca*—an intellectual man like Mr. Ghosh will be thankful, we feel sure for the clue supplied; we need not follow it up in every detail, and can thus dispense with a detailed exegesis of

all and every verse incriminated. For the sake of greater clearness let us divide the texts in question into three groups:

1. Some texts bear no meaning in Mr. Ghosh's system; this is of course very bad.

2. Others might indeed be interpreted as he suggests, but other interpretations are equally or more plausible. Mr. Ghosh would have to show that his is the only interpretation possible.

3. Finally, a last class of texts is, in the main, rightly interpreted; the only reason why they are brought forward is because they are conflicting with the tenets and ideal of the Buddha. This, as we have shown, would indeed be very serious if Christ had meant to realise the Buddha's ideal; but if these texts fully agree with the system of Jesus, we do not see why they should in any way belittle either the person or the doctrine of Our Lord. This latter class we should like to illustrate by a few examples.

I. "Gotama stood outside the religious order of his day. Christ did not." (*M. R.*, June, 1924, p. 658).

This is surprising as a judgment. Ought we to despise all that has been done by our forefathers? Is it even an advantage *in se* to break with the past?

Did the Buddha do so entirely? Can his doctrine be explained without reference to what went before, religiously and philosophically?—If the God of Israel is the true God; if the main drift of Judaism was right; if the Law itself wanted a Messiah who would come to fulfil, not to destroy; if Christ Jesus was that Messiah, how could he possibly stand outside the religious order of his day?

II. *Christ did not condemn the slaughter of animals*; He even performed the Paschal Rite.

Will Mr. Ghosh condemn his earliest ancestors\* without even listening to what they might say in their favour—by showing that the slaughter of animals is morally wrong? We are still waiting for that proof. Anyhow, to console him, let it be mentioned that, while not condemning butchers as evil-doers, bloody sacrifices have no place in the Christian worship and this by order of Christ.

III. *Christ did not speak in the dark.* (Jo XVIII) If in the second half of his public life, he took a special interest in the training of his apostles, the reason is obvious; it is they who were meant to carry on the work, not the simple Galilean folk or the haughty Scribes and Pharisees.

IV. *Jesus was intolérant.* We are told. Of the sinner? surely not; of sin? Of course, and why should he not be, or rather how could he have tolerated sin at all? If he had a message to deliver; if all the means of kindness had been exhausted; why should he not on the very verge of his life, and by the very vehemence of his speech, have denounced the serious responsibilities Scribes and Pharisees were incurring by their obstinate bad will, and that still greater evil already lurking under his eyes, their future, eternal damnation.

V. Indeed, we fully admit with Mr. Ghosh that *Jesus taught the existence of an Eternal hell*, prepared for all those who obstinately refuse to be saved. Such is the teaching of Christ; such has

\* Reference is here made to the horse-sacrifice, the slaughter of cows, and the fact that even Hsuen-Tsang nearly fell a victim at the altar of Durga.

ever been the doctrine of the Catholic Church, Christ's authentic interpreter. We are not ashamed of the point,—far from it. Christ's system wants an Eternal Hell: to sacrifice it would spell inconsequences. Of course, the notion of Karma-Transmigration will rebel; never mind! Mr. Ghosh ought to know that such a notion is foreign to the Bible and the Teaching of the Church, and antithetical to that God Mr. Ghosh and myself do worship; an independent God cannot depend on a system of Karma which by its very nature is bound to work itself out independently of God; Karma is an Atheistic Notion well befitting an Atheistic System like the one of Gotama: it cannot fit into the Theism of Christ. If some men refuse to be saved,—and Christ Jesus knew for sure, there were unhappy beings of that sort—can their refusal be the determining cause why God has to give them another chance?

VI. Oinopotes, Mt. XI. 19, does not imply intoxication, far from it. The context beautifully indicates the motive of Christ's behaviour, John the Baptist had followed in the footsteps of the prophets; his austerity had proved a failure. Christ leads the life of the humble Galilean artisan, spurning all over-great austerity; He sits down at a wedding-feast as well as at the table of the Publicans, not to repel any soul, but to attract them all by the kindness of his ways? Besides, is it wrong to drink wine? In certain countries this is the ordinary beverage. Anyhow, would it be fair for us to quote the story of the Buddha's death, while omitting the very motive of his eating the tough pork that 'no one in the world except a Buddha could digest'? Anxious not to hurt the poor smith's feelings, he ate the pork and died of it. In this, he gave us a lesson of delicacy no doubt, and so did Christ while mixing with everybody and pleasing them all. The attitude of Jesus seems even more logical for whereas he did not condemn the growth and use of wine, Buddha's monks were not supposed to touch meats. How shall we justify the Buddha if all killing be morally wrong?

VII. Disregarding minor details, let us come to the great contention. The religion of Christ is altogether mercantile in character, for it bids us do good merely for the sake of rewards. The list of quotations to this effect is indeed very long, yet not a single text states that we must do good for the sake of rewards. I may read over and over again the full list, everywhere I find but one assertion: 'Do good.....rewards will follow' (as a matter of fact and because they cannot help following) but 'do good for the sake of rewards' and chiefly 'do good exclusively for the sake of rewards'. I find nowhere.

I have not got the pleasure of knowing the religious principles of opponents. To judge by the January article, he cannot follow the metaphysics of Buddha Gotama if he wishes to be consistent: in June he cannot borrow from Gotama his moral ideal without at the same time taking the doctrinal basis which alone allows of such an ideal.

Whatever position he may choose to take, he will easily realise that in any system rewards are bound to follow the performance of duty and, what is worse, no one can adopt the attitude of Gotama without, by the very fact, doing good exclusively for the sake of rewards. The charge is serious, and considering the pleasure Mr. Ghosh takes in dwelling on the mercantile character of Christianity, we may well be allowed a full rejoinder.

No religious system, we say, can seriously maintain that the performance of duty is antithetical to the reaching of rewards, duty and happiness cannot help following one another. Why, is that so? For the very simple reason that if I realise the perfection of the Universe, I realise my own perfection, since in some sense or other, varying with the various systems, I am a member of the Universe. Or else shall we come to an abstract perfection which is the perfection of no one?

So far so good. Hindoos do not deny this point.\* They only maintain that we ought not to perform duty for the sake of selfish reward. Until Mr. Ghosh will have played his final trump, Christianity is not proved to be more mercantile than any other system, except the doctrine of Buddha in which a man cannot help working exclusively for the sake of rewards. Why indeed does Gotama wish to kill all passion? Exclusively to get rid of pain. Here lies the reward over-great for whose sake and for whose sake alone all passion has to be eradicated.†

Some minor points about Buddha are doubtful, to say the least. Thus we are told he never got angry. What about the crushing rebuke administered to his disciple Ananda because he sought to penetrate a veil which the Buddha had declined to lift? "Can a man, dominated by passion, go beyond the teaching of the master?" (S. N. III. 133).

Pondering over the facility with which Mr. Ghosh rejects as inauthentic texts that do not suit his purpose, when even the most ruthless hypocrites have never dared to touch them, we cannot help quoting the following words from a very reasonable book on Buddhism: "It is strange to find that Western criticism, ruthless in probing the claims of its own sacred scriptures, has treated the Pali Canon with a respect so profound as to regard with open hostility any attempt to apply to these sources of information the same dispassionate scrutiny which is demanded from the researcher into the history of Christianity". (A. B. Keith, Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon. Oxford, 1923, p. 15).

The text Luke XXIII, 34 according to all competent authorities is inauthentic. Even in the Revised version of the Bible, this fact has been admitted M. R. February 1924, p. 175. This is perfectly inaccurate. Facts are quite different.

The verse is given in the text of the R. V. which means that the editor admits its authenticity. The marginal note remarks that 'some ancient authorities omit the verse, from which our opponent seems to deduce that according to all competent authorities this verse is an interpolation. Westcott-Eort in their recension, though fully admitting the authenticity of "Father forgive them for they know not what they do" as a word of Christ, think it to have been absent from the

\* Sankara after his famous strictures on the philosophy of Buddha, concludes as follows: "Buddha's doctrine has to be entirely disregarded by all those who have a regard for their happiness." Comment, on the Vedanta Sūtras II. 2,32

Ramanaia: "The Lord then recognising him who performs good actions, blesses him with piety, riches, worldly pleasures, and final release, while him who transgresses his commands he causes to experience the opposites of all these. Nor can the Lord be arraigned with being pitiless or merciless.... Otherwise it would follow that to subdue and chastise one's enemies is something to be blamed."

† The Theragatha expresses the typical sentiment of an early Bhikkhu as follows: "I have vomited forth all desires, loves, hates, For my own sake have I done so, not for any other's sake."



primitive text of Luke because it is missing in B. D. 38'435 sah. boh. (MSS)—lat. (a b d.)—syrsin. W. (Prier) and (H) (Koridethi).

On the other hand Tischendorf and Soden maintain the full authenticity of Luke XXIII 34a, and this without the slightest hesitation, basing their judgment on the presence of the verse in *Sinaiticus*, *A C* and all the other manuscripts, the greater number of MSS of the old Latin version, the vg. syrcur. pes. hier. boh. (mes), arm. eth. Ir. (lat.), the canons of Eusebius, etc. etc.

Not only then do all competent authorities not agree, but the very judgment of Westcott-Hort is liable to criticism. The opinion of Tischendorf and of Soden seems far more probable whereas the choice of W-H. is easily explained by their preferences for the Codex Vaticanus. Acts III. 17, XIII 27, and 1 Cor II. 8, seem to allude to a word of Jesus akin to Luke XXIII, 34 a. Why then has the verse been omitted by some ancient authorities? It is proper to Luke, but there are many other parts of that kind. Have some scribes considered as excessive the kindness of Our Saviour, for the Jews knew full well they did wrong? That is exactly what happened to Jo. VIII. 1-12, and it throws a singular light on the character of Jesus.—Anyhow, even W-H. do recognise that these heroic words of Our Lord would never have found a place in Luke if they had not belonged to the unauthentic tradition of the apostles.

Scores of texts would still have to be discussed in detail: we feel afraid we have already overtaxed the reader's patience. One word in conclusion.

To learn Hindooism, I sit down at the feet of a Hindoo; I chose an Orthodox Hindoo, not one of those who interpret their Scriptures by some faint analogies with Western Science. I think I am right in doing so.—To learn Christianity, likewise, there could be no better means than to study the Orthodox Doctrine of the Catholic Church, a regular study of our New Catholic Monthly *'The Light of the East'* would soon convince Mr. Ghosh that the character of Christ is far more intelligible than he thinks, and far more sympathetic, though of a type somewhat different from Buddha.

St. Mary's College of Divinity, P. TURMES, s. j.  
Kurseong (D. H. R.).

NOTE:—"Union with God in Heaven" the Ideal of Jesus.

Mr. Ghosh seems to believe that the very same term, *Kingdom of God* can have no less than half a dozen meanings perfectly disconnected (M. R., Aug. 1923, p. 197); that Our Lord's words may be explained by reference, now to one, now to the other of these various significations, for no other reason than because this attitude suits his own purpose. He ought to remember that these various meanings are borrowed from hostile systems. Scholars like Harnack, according to whom K. of G. stands for an inner spiritual experience (meaning i) will spurn all other concepts and explain all texts by a consistent, systematic appeal to one single notion. The opposed School of Eschatologists like Loisy meaning iii and vi fundamentally identical will never admit that K. of G. can mean an inner, spiritual experience. Both schools will agree in rejecting as narrow and antiquated a system of exegesis which would reach such notions as IV and V. Then there are those scholars who distinguish

a double stage in the gradual manifestation of the Kingdom, thus *synthesising in a sense to the conflicting views of Harnack and Loisy*. Mr. Ghosh does not see any harm in following at one time Loisy, at another Harnack. What does he care about understanding Christ and the Gospels? Can Christ be understood at all?

Here are a few points that may prove useful as a clue to many a difficulty of his:

I. K. of G. is a very poor translation, for basileia theon refers, *not to the territory* over which a king rules, *but in a true Eastern sense to the very power exercised* (Psalms 102,19; 144. 11, 12, 13; 2. 29).

II. *Jehovah* in that sense is *the King of the Universe*. He has willed it to be, that is why it exists. Were it not for His will, all would again vanish: all depends on Him; He holds sway over it all, *by right at least*. As a matter of fact Israel alone bears the yoke of the Theocratic Government. But day will dawn when fact will give way to right and all, in one sense or the other, will recognise the rule of the Lord God. Thus the concept of the Royal Rule of God becomes coupled with the idea of a final manifestation (*Apocalypse*) when God will give to each one according to his merits.

III. Now, various characters will naturally stress various aspects of the same concepts; accordingly we reach different shades of meaning, extremely important for the understanding of the Gospels. The words K. of G. have quite a different nuance in the mind of the Jews, in the mind of the Baptist, in the mind of Jesus.

The Jews in the time of Our Lord stress the *national and temporal* elements: with them K. of G. means God's rule through the agency of the Messiah-King who will build up a Jewish Monarchy, and submit to Israel all pagan empires.

With *John the Baptist* this ideal, collective and national and temporal of the Jews, becomes highly *individualistic*, broadly *human*; profoundly *apocalyptic*; the judgment of God—through a Messiah to come, nay already in their midst—is at hand; what counts for a man is not that he should be a son of Abraham, but the fact that he possesses the fruits of righteousness.

Christ's idea is intimately linked up with the conception of the Baptist. There are differences all the same and pretty deep differences;

(1) Christ does not refer to a future messiah; He knows himself to be the messiah.

(2) Stressing the Ethical attitude, He yet knows full well that wheat and cockle will grow together in the field of the world, until the Day of Industrial when the God of Justice will reward the good and punish the wicked.

From these few considerations, (all too sketchy, I know) we can understand.

(a) *Why Christ did not straight off tell everybody: I am the Messiah.*

The Jews would have taken these words in their own sense: The Monarchy of David will be re-established, hence revolution; war on the Roman: bundle him out! Christ's Kingdom is not of this world, *i.e.* is not a temporal rule, but a spiritual power. His ideal is human, not national. Hence when the devils proclaim His Messiahship. He bids them be silent. Even His apostles are not to spread the news.

Yet on two occasions does He speak out or allow people to speak out: *when far from the Jews and*

when the hour had come for laying down his life and this willingly (Jo X 17, 18).

In Samaria He tells the woman explicitly (Jo IV. 26) ; in the land of Gerasa He does not impose silence on the devils (Mk V. 7, 8).

When the hour draws near of laying down His life, according to the Father's order, He does not mind the profession of Bartimaeus and the shouts of the crowd saluting Him as Son of David ; nay all the parables of these last days have but in view this one single point, and before Caiphas and Pilate His testimony is clear and resolute : not only does He know this will prove the deep cause of his death, it is by choosing to make these solemn avowals that He willingly accepts His passion and death.

(b) By a study of the notion of K. of G., we are

prepared for texts like Mt. XXVIII. 18-20 and the parallels in Mark and Luke : Acts I. 3, XXIV. 9, 14 etc., which put in full evidence the *'universalism of Christ.'*

(c) The spiritual and Ethical character of the K. of G. prepares texts like MR XII. 25 (thru Luke XXII. 30) cannot be taken literally, and in spite of Mr. Ghosh's affirmation, Dalman 2 lines below the quotation made says in full terms ; 'Never did He refer to the repast merely as a repast,' etc., [Dalman, the Words of Jesus, p. 111] Luke XII. 33. 2 Cor. V. 1. Apoc. XXIII 4, 1 Cor. XIII. 12. 1 Jo. III. 2.

These texts fully entitle us to conclude that *the Heaven of the Historic Christ was no other than the 'face' ad faciem' of the Radiant Eternal Vision of God.*

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### "What Then?"

As usual with Rabindranath Tagore's discourses, his contribution, entitled "What Then?" to the *Vaisakh* (mid-April) number of *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* does not easily lend itself to summarising. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with extracting the concluding paragraphs of the article, which give some idea of the whole. The poet-seer writes :—

Now-a-days, on occasions of festivity, we have acquired the habit of adding a foreign brass band to the usual set of festive pipes, thereby creating a horrible confusion of sound. Nevertheless, the plaintive note of our real yearning may yet be discerned by the sensitive ear, through all its clash and clang. The glamour of European civilisation has captivated our eyes, and our great ambition is to imitate it, as best we can, in our own feeble way. But while, in the public part of our homes, the foreign big drum and blatant trumpet proclaim the pride of wealth and the competition of fashion, those who are in touch with the privacy of our inner life, know that this hideous din does not penetrate there, to drown the auspicious conch-blasts which voice the true festivity in the depths of our heart. However vociferously we may preach the efficacy of European state-craft and social customs and business methods, these cannot fill our hearts—, they rather hurt the ideal of the Highest which is still alive within us, and our soul cries out against them.

We were not always this kind of a market crowd, jostling and elbowing one another so vulgarly, quarrelling over privileges and titles, advertising our own worth in bigger and bigger type. The whole thing is sheer imitation and mostly sham. It has no redeeming features of courtesy or gracefulness. But, before this age of make-believe overtook us, we had an inherent dignity of our own, which was not impaired by plain living or poverty. This was

for us like a congenital armour which used to protect us against all the insults and trials of our political subjection. But this natural protection has been wheedled away from us, leaving us defenceless and ashamed. Dignity has now become an outside thing which we must bolster up by outward show. As we no longer reckon inward satisfaction to be the fullness of wealth, we have to hunt for its paraphernalia in foreign shops, and never can gather together enough of them. And the unmeaning excitement of this pursuit, which we have come to look upon as the only happiness, has made us, who were once only in partial subjection, to become slaves of the foreigner all over.

But, in spite of all this, I say that it has not worked its way into the core of our being. It is yet of the outside and therefore, perhaps, so excessively obvious. Just because we have not become really used to our new acquisitions do we make so much of a turmoil about them, like the exaggerated movements of the inexperienced swimmer.

I still feel sure that if one who is worthy stands before us and proclaims that this insane competition, this ephemeral wealth, this aimless excitement, is not the best for us, that each set of activities have their natural termination ; that in the perfection of the ending must be our ultimate fulfilment ; and that short of the Supreme all else is but petty and futile,—then, even through the clamour of the market place, such message cannot fail to reach our heart. "True! True!" it will respond at once. "Never was anything truer!" Then our school-learned lessons, or the profits of insensate competition and the glories of blood-stained nationalism, will drop out of our minds and the glitter of armies and the glamour of navies cease to fascinate us.

Moreover, I cannot at all admit that what is good, is good for us alone. It is never true that we must take refuge in meekness because we are weak, or that we want righteousness only as a convenient cloak for hiding our poverty! The ideal held up high by our sages of old was not meant for a particular people, peculiarly situated. It was realised and announced as a truth good for



all places and times, and so, in our heart of hearts, we still believe it to be.

To prepare during adolescence, in a spirit of reverence and by a life of discipline, for the world-life in which the soul is to attain maturity amidst the performance of good works; to achieve in the larger life of the third stage the loosening of its worldly bonds so as to qualify the soul for the joy of passing through the portals of death to its freedom,—only through such regulation can human life attain to consistency and fulness of meaning.

If we really believe this, then we must also recognise that each and every people must strive to realise it, overcoming their respective obstacles in their own way, if they would be true to themselves. If they would really live, then everything else,—the luxury of individual riches, the might of nations,—must be counted as subordinate. The soul of man must triumph and liberate itself, if man's incessant endeavour during all these ages is to attain its fulfilment.

If that is not to be, what then, what then, what then?

### Silk-worms in Mysore.

*The Journal of the Mysore Agricultural and Experimental Union* observes :—

The race of Silk-worm that is being reared in the Sericultural areas of Mysore State has got certain good qualities. The worms are strong, resist disease, and are multivoltine. But the quantity of silk produced by these is very little, the number of days taken from hatching to finish is more and the worms are not very active. The foreign races, that is Chinese, Japanese and European, are rich in silk, take a shorter time from hatching to finish and are very active. But unfortunately, these worms are weaker, are less resistant to disease and generally produce only one generation in the year and the eggs require to be put in cold storage for at least 70 days before they hatch uniformly. We have been trying to combine the good qualities of both the Mysore and the foreign races.

The following statement shows at a glance in what points the Mysore × Foreign are superior to the Mysore race :

§ Race	No. of days taken from hatching to finish	Percentage of silk content to development of cocoon.	Average length of filament from each cocoon.
Pure Mysore	About 30 days	12 per cent	494.4 Yds.
" Japanese	" 26 "	15 to 16 per cent	620 Yds.
" Chinese	" 24 "	14 to 15 per cent	600 Yds.
Mysore Fixed White	" 27 "	14 per cent	560 Yds.
Mysore × Japanese F1	" 26 "	14 per cent	600 Yds.
Mysore × Chinese F1	" 24 "	14 per cent	550 Yds.
Mysore × Fixed White F1	" 26 "	13 per cent	500 Yds.
Pure European	" 26 "	15 per cent	700 Yds.

### Postal Subordinates.

*Labour* writes :—

"It will be seen from the reply given by the Hon'ble Mr. A. C. Chatterjee to question No. 369

put by Mr. S. C. Ghose that as a result of the increased postage rates, the receipts show an increase of sixty eight and a half lakhs of rupees for the year 1922-23, and as a result of retrenchments there was a decrease of Rs. 105 and a half lakhs in expenditure. After covering the deficit of the year 1921-22 there was thus a net surplus of about 125 lakhs of rupees. But Postal expenditure includes the cost of the telegraph work done by Combined offices, which should legitimately be charged to the Telegraph Department. If therefore the cost of telegraph work is excluded from the Post office account, as it should be done, there would be a net surplus of about 2 crores of rupees. Funds there were enough and to spare to make provision in the Budget for sanctioning the Irreducible Minimum Demands. But that was not to be. The special train for foreign mails has been restored. The Post of Traffic Controller has been revived, the scale of pay for Audit Offices has been improved and provision has been made for various kinds of luxuries but to improve the hard lot of the subordinate service is not to be thought of.

The Postmaster's quarters are wretched hovels with leaky roofs, while palatial buildings are provided for the officials of the Telegraph Department. Superabundance of furniture encumbers the Telegraphists, free quarters, but the Sub-Postmaster cannot get in broken chair or stool replaced, his records must be left to rot where they may for want of almirahs, padlocks are not supplied to lock up what should remain under lock and key.

The Post Office is always understaffed while a superfluity of staff is noticeable in the sister department.

### The Sugar Industry Of India.

In the opinion of the *Bengal Nagpur Railway Magazine*,

The industrial backwardness of India is perhaps best illustrated by the condition of her sugar industry. Sugar-cane is indigenous in India which until very recently headed the list of sugar-growing countries and its estimated yield of cane-sugar now ranks second to Cuba. And yet India instead of being in the position of supplying her own requirements and exporting her surplus stock occupies a normal position as the third largest importer of sugar in the world.

It is notorious that the yield both of cane and raw sugar per acre and the percentage of available sugar extracted from the cane are very low and this accounts for the fact that India has to supplement her own supplies by imports. The difficulties that hedge the problem of the development of the sugar industry of India are obviously many and peculiar. The systems of land tenure, the consumption of sugar in a crude state as *gur* or jaggery, the absence of any intensive system of cultivation are all factors which militate against any rapid expansion of the industry. The Indian Sugar Committee which was appointed in 1919 by the Government of India and which was composed by experts went into the question thoroughly and their report furnishes reliable data.

The statistics collected by this Committee revealed the striking fact of the extraordinarily low

production of sugar in India per acre compared with that of the other cane-growing countries. The average outturn of sugar in India, during the five years ending 1918-19 was 1'03 tons per acre as against 1'96 tons in Cuba, 4'12 tons in Java and 4'61 tons in Hawaii—the three countries besides India which contribute more than half a million tons of cane-sugar to the world's supply. Mere statistics are notoriously misleading and the position of India is really much worse than these figures indicate, because by far the largest portion of the sugar produced in India is in the form of *gur*, which is in reality merely concentrated cane-juice and contains all the molasses that exist in the juice. The extent of this difference can be gauged from the fact that, whilst cane-sugar from other countries yields on the average 90 per cent. of refined sugar, *gur* does not yield more than 50 per cent.

### "When East Meets West."

To *Welfare* for June Professor Sudhindra Bose of the State University of Iowa contributes an article with the heading "When East Meets West," in which he gives a few of the outstanding impressions he gathered from the seventeenth annual national convention of the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs recently held at Indiana University at Bloomington.

In addition to visitors, there were one hundred and ten delegates representing fifty-seven branches of the Association scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific. India, China, Japan, Syria, Philippine Islands, Hawaii and other Eastern countries were well represented at the convention. Of the three Indian delegates, one was a young woman from Allahabad. The occasion was deemed important enough to elicit the following message from the President of the United States, Mr. Calvin Coolidge: "The plan of the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs is certainly one which assures a free and general exchange of ideals among the leaders of intellectual communities. In making possible such an encouragement of liberal and cosmopolitan thought, the organization can hardly fail to render a distinct public service."

The convention, as a kind of court of last resort of the organized foreign students, went unanimously on record favouring the organization of a bureau of information. It will attempt to suppress cinema pictures and other institutions that are harming international good feeling. Moreover, the bureau will send out competent lecturers from time to time who will speak on foreign countries with first-hand knowledge. Such a service at this hectic hour of narrow religious bigotry and galling "white" discrimination is full of great promise.

On the third day of the Convention, the writer delivered a public address on "The Awakened Orient," which he concluded with these words:—

"East and West must learn to live together, not in hatred and in war, but in peace and

harmony. Asia and America—white, brown and yellow—must outgrow the inherited cult of pride, the creed of prejudice, the dogma of selfishness, and the unspeakable insanity of conceit. You talk of world peace; but there will not be—cannot be—lasting peace until there is a complete realization of human brotherhood.

"There is no greater mistake than to imagine that certain virtues are the peculiar property of a peculiar race, and certain vices belong to other races. The truth—the cold scientific truth—is that all virtues belong to all people, and so do all vices.

"God hath made of one blood all the races of the earth. We are all members of one body. Humanity is one. Do not, therefore, attempt to wall off a portion of the human race and treat it as if it were different from all the rest. If you do, sure as fate, you will make a grievous mistake. For a change, a very profound change, has come over the so-called unchanged and unchangeable Orient. All Asia from Constantinople to Canton, from Colombo to the heights of the snowy Himalayas, is thrilling with the new consciousness of life and power. The entire Asiatic world is aroused to the vindication of personal and national self-fulfilment. Do not trifle with this awakened Orient. Most earnestly do the nations of the Orient beg you to remember, before it is too late, that the problems of the relation between the East and the West can be solved on one and only one basis: justice for all, love for all, and liberty for all mankind."

### From "Stri-Dharma."

#### COCHIN COUNCIL AND WOMEN MEMBERS

When the Rules were first published by which the Reformed Legislative Council of Cochin State was established it was a matter for congratulation that it was the first State which swept aside all sex disqualification and allowed women not only to vote but to be eligible for election or nomination to membership of the Council. The electoral lists have recently been published and it is found that for the general electorate there are about 18,000 voters of whom over 1,500 are women. In view of such a wide difference between the men and women voters there would be barely a chance of a woman being elected if she stood for election. This makes it imperative that the Government should allot at least 4 of its 15 nominated seats to women of the State. The Cochin women are the best educated in India, the percentage of female literacy is highest in Cochin, the matriarchal system holds good in the State so that women hold most of the property and finally Her Highness the Maharanee of Cochin is a most enlightened leader of her people and has been honoured with the Kaiser-i-Hind medal for distinguished services to the Empire. Cochin is fully ripe for the honour of being the first Council to invite women to its Council. If the claims of women are not listened to at once, then the women there will have to agitate and agitate till they get justice and direct representation.

#### BENARES UNIVERSITY; WOMEN'S HOSTEL

A Bombay merchant two years ago gave a most munificent gift to the Benares Hindu University



for the building of a Hostel for girl students who might come to the University. This Hostel is now completed, and truly it is a monument to the statesmanship of its donor, who has so well recognised that there can be no real advance in the country unless the men and women proceed side by side after having benefited by similar educational advantages. However, an important point in connection with the hostel has come up regarding which we invite the opinions of our readers. Up till now only about half a dozen girl students have entered the University and they have attended the same lectures as the men students. The hostel is planned to accommodate 100 girls and now the highest authorities of the College want to try and get a separate staff of professors for these women students, and are showing fear of the sexes attending the same classes. This would entail an immense amount more expense on the University. Most probably the professors would not be of such a high standard as the present professors. The significant point of the matter is that the women students are objecting to any differential staff being got for them and insist on the advantages being given them of attending the same lectures as the University men students. They have faith in their own modesty and morals, and entirely object to having a species of educational purdah being thrust upon them, and a lower or different set of lecturers provided for them in the name of a "protective" regime. We expect youth will win the tussle!

#### THE RECONSTRUCTION OF MUSLIM SOCIETY

The following striking ideal of an equal moral standard for both sexes occurs in a statement issued by Mr. Shaikat Ali, President of the Khilafat Committee, regarding elements needed for the reconstruction of Muslim Society: "*Purity of morals must be insisted upon for men no less for women, and the curse of prostitution must be removed both in practice and theory.*"

#### The First Girls' School in Afghanistan.

Miss Jeanne Van Coover, the first American woman who has been allowed into Afghanistan, has written a very interesting article in *Stri-Dharma* about the first girls' school in Afghanistan. Therein she says in part:—

In the educational work which Amir Aman Ullah, the progressive and enlightened ruler of Afghanistan, is developing in his country, women have not been forgotten. Two years ago, the first school for girls ever established in that country was opened under the direct patronage and supervision of the Queen. It is, of course, strictly purdah and numerous guards and servants must be passed before reaching the curtained doorway which is the last barrier to be crossed. It is like being suddenly transported into fairyland as one enters the enclosure, which consists of a large garden with rooms built around it. There is a wild riot of flowers, relieved by the green of trees and grass, but most charming of all are the brilliantly coloured costumes worn by the ladies.

When the writer visited this institution, the Queen's sister, who is inspectress of the school, and half a dozen of the teachers were gathered on a broad veranda at the farther end of the garden. The place was bright and clean and provided with the usual school benches and desks, at which the girls sat. The teachers were very businesslike and the whole gave a most pleasing impression.

There were three hundred and fifty pupils in the school: they were bright-looking girls, some of them quite pretty and the majority relatively fair, of the Spanish or Italian type of colouring. Among them were several of the Amir's sisters and other girls belonging to the highest social classes. There is a five years' course, the children beginning their studies at the age of seven. The curriculum is a simple one, consisting of reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, drawing, embroidery and sewing, and some very creditable samples of their handicraft were to be seen. Most of the teachers had received their education in India. Another school, for the still higher education of women, is shortly to be started; in this institution, foreign languages will be taught and pupils prepared for teaching, if they choose to follow that profession.

Until the opening of this school, girls only received such instruction as an interested father might give them. As a rule, this was limited to learning to read the Koran. Few of them could write, as it was feared that such knowledge might lead to an intrigue with some man outside the andarum who might be bold enough to brave the consequences of such an act.

It was the hour of recess when the visit came to an end. The garden paths were thronged with girls and the impression carried away was of a big bouquet of bright flowers as members of the different classes mingled together, the still more brilliant costumes of the teachers lending even higher tints to the scene. Yet, under the bright skies of Afghanistan, there is nothing incongruous in the vivid colours worn by the women but they blend together in pleasing harmony.

#### The Bombay Prevention of Prostitution Act.

In an article in the *Social Service Quarterly* of Bombay, Prof. M. I. Antia thus summarises the provisions of the Bombay Prevention of Prostitution Act:—

One section prohibits open soliciting and loitering. Another deters prostitutes from going to places of amusement or entertainment for purposes of their trade. This section has already cleared one restaurant in the Fort of a number of undesirable women who used to gather there in the evening and openly solicit customers. But the most valuable provisions of the Act are those which deal with souteneurs. Any person who procures or attempts to procure a woman or girl, with or without her consent, to become a prostitute or to frequent or become an inmate of a brothel, shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to three years, or fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with whipping, or any two of these punishments. Any person who brings or attempts to bring a woman or girl into the city of

Bombay with a view to her becoming a prostitute is made liable to similar punishment. A male person living wholly or in part on the earnings of prostitution is also punishable with imprisonment which may extend to two years, or fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with whipping or any two of these punishments; and where such a person is proved to be living with or to be habitually in the company of a prostitute or is proved to have exercised control, direction or influence over the movements of a prostitute in such a manner as to show that he is aiding, abetting or compelling her prostitution with any other person or generally, it shall be presumed, until the contrary is proved, that he is knowingly living on the earnings of prostitution. And it is made an offence severely punishable for any one to detain a woman or girl against her will in any house, room, or place for prostitution or illegal intercourse. These are extremely salutary provisions, and if they are efficiently carried out would do a world of good.

What the Act does not do, is also pointed out.

It is true that the brothel is the core of the problem, and the Act does not touch the brothel so long as it can be removed to a definite "red lamp" locality and its inmates behave in an orderly manner. Hence in the opinion of many advanced reformers the provisions of the Act are considered inadequate, as they do not deal firmly with the source of a hideous evil of vast proportion. But there are also others who would accept the Act as it stands at present as the first step in the crusade against the evil, which must be pushed forward with ever-increasing vigour until the brothel, which is the citadel of the slave traffic, is stormed and overthrown.

### The Vital Needs of India.

According to an article by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas in the *Indian Review*,

Two of the chronic ills from which we are suffering are (1) the grinding poverty of the tillers of the soil, who constitute nearly seventy per cent. of the population, and whose poverty is manifest in their perpetual indebtedness and their lower resistance to disease and death, and (2) the unemployment of the educated, or the semi-educated middle-classes, who have nothing very useful to turn their heads or hands to, and who have therefore to drag on a miserably precarious existence. The reason for these ills is that while politicians are fighting their battles, and speculators are making or losing fortunes, the fountains of true wealth are dying out and may be unable adequately to support an increasing population in the not distant future.

For the increase of true wealth one has to look to one of two sources, Agriculture or Manufacturing Industries, the former far more than the latter.

### Separation of Railway Finance.

Mr. A. S. Venkataraman opposes the separation of Railway finance thus in the *Mysore Economic Journal* :—

In the recent Budget speech, the Finance Member offers the bait of increased efficiency of Railways and better service at reduced rates, if separation is effected. We are unable to appreciate this new-born desire for efficiency and better service at lower rates. The principle of State-Management of Railways has been recommended by the Acworth Committee and conceded by the Government. State-operation will come into force at the expiry of each Railway contract. In the near future only two railroads, the East Bengal and the Great Indian Peninsular, come under management and one fails to understand why separation should be thought of, earlier than general State-operation of Railways. Separation of Railway Finance, must follow, not precede, State-operation of most of the Railways; meanwhile Railway demands in the budget must be more fully gone into by the the Assembly and in the interim all new Railway constructions should be automatically stopped. Space forbids an investigation of the Finance Member's bait of better efficiency and service at reduced rates; but we must be content with one supreme fact—and if that is disregarded all is disregarded and discarded—*viz.*, that the *Railways exist for the people and not the people for the Railways*. The Acworth Committee entered a caveat when it said, "Our recommendation as to State management must therefore be read as coupled with and conditioned on the adoption, at least substantially and in main outline of the recommendations which we have made with respect to financial and administrative reforms." State-operation unaccompanied by full financial and administrative control, is a contradiction in terms and therefore stands self-condemned. No attempt at solving the Railway Problem will be perfect or desirable or satisfactory, even after State-operation comes to pass, unless the Assembly has got entire control, financial and administrative, over the Railways and until the executive is made fully responsible to the Indian Legislature.

### "Be Strong."

*Prañuddhah Bharata* exhorts us all to be strong.

"First of all our young men should be strong: religion will come afterwards. Be strong, my young friends. That is my advice to you. You will be nearer to Heaven through football than through the study of the Gita. \* \* \* You will understand the Gita better with your biceps, your muscles, a little stronger." Thus said the great Swami Vivekananda appealing to our young men to pay proper attention to their physical culture. Really the time has come when we should take up this question more seriously than before. It is not at all an exaggeration that we are going down every day as regards manhood. This degeneration, if not remedied in time, will bring utter ruin to the nation. It is already threatening the vitality of our national life. If we take into consideration the general health of our people, we shall see that the majority are bodily weak and debilitated.

The body the vehicle of the soul and the instrument for the realisation of the Eternal Verity, was



never so neglected in India as in modern times. Its culture was considered by the ancient sages as of primary importance for the fuller growth and evolution of man. The old maxim, "Attention to the body is the first requisite for the practice of Dharma," proves this fact beyond doubt.

To our shame and disgrace it must be said that at times we cannot even protect our life, property and honour as we should, and fall easy victims to the molestations of notorious people.

Our present educational system, which gives very little scope for the practice of Brahmacharya and the culture of the limbs, is largely responsible for this degeneration. It is the unanimous opinion of all doctors and physiologists that chastity, external and internal, is the first condition of health and vigour. Rightly does Patanjali declare—"Continence rightly practised leads to strength." It develops the muscles, invigorates the tissues and helps the formation of the finest brain. And thus it is the *sine qua non* of a successful intellectual and spiritual life.

Again, in schools and colleges, or at home, our boys do not get sufficient encouragement for physical exercise that is so very essential for the preservation of health.

The pernicious custom of early marriage can also be held answerable to some extent for the physical degeneration of the nation. In direct violation of the spirit of the Shastras, Indian parents give their sons and daughters away in marriage before they are quite mature, and become thus the indirect cause of much social misery. Many boys who get married early, beget children early and become embarrassed with big dependent families and the cares and anxieties involved in maintaining them even during their very student career.

Finally, the grinding poverty under which both the middle classes and the masses are groaning, does not allow them to have sufficient nutrition so necessary for the up-keep of health.

### A Suggestion About Milk-Supply.

The editor of the *Calcutta Medical Journal* thinks that

A large group of preventible diseases of Calcutta can be traced to defective milk-supply—either the milk is contaminated or is deficient in nutritive principles. It is time that the city fathers directed their attention to the supply of this important food.

He therefore makes the following suggestion:—

The Corporation has enormous powers under the present Act. It has power to establish, furnish and maintain depots for the sale of milk and it has the power of purchasing milk from the *Goals* on a contract term. It is therefore, easy to obtain all the milk that come to Calcutta, buy them at say 6 seers to the rupee, reject such as are absolutely unfit for consumption and pasteurise the rest in these depots. The milk can then be supplied to the public at say 4 seers to the rupee; the difference between the cost of purchase and sale by the Corporation would pay for the up-keep of the

depots and the cost of pasteurisation. The public, if they cannot get very rich milk and at a cheap price, can at any rate get pure milk; if the consumers do not get the full value of the milk bought, they can at any rate get milk "safe" for human consumption and infants who depend on milk will be saved from a large number of ailments they are prone to, at this age.

The consideration of this matter is important mainly from the point of view of individuals but an early remedy will save the future inhabitants of Bengal from falling an easy prey to diseases. The question of man power in Bengal is one, which cannot be ignored by anyone who has the good of the Province at heart.

### Svetambara and Digambara Jainas.

Mr. J. L. Jaini enumerates in the *Jaina Gazette* 84 beliefs of Svetambara Jainas to which the Digambaras object. He explains that "Lord" means "Thirthankara" and "Omniscient Lord" means "Kevali," and then proceeds to give a list of the beliefs. We extract the first 18.

1. The Omniscient Lord takes food. 2. The Omniscient Lord is subject to disease. 3. The Omniscient Lord passes excrements, water etc. 4. The Omniscient Lord bows to someone. 5. The Omniscient Lord is subject to troubles. 6. The images are clothed. 7. The Lord reads in school. 8. The Lord sometimes forgets what he has read. 9. The last Lord (Mahavira, passed from the womb of Brahmani Devanandi and took birth from the womb of Rani Trisala (kshatriya). 10. The first Lord (Lord Rishabha) and his sister Sunanda were born as twins. 11. Lord Rishabha married his sister Sunanda. 12. The Omniscient Lord sneezes. 13. The disciple Gautama had a wrangle with the heretic Brahmana Svadaka. 14. Indrani (the wife of the god Indra) puts on white clothes at the time of the Lord's austerities. 15. The images are adorned with ornaments. 16. The 19th Lord Malli was a woman. 17. The last Lord at his birth shook the mountain Sumeru. 18. The last Lord travelled in the land of Mlechchas.

The editor observes:—

The above shows the trifling nature of the differences which have been multiplied into 84, and the publication of these we hope will be useful in demonstrating that the points of divergence do not touch the ethical discipline, or the course of conduct of the Shravaka at all, and are largely in matters of mythological, metaphysical, or academical interest.

### "Public Service."

In *The Young Citizen* for June, Mr. G. S. Arundale discourses on public service, explaining that, by that expression,

I mean the duty each one of us owes to his or her community in the nature of public service—

the service of the public, the service of the many, the service of the community, the service of the State, and eventually the service of the world.

He proceeds :—

Public service is the greatest joy and highest ambition of our lives. I should like young people to have the attitude that while, of course, they may need to take up a profession for the purpose of earning a livelihood, yet the profession must ever be subordinate to public service, and that the sooner they can consecrate themselves to public service exclusively the better. I dream that some day this ideal will be definitely recognised, will become part and parcel of conventional attitude, so that education will not merely be a preparation for a profession, but dominantly preparation for public service the noblest of all professions.

I dream that some day the wise men of the State—some day the wise will always be in power because they are wise, and because the people have learned to put the wise, and the wise alone in places of authority—will construct an organisation whereby it will be possible to discover the most promising among the younger citizens, to draft these into special educational institution where they will be trained for public service, irrespective of social position, of wealth or poverty of all personal circumstances. Normally, those chosen for public service, after receiving the necessary training—spiritual, physical, emotional, mental—will be attached to one or other of the great departments of State, will be given the necessary means of subsistence taking into consideration their personal obligations, and will thus devote themselves to the community, the nation, to which they belong. To be thus selected will be regarded as the highest honour. It will be a matter of pride for a family to be able to say : “We have given so many sons and daughters to public service” ; or “Members of our family have more than once been selected for public service”. This will be the hallmark of distinction, the sign of aristocracy, of true nobility.

### Indian Christians and Africa.

Mr. C. F. Andrews exhorts the Indian Christians in the *Young Men of India* to send an Indian Mission to Africa to render fraternal help and service to the people of that continent. Undoubtedly our interest in Africa should not be a merely or predominantly pecuniary one. And it is the duty not only of Indian Christians but of all other Indians, too, to realise and perform the duty of service to the Africans. Europeans have done

wicked things in Africa. But there are some good Europeans, too, there engaged in genuine altruistic work. We trust the hope expressed by Mr. Andrews in the following words will be fulfilled :—

I still have a supreme hope, that the Indian Christian Church may soon possess its own devoted workers, not in Africa alone helping the Africans, but in Fiji, helping and loving the Fijian Christians to live out their Christian life, and in British Guiana among the American Indians and the Negroes, sharing their Christian life with them, and also in Java and Sumatra and Borneo, and Celebes, and other corners of the world.

### European Scholars on Buddhism.

*The Maha-Bodhi writes :—*

Prof. Macdonnell is supposed to be a Sanskrit scholar. He has contributed an article on Indian Buddhism to the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* wherein he says that the Buddha taught a doctrine which when properly understood could only arrive at the conclusion that Nirvana is “eternal death.” Prof. Macdonnell is like the Zulu who learnt Christianity and expounded the ethics of Jesus to his countrymen showing that the eternal heaven of Jesus was only another form of eternal hell.

European scholars are very dogmatic in their utterances. Some would have us believe that Nirvana is utter annihilation, some would say that Buddhism is an agnosticism, others would say that it is an atheism. They learn a little Pali and distort the teachings by their false interpretation and mislead the Europeans by their dogmatic utterances. This is a trick of theirs. These professors are all paid by Christian Boards of Education. There was a time when missionaries attempted to distort the teachings of the Lord Buddha by their utter falsehoods. The abominable tricks they played were too transparent. Now it is the so-called Oriental scholar who helps to mislead the European public. Eternal death is a scientific impossibility. Prof. Macdonnell is a theologian and a philologist. He has not read the Pali texts and the Commentaries in their original. Buddhists for 2200 years in Ceylon have preserved this Holy Doctrine, and not one of the Sthaviras who had lived in the past interpreted Nirvana as eternal death. They saw Nirvana by their psychic consciousness. They were holy ; they did not want to mislead the ignorant like Prof. Macdonnell. The European brain can never comprehend the sublime state of Nirvana. They are passionate, eat lustful lives, and are materialistic. They have the brain of the Asuras who are satisfied with material things. Calmness and solitude are poison to them. They want the realization of sensuous joys. Psychological solitude an impossibility to them. We have now the trio : Macdonnell, Berriedale Keith and Mrs. Rhys Davids condemning Buddhism. We hope to survive the shock.



## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Kemal Pasha on the Khilafat.

We read in *Current Opinion* that :

"In expelling the Caliph, Abdul Medjid, the New Turkish Republic was merely taking the first step toward clearing its house of all powerful religious dignitaries, and the Christian Patriarchs living on Turkish soil may be expected to follow the Moslem Pope into exile. This authoritative explanation of Angora's recent abolition of the Caliphate in Turkey comes direct from the pen of Mustapha Kemal Pasha in a special World-Wide News Service Despatch appearing in the New York *Herald and Tribune*."

Among other things Mustapha Kemal Pasha writes:—

"We found that any introduction of modern ideas did not coincide with the views of the Caliph. With the Caliphate deciding, like a high court, on the regularities of any constitutional measure, it was impossible to enact a law forbidding polygamy, when the Caliph himself was polygamous. The religious head had arrogated to himself the authority to decide on such matters."

"Whenever a law pertaining to national politics or national administration, civil or economical, was attempted, we were invariably faced with an 'opinion' from the Caliph. When we decided that women should not be forced to wear a veil, again we were face to face with a hostile 'opinion' from the Caliph."

"And so long as such an office, authorized and invested with a sinister power, remained within the borders of our country, any opinion emanating from that office would be an impediment in the way of our progress as a nation. So we decided to dispense with our own religious supreme head while we were dispensing with the Christian religious offices."

"We are not interfering with any faith, but every religion or denomination, be it Moslem or Christian, within the domains of our country must recognize the Turkish Constitution as supreme, and if they cannot recognize the basic law of our country they must seek a new clime. We are perfectly agreeable that another Moslem country welcome the Caliph."

"In that event we, as Moslems, will gladly pay our homage to the head of our religion as the head of our religion. We only expelled the Caliph as a politicoreligious functionary. My country has had no quarrel with him or the office of the Caliphate as the head of the Moslem faith."

### The Berars.

With reference to the Nizam's claim to the Berars, *The Review of Reviews* observes:—

At a general meeting of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee it was resolved to set up

a body to watch over the negotiations on the future of Berars which are proceeding between the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Viceroy, and the India Office.

Evidently the interests and the liberties of the Beraris themselves should be the principal object of any settlement of this long-disputed question, as, indeed, the Under-Secretary of State for India recognised in the House of Commons on February 18th. Nevertheless, the tone of the resolution passed by the Berar Provincial Congress Committee is remarkable. It observes that since the Nizam's letter was addressed to the Viceroy of India, and not to the people of Berar, and since neither of these two parties has called upon the people of Berar to express their opinion, the Committee consider that the letter neither deserves nor requires any expression of opinion from them at present, but that it does require a vigilant eye to be kept on the progress of the negotiations. In a matter as delicate and as urgent as this the proper course for the British authorities would be to establish forthwith an impartial commission to investigate the whole question, including the wishes of the Beraris, so as to ensure that any settlement which may be reached shall recommend itself to all parties as fair and just.

The Beraris justly think that they are not goods and chattels that negotiation as to their ownership should go on between any parties. Self-determination requires that *they* should decide what sort of Government they want.

### Asiatic States in Soviet Union.

W. H. Chamberlain writes in *The Current History Magazine*.

All the enthusiastic things that are said in Moscow about the Russian East are not true. The dictatorship of the Communist Party, which holds good for all parts of the Soviet Federation, makes for close centralization of political and economic power, and the right of secession, which is constitutionally granted to the individual States of the Federation, would scarcely be respected in practice. In pressing for radical innovations, which wounded the religious sensibilities of the Central Asiatic Mohammedans, many errors of judgment were made, which more experienced colonial administrators would have avoided.

In the New Russian East, however, there is undeniable evidence of a spirit of self-assertion on the part of long-oppressed peoples. The presence of natives in the highest governing positions is one sign of this spirit. The use of the long-discouraged native languages in schools and courts and newspapers is another. It is no small proof of the practical wisdom of the Soviet Government's policy of racial tolerance that the old feuds between the primitive peoples who inhabit the Caucasus and Russian Central Asia have now died out. If the

Soviet Government continues to pursue its present policy, if more and more Tartars and Turcomans and Caucasian mountaineers are trained to fill the highest positions in the military and civil administration of their native countries, then the Russian East will become an interesting, though perhaps not an altogether pleasant, object of study for European powers which prefer to treat their Asiatic dominions as colonies to be ruled by foreign administrators.

### Blame for the World War.

In the same journal, Professor Harry Elmer Barnes assesses the blame for the world war in the following words:—

It should be apparent to any one who has followed the analysis of the evidence of war guilt up to the present point that the scape-goat theory of complete, sole and unique guilt on the part of Germany or any other single State can no longer be supported. Probably the majority of competent students would assign the relative responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities in about this order: Austria, Russia, France, Germany and England. But who will say that any of the other States, if placed in Austria's position, would not have done much as she did? The United States took military measures against Spain and Mexico on infinitely slighter pretext, without any question of our national integrity being at stake. Our own diplomatic conduct with Spain in 1898 will as little bear close scrutiny as that of Austria with Serbia in 1914.

### Syrian Opposition to French Rule.

Emir Chekib Arslan is known throughout the Near East as a statesman and a scholar. He was a member for Syria in the former Ottoman Parliament. He ranks as a ruling Prince of the Druses and his family is one of the oldest in the Orient. With Dr. Shabender of Damascus, former Foreign Minister under King Feisal, he represents effectively the Syrian Independence Party, for which he has acted as spokesman at Genoa, Lausanne and Geneva.

This Syrian gentleman writes in *The Current History Magazine*:—

The Syrian people are as one in their demand that Syria be completely freed from the French yoke under which the country is suffering. Quite as civilized as some of the countries which enjoy membership in the League of Nations, Syria does not require foreign aid; she is quite capable of regulating her own destiny, a fact which the League itself has not been able to deny. But in spite of its admission of Syria's capacity for self-rule, the League of Nations has ruled that for a time a great power, viz., France, must aid her. And under the guise of "aid" more than one offence has been committed both against the Syrians and the elemental rules of common morality.

It should be clearly understood that the League of Nations, from the Syrian viewpoint, is simply an institution whose aim is to provide a cloak of legality for the greedy encroachments of France

and England. Before, during and even after the war these two countries divided up many lands and mapped out many spheres of influence. Because it appeared to them, after the war was over, a very difficult matter to realize all these conquests by force of arms, they created in the League of Nations a council in which the French and English, along with their satellites, form a majority. Thus decisions are rendered in the name of the League which are nothing but the confirmation of secret agreements made between these two powers. Curiously enough, the Council of the League is in no way bound to consult the League itself with regard to the decisions that it takes, and decisions are made in the name of the League of Nations without the knowledge of the League itself. Thus, when we Syrians protested against the council's decision in favour of a mandate and appealed the case to the Assembly of the League, all the delegations, excepting only those of England and France, assured us that they were convinced of the justice of our cause, but that they had nothing to do with the decisions taken by the Council which were not submitted to the Assembly. The Council is composed of seven voting members; the majority being under the control of France and England, thus, in effect, being simply a tool in the hands of these two powers, who continually pretend to speak in the name of fifty-two nations!

France and England had divided up Syria and Palestine even before the war. M. Poincaré made this admission last year, before the French Chamber of Deputies, stating that "from the year 1912 we have had an understanding with the British as to Syria."

Dr. A. Shabender writes in the same journal:—

Let me remind the reader that this military occupation, with all the economic and civil hardships that it entails on the Syrian people, has failed to destroy their national spirit; on the contrary, it has added oil to the flame.

### "Awakening India"

This is the heading of an article by Prof. Emil Lederer in *Frankfurter Zeitung*. In course of the article, the Professor says:—

Yes, every white man in India is a little god, and must act the part. Racial solidarity demands this. Rules of hospitality require a stranger-guest to observe the customs of the country. He must be reserved, distant, masterful. He must cast no doubt on the great lie upon which English rule in India is based—the lie that the white man is a superior being. Furthermore, it is easy to acquire the manner of a master when that status is unquestioningly conceded, when one need not exact respect from others by his manner or by an effort of the will. It is astounding how quickly a person acquires the master-habit.

None the less, this miracle of human organization and political art rests on fragile foundations. A king is a king only as long as men so regard him. He loses his rank the moment his subjects refuse to pay him allegiance, his officers to salute him, his ministers



to consult his wishes, his people to obey him. If that happens, he becomes a private person overnight. This seldom occurs; it generally takes a revolution to demote a king to a private citizen.

We see the same process repeated in India to-day that destroyed the local independence of the feudal barons in mediæval Europe. This process has been set in motion by the same forces, although not in the same succession: military service, was, industrial development. India is on the road to becoming a Dominion. Will it stop there? Can India become a member of that Commonwealth of Free Nations into which the British Empire is gradually evolving? Is not the so-called Indian Constitution rather the first step toward complete independence?

Modern war has become industrialized. It is won in the end by brains and morale—not of the officers alone, but also of the common soldiers.

Consider what a vast number of things the modern soldier must learn and understand. But you cannot confine mental development and an intellectual training to one side of a man's nature. If you give him knowledge, you simultaneously give him will and desire. Instruction and 'enlightenment' take the place of the corporal's boot, particularly in a war fought for Democracy and the right of self-determination. Who can reckon how many Indian troops in Europe learned 'dangerous thoughts' from Wilson's speeches—thoughts that are now re-echoing louder and louder from the Opposition benches in the Indian Parliament.

Of course, these ideals were intended for home consumption in the colonies, but new thoughts cannot be confined to prescribed areas. Armies have ceased to be machines; they have become complex organisms that think, understand, and act of their own motives.

What a tremendous revolution thus occurred in the ideas of the Indian nation. The natives were summoned to fight against white men to conquer white men—the white men to whom hitherto they had not even dared to lift their eyes upon a public highway. They were taught to destroy, to hew down the demigods whom they had hitherto revered as rich, born to command, all-powerful. They won victories in a war that swept them suddenly into a new world—a world, indeed, of unprecedented perils, horrors, and hardships, but a world that put the native soldier in an entirely new relation to the social order. He was still a subordinate, it is true, but he was consciously a vital part of that social order; he was no longer a mere object, a mere thing, but a man bearing his share of a common burden and receiving the consideration due to his dignity. He quickly learned to think; and a man who once begins to think never loses the faculty. The Indian troops came back from the war seeing through different eyes from those with which they stared stolidly upon an uncomprehended world when they left home. They came back conscious of their own power and merit.

The same thing happened in industry. A war that carried hundreds of thousands of Indians to Europe, that ravaged great industrial centres of that continent stimulated the manufactures of India herself.

Sovereignty seems at this moment to be slipping back into the possession of Asia. Europe's forceful and restless spirit, has not only conquered Eastern apathy, but has transformed it. Feudal, dream-craddled India is rapidly becoming a memory. She is on the threshold of the industrial age. Her evolution will not parallel that of Europe; it could

not do so in this rich, tropical realm, with its picturesque and romantic past. But Europe's rule in Asia is doomed. The very breezes whisper that to the stranger's ear all along this coast.

### The Present Social System.

Socialists and other social reformers of all sorts dwell entirely or mainly on the defects of the present social system. Principal L. P. Jacks says in his *Hibbert Journal* much that may be said in favour of it, including the fact that the system can claim the credit of having produced these reformers themselves! That the existing distribution of wealth is faulty, has been pointed out repeatedly by socialists. Principal Jacks observes:—

Whatever vice may be charged against the system for having given rise to the existing distribution of wealth, we must not refuse it the credit of creating the wealth to the just distribution of which we attach so much importance. That the inheritance is regarded as valuable seems sufficiently proved by the intensity of the battles that are waged over the question of its ownership. Of its extent nothing need be said beyond a word of indication. It includes the whole 'plant' of industrial civilization, not omitting the centres of industrial activity, the towns and cities great and small, with all their complex mechanism both ponderable and imponderable, their arteries of traffic, their means of communication, their streets, their banks, offices, exchanges, and markets. The means of production include all these things and many others of like nature. Our social system surely deserves a good word for the part it has played in their creation. One may at least say that society has made itself worth reforming.

He continues:—

But beyond all this, and perhaps even more essential to the equipment of the reformer, stands the whole body of the positive sciences in their ever-multiplying variety and ever-increasing value for the amelioration of human life, every one of them with its own contribution to make to the technique of a higher civilization; every one of them a witness to the capacity of our social system to reform itself. The positive sciences are the fruits of that system in exactly the same sense that idle luxury and miserable poverty are its fruits at the darker end of the scale; with science at his elbow the powers of the reformer are illimitable, while without it he could do nothing. With this fact before us may we not say that when social reform has no other conception of its mission than that of attacking the social system it becomes, essentially, an attack on its own mother?

### Why Chinese Civilization was Stagnant.

Asataro Gotoh assigns the following reasons for the stagnancy of Chinese civilization, in *The Japan Magazine* :—

One of the reasons why the progress of Chinese civilization stopped is the fact that China is too rich in natural resources to make the Chinese people diligent and inquisitive. Without much labour or study they can earn their livelihood and pleasures. Their utilitarian attitude was one of the most peculiar characteristics of the Chinese people. Their life's ideals are (1) to live long, (2) prosperity of their descendants, and (3) accumulation of wealth. They cared for nothing else and sacrificed everything for them. If they have them they do not mind whether China's international position is high or low, or whether their civilization is advanced or not. Their philosophy of life is hedonism and all their wants have been satisfied by things that can be produced within the country.

### "Disinterestedness in Politics."

The same writer dwells thus in the same journal on the political indifference of the Chinese :—

It is very interesting to note that the common people in China have little interest in their own government. It matters nothing to them whether their President is a Chinese or, say, a Russian, provided he gets rid of the mounted bandits that infest their peaceful abodes and if the taxes are not too heavy. To them it is a matter of little significance whether their President is a Chinese or a foreigner if he is a good ruler. This is the real psychology of the four hundred million people in China.

### An American on the Radio.

Bruce Bliven tells in *The Century Magazine* or June how radio is remaking our world. He holds that

"The real danger for radio is not that it will destroy other means of communication, but that its users will fail to live up to the magnificent opportunity it creates. Here is the most wonderful medium for communicating ideas the world has ever been able to dream of; yet at present the magic toy is used in the main to convey outrageous rubbish, verbal and musical, to people who seem quite content to hear it. Radio serves to remind us of the painful fact that high standards of intelligence and discrimination are not the inevitable by-products of an age of wonderful mechanical-invention."

### Money in Politics.

Huge sums are spent by American political parties in their election campaigns. Men contribute to party funds from various motives. The evil has grown to gigantic proportions. We read in *The Woman Citizen*:—

In the pre-convention campaign of 1920, there was spent by Republicans for

Calvin Coolidge	\$68,375
Warren G. Harding	113,109
Herbert Hoover	173,543
Hiram Johnson	195,395
Frank O. Lowden	314,934
Leonard Wood	1,173,303

Total \$2,038,709

One dollar is equal to about Rs. 3-8.

The evil is thus characterised :—

Money in hand, the campaign is conducted prodigally and wastefully, votes are bought (as all who are familiar with our system know) and any ideals a party may have had at the beginning are buried under the avalanche of ballots cast by the ignorant, illiterate and subnormal, sordidly mobilized by the contest of dollars. The educated partisan, ignorant of the system, rejoices over the triumph of his party's tenets; but the really great men who are pitch-forked into high office by these processes, of which they cannot be ignorant, do not take their places as light-hearted champions of triumphant principles; they come as men who have seen ghosts and are haunted by the memory. The entire political machinery becomes sordid and sunk in low ethics.

The expenditures of 1916 and 1920 exceeded those of any previous campaign. It is said that General Grant's victorious campaign of 1868 cost \$10,000; that General Harrison was nominated against a field of rivals by a campaign costing \$9,000. Parties do not reveal their financial secrets, but these figures indicate how far they have travelled in extravagance.

About the remedy this paper suggests:—

Limit by law every contribution. (Senator McKellar proposes \$500 as the largest that should be allowed.) The complete itemized list of contributors and the itemized disbursements of both parties should be open to the public. A committee of Democrats to examine the Republican books officially and a committee of Republicans to examine the Democratic books would be a delicate and effective method of safeguarding the public welfare. Such plans strictly enforced would take money as a determining factor out of politics and give us issues over which to make the contest in the election.

### Ancestor Worship in Africa.

James Thayer Addison tells us in the *Harvard Theological Review*:—

"Evidence for the existence of ancestor worship among the uncivilised peoples of Africa is varied and abundant. Outside the limited range of Mohammedan and Christian influence, there are few tribes whose religion has been reported with any care that do not appear to practise ancestor worship in some form."

The writer reviews a portion of the facts



available, in order to indicate the wide range and diversity of these practices.

### "Mamihlapinatapai."

DR. W. H. HADOW, Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University, in his book on 'Citizenship' suggests that this word, apparently Fuegian, "should be inscribed over the door of every conference-room in Europe." Its meaning being "to look at each other hoping that either will offer to do something which

both desire but are unwilling to begin." A writer in the current *Expositor* thinks the word would fit more than conference-rooms, and he would like to make it the text of a sermon to the good people who are "secretly waiting to see if someone else will not step forward to tackle a peice of work which claims to be done. They are not unwilling to do it," says this writer, "but they are quite willing that someone else should try it first." If there are any such good people among our readers it might help to cure their hesitancy if they recalled the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, and tried to pronounce (cautiously and to themselves) "Mamihlapinatapai."

—The Inquirer.

## THE OLD OLD STORY

BY SANTA CHATTERJEE

(13)

AGED though he was, Tarinikanta tided over the crisis and lived. Sailaja registered surprise by placing her palm flat on her cheek and exclaimed before her friend: "Even Yama\* would not accept his old bones! Or why should he survive this terrible illness?" But in spite of his survival, the doctors would not encourage him to hope for a much longer lease of life.

When Karuna returned home that stormy night, Tarini kept looking at her face but dared not ask any questions; such was the expression on it. Karuna woke up under the lashing of his glances, looked everywhere on her sari and shawl for the notes and found that she was without these. Yet she said quite easily, "Dadamashay, you need not worry any more, I have fixed up everything."

Tarini said, "So you have got the money so soon? Let me see." Karuna said, "I shall get the money in a day or two." Tarini smiled in disbelief and lay down again as if he did not care.

The next day and the day after, too, Abinash came. Whenever he came, he found Karuna sitting at the head of Tarini. He rubbed his boots outside the door, cleared his throat loudly, asked for a glass of water, wanted to see the new prescriptions and tried in many ways, but did not succeed in shifting Karuna from her post. He got whatever

he asked for, but he did not get even a single chance to speak to her. As a result, he would come every day to feel the pulse of somebody else's patient and go away. On the fourth day a heavily sealed envelope came with Satadal. She looked enquiringly at Karuna and said, "Bara Mama\* said he would not be able to come and see Tarini Babu to-day and asked me to come over and enquire after his health; and he also asked me to give you this important letter."

When Satadal took her leave, Karuna opened the envelope and found four five-hundred rupee notes. And there was some writing on a slip—"I am going out of town again. I shall not be able to return before 15 or 20 days; I think that is sufficient time." From that day it became a daily work for Karuna to borrow newspapers from everybody, to turn over the advertisements and to answer the "Wanted" notices put in by people from every corner of the country. The doctor had said that Tarinikanta wanted open air badly. And she found little difficulty to make Tarini understand that she wanted more money just then.

The day Karuna got a job at seventy rupees a month in the Mufassil,† their little home resounded with the moving and packing of things. Thanks to the railways, the people of Calcutta, almost to a man, have the opportunity to go out and drink deep of the

\* The God of Death.

\* Meaning Abinash.

† Outside the Presidency town.

open country air at least on a few occasions in a lifetime. But in spite of her twenty years Karuna had never been beyond the railway terminus at Howrah\*. One need hardly point out that the two other younger members of the family had also had no such luck. Ronu never tired for a moment to inform the world about this great good fortune—their first travel. Moreover, Ronu had not the slightest doubt that his first train journey was an item of news which the world should on no account miss. But it was regrettable that his sisters, instead of encouraging him in his mission, put every obstacle in his way. No sooner had he left bed in the morning, than he was going out to press Bhola, Toba and his other friends into Reuter's service, but *Bardidi*† rebuked him, saying, "Oh shame, Ronu, why are you so much in a hurry to go and spread a thing as soon as you hear about it? All sorts of things may happen before we actually start; we may not even go at all." Ronu thought, they had not gone anywhere so far, and it would not matter much if they did not go even this time. But while the chance remained, should an intelligent person neglect to augment his credit and public estimation? If they went, so much the better; if not, this temporary gain in importance would be enough of a consolation. Aruna burst into Ronu's contemplation at this juncture and said, "Really! We have forgotten to inform *The Daily Post* about it! Maybe, when Ronu has gone, the whole city will leave its work and do detective duty to find out his whereabouts! Go quickly, while there is time, and tell them about it!"

Ronu became extremely indignant and said, "It is not quite so much of a joke as you seem to think. Don't think others to be like yourself." Aruna said, "That hardly needs telling, does it? Who has not heard of the Governor's dismissal and of Ronu's appointment in his place?"

This time Ronu smiled contemptuously and left the room. Those who were determined not to understand things he did not feel like wasting his time in making fruitless efforts at making them understand. He had only a few days in which to excuse himself for his impending long absence and to

arrange his affairs. Besides, there were the endless errands on which his worthless sisters sent him. These had gained in number just now. As if the whole world outside Calcutta was an empty desert that one must pack up the Municipal Market\* and carry it as luggage! Ronu was getting fed up with his sisters' fussiness.

They started within ten or twelve days of Tarini's convalescence. He had not yet learned to move about anew, and one could yet call him a patient. Ronu became suddenly quite grave under the strain of playing the guardian to three people at this early age. To keep all medicines ready in a strange place, to put everything except the tiffin basket in the luggage van and to keep each one his or her own ticket—he felt it his duty to impress upon his sisters all these newly acquired ideas with fitting seriousness. When they got into the carriage which took them to the station, he told Karuna very clearly not to leave behind the money bag. For in that case it would be difficult to get the tickets. He did not forget to warn Aruna about falling asleep at Rajgunj station. Ronu said with a grave expression on his face: "Look here, this is not your hackney carriage that you may take as much time as you like shrieking after your bundles and water jugs by turns while it waited. One must get all the things together one station before we arrive there and keep everything near the exit. No sooner we arrive there, than I shall jerk everything and everybody on the platform."

Aruna said, "All right, keep a tight hold upon your feeding bottle! You need not worry about anything else."

But in spite of this injunction not to worry, Ronu kept worrying aloud till they came to their destination. His worries followed his program, but the poor chap was extremely cut up with a shortage of one rupee in the change he had accepted after paying for the tickets. He blurted out the truth when Aruna ragged him about this, "Goodness, how can one keep a clear head with the ticket girls calculating for hours and the Oriyas† elbowing and shoving from behind?"

Ronu could not work out during the whole course of their journey why, in spite of the empty rows of the clear and shining first and second class compartments, they had to get

\* Calcutta's most important railway station. It is situated on the right bank of the Ganges, while the city is on the left bank. A pontoon bridge links Calcutta with it.

† Eldest sister, Karuna

\* Calcutta's biggest and best organised market.

† Inhabitants of Orissa who come generally as workmen to Calcutta.



into the chirds to stumble over the countless bundles of the numerous passengers which contained their life's accumulation of filth and enjoy thrills of disgust, and to accuse God all the way for supplying men with ears and nostrils. But his dissatisfaction could not stop the engine from hauling along together the empty coaches and the crowded cages. By the time they had come to Rajgunj Ronu's frail body had lost practically all its enthusiasm through being shoved on all sides by huge bodies and subjected to the continued and simultaneous conversation of many loud voices. Anyway he carried out his job with the assistance of his worthless sisters, his infirm Dadamashay and hired coolies.\*

The small station had a scanty supply of coolies; and the few that were there could not be distinguished from other people on account of everybody being equally badly dressed. Everybody was dressed in oily and dirty clothing with towels tied on their heads and carrying bundles, *hookahs*,† baskets and huge jars. That one fellow was a coolie could be judged only by his loud refusal to accept a reward of four pice. An old gentleman had received delivery of a basket of oranges, another of sweetmeats, a jar containing lime, a leaf package of betels, a jar of curds, a bundle of cocoanut fibre rope, a big basket of vegetables, different bundles containing washed and unwashed clothing, broken and whole umbrellas and sundry other articles weighing anything from a *marund*\*\* to a *tola*†† and numbering twenty-one in all; and had smilingly offered the coolie four pice, which he had extracted from some mysterious fold of his dress! The coolie salaamed him, but began to deliver a long speech explaining the weight, number and brittleness of his luggage. The gentleman heard him through and then extracted another half-pice from the same locality of his dress a before and said, "Take this and go away; that is enough."

The coolie laughed and said, "I have seen many gentlemen, but never one so stingy as this one". He got off the compartment and while Ronu was laughing at his humour, Aruna cried, "Look didi, here is a new variety of coolie. A modern coolie!"

Karuna saw a young man, dressed in a

moss green *punjabi*\* and a white shawl, running; his hair partly came down on his eyes and was partly flowing in the air. In one hand he carried a black earthenware jar containing fresh cow-milk *ghee*† and a bunch of bananas. The glue from the bananas dripped on his shawl. In his other hand he carried a big fish slung from a string which went through its ears, fine red and white bamboo baskets strung together with a rope, and a bundle tied in a towel. A village girl was rushing after the young man. She had a red-bordered short sari on, and her hair was done up into a sort of top-knot. The rapid movement had dislodged her sari from her head and jingled her numerous ear-rings and bracelets. The girl was panting and saying, "Oh father,\*\* I fall at your feet, do put me in the train!" She did not cease her entreaties in spite of getting this first-class evidence of the young man's willingness to put her in the train. When there remained no further doubts as to her getting into the train, she said, "May you live long! You were my father in my last incarnation." The young man did not seem to thrill with pride at acquiring such a daughter. He slammed the door of the compartment and started back on his way.

So far Karuna had not seen his face, nor had he seen this bunch of townfolk in the crowd of villagers. As soon as his face could be seen, Aruna said, "Bah, the Modern Coolie is not at all bad-looking!" Karuna said, "Oh shut up, he will hear you." And she thought, "I must have seen him somewhere."

The young man passed in front of them. He was forced to pose as if he had not seen any of them, because he had seen them very well. He went and stood under the corrugated iron shed with an overserious expression in his face and his eyes stuck on the sky. By that time Karuna had worried out that she had probably seen the likeness of this person in the picture of Satadal's *Chhotamama*.

In the meanwhile a smiling, very dark and middle-aged gentleman had entered the platform after pushing open the black-painted iron gate. His smiling face became slightly grave as soon as he fixed his eyes upon Karuna. He made an effort, slightly elongated

\* Porters.

† Indian smoking pipes.

\*\* 82 lbs.

†† About half an ounce.

\* A short robe coming down to the knee, used along with a flowing loin-cloth coming down to the ankles.

† Clarified butter.

\*\* A form of addressing a person to express respect or affection.

his naturally round face and looked at Tarinikanta looking still more serious. But it was probably a difficult trial for him to retain his serious expression for long. As soon as he saw Tarinikanta, his face recovered its normal expression, he smiled broadly, greeted him with a low bow and *namaskar*\* and said, "So here you have come. I am very late, I ought to have come long ago. Strange place. Yes, then you are yourself Tarini Babu?"

Tarini Babu said, "Yes, at your service. You are Gopesh Babu? This is my granddaughter Karuna." Gopesh Babu almost faced Karuna, performed *namaskar* and said, "Oh yes, that I have guessed;" then he turned his back again to Karuna and said, "Would n't it be better if the little mother† came to this poor man's cottage and rested a while?"

Tarinikanta said, "Well, we have no opinion here. We obey your commands."

Gopesh Babu at once brought several generous wrinkles on his smiling face, and, clasping his hands on his heart, said, "Really, really, you must not say such things. It is sheer favour on the part of a saintly man like yourself to put the dust of your feet in my house! Saintly company is sweet, very sweet."

Gopesh Babu's face brightened into a deeper smile, his eyes closed as he meditated upon the nectarine quality of saintly company. He remained standing like that for a couple of minutes or so. Ronu pushed his *didi* and said, "Didi, I am going to call a carriage; how long shall I have to roast in the sun?"

Gopesh Babu was startled and said, "Goodness me, what a suggestion! Let me go and fetch the carriage, I have been forgetful and have not arranged about it—what a sin! You have said right, little father,—'roasting' it is doubtless." *Amritam Bala-Bhashitam*\*\* very sweet, very sweet!" Gopesh Babu gazed admiringly at Ronu for about a minute and then went to fetch the carriage. But before he had gone two steps, he stopped and said very nicely to some one, "That's it, that's it! This is really a man. I am extremely pleased".

Karuna and party turned round and found their Modern Coolie clearing some heavy packages from the godown like any other ordinary man. They were surprised to learn that this was the true symbol of manliness and

kept looking in the same direction to discover something more. The young man was overwhelmed at this exuberance on the part of Gopesh Babu and said, "No, I had my own work to do also. This is not unmixed philanthropy."

Gopesh Babu suddenly became grave and said, "You see, it is difficult to find a carriage unless you order it from beforehand. These people for the school have arrived. Now, what are we to do? I am worrying about it."

The young man said, "Well, what can you do? I brought a bullock cart to take my things. You use it for the present. The black-board and the globe can rest in the godown for another day, but the teacher must be taken to her quarters."

Gopesh Babu slapped the young man vigorously on his back as a mark of appreciation and said, "May you live long, may you live long, little father! You have said right—one can't very well put the teacher in the godown. I am extremely relieved. Come along, let me introduce you to Tarini Babu."

Gopesh Babu clung to the young man's neck and hauled him in the midst of everybody like that. He said, "Tarini Babu, this is our Suprakash Ray. Very enthusiastic young man. Sweet temper. Has come on a holiday this way lately." Suprakash *namaskareā* and Gopesh Babu joined him as if by reflex action. Tarinikanta said, "Oh, I have seen him when he was young! Are you not Abinash's younger brother?"

Suprakash said, "Yes, at your service."

Tarini Babu, as usual, introduced him all round. Gopesh Babu waited with as grave an expression as he could raise. Tarinikanta asked, "What is your idea in coming here?"

Suprakash said, "Had no ideas. I have come without any."

(14)

The girls' school was situated in the ruins of an ancient dwelling-house. It would be a difficult problem to discuss the actual owners of the house and their whereabouts at present. But it was fairly certain from the state of the house that most of them had long moved into spheres unaffected by earthly *maya*. In some remote past the house was built up in three sections on the three sides of a court-yard, the remaining side leading to the tank. The western section, with its huge cemented floor and a massive archway, stood amidst heaps

\* Saluting with the hands joined together.

† Form of addressing younger ladies who stand in a relation of affection.

\*\* "A child's words are like nectar": a Sanskrit proverb.

of useless brickbats and thorny overgrowth like a crestfallen messenger of defeat. Some dauntless species of thorny plants had even made breaches\* in the heart of the floor, where they reigned in arrogant self-display. The northern section was probably the kitchen. Some burnt bricks and the skeleton of a foot-worked husking machine was still lying there. The last dwellers of the house could not give up preparing their food by cooking, although the house might have been coming down on their heads. As a result one could still find traces of their existence in this section of the house. Three ancient walls held up a new and straw-thatched roof near to where the husking machine rested. On account of the collapsing of roofs everywhere, the *Pundit*\* had turned this place into a cattle-shed. The cement floor had been neatly covered with a coating of cow-dung in order to arrive at a compromise with orthodox ideals of keeping a cow-shed pure and clean. The plot of land next to the kitchen had acquired some fertility through receiving the ashes and other kitchen refuse over quite a few generations. The Pandit *mahashay*† had not overlooked to plant a few egg-fruit, chilli and pumpkin plants and creepers there with the assistance of his pupils. Fearing that the new teacher might deprive him of their use, he had already reminded the secretary of the school three or four times that it was he who had done the gardening in his spare time so that it might help him to carry on.

The southern section of the house had been the gentlemen's quarters, and as a result, the owners had spent some money on it. It had thereby gained a touch of permanency. But why the God of Fortune had thus played a trick on the owners by turning the gentlemen's reception room into a welfare institution for women—women, who had been to them the thorns of the rose of life—is more than we can boast the knowledge of. The people of Rajgunj nowadays understood this house, when one talked about the Girls' School. About three or four days ago the new teacher had been installed in the upper floor of this section. Karuna had found a little leisure to-day after her first busy days of taking over charge. This she was going to utilise in making acquaintance with the place and its people. It was for the first

time that she was realising the caress of Bengal, her motherland, with any degree of intensity.

A streak of sunlight had come through a fissure in the western archway like the blade of a javelin and rested on a verandah of the southern section. The mango tree next to the kitchen bowed low under its burden of flowers and in the expectation of spring after a barren winter. It was harbouring a whole host of playful lights and shadows. The jambool and the teak trees behind Karuna's room were, as it were, thrilled with the sight of a new comer and were strewing flowers in reckless abandon. The *Pundit's* cow was tyrannised into unreason by flies and was waving its tail though fast asleep. The calf had broken the rope that held it and was dancing about the courtyard, getting startled by the murmur of dried leaves. The boys returning from school were making a terrible noise by rushing about at random with their squatting mats and paraphernalia. In the eastern section of the house a flock of geese were cultivating their voice in the shelter of the tank side-growth of bind-weed.

Karuna sat musing by the window and passed her eyes over the surrounding scenery. She thought she must have seen these ruins, the mango groves, the aimless uproar of the schoolboys and the lazy aspect of the tank somewhere before. Not with these eyes, she was sure. She was born and brought up in Calcutta, where Bengal hides her beauty behind a mask of office and court premises; then how could she feel this intimacy with the real Bengal? She could not work out how she did it, but nevertheless she felt like returning home after a prolonged exile. The dusty streets of Calcutta, with their twenty years occupational rights over her mind, had to shift and disappear under the pressure of a three-day-old impression of village paths. The feeling of getting back her own drove out all her troubles, struggles, doubts and fears. She had to cling to the things she had lost without overpossessing it, with all her heart and soul. The idea of the motherland which she had built up in her mind with things she had heard from Satadal and the music in her soul, did not absolutely coincide with this place; there were wants and flaws. But she did not at all feel hampered in rejecting the flaws and adding what were wanting, to create a fulness which pleased her.

It slowly darkened into evening. The herds of cattle responding to the wand in the cowboy's left hand slowly and lazily windled

\*A Sanskrit scholar. Also a male teacher of Sanskrit or a Sanskrit language.

† Respectful suffix.



their way home in a cloud of red dust raised by their own hoofs. Women's voices mingled with the tinkling of ornaments came through to Karuna's ears from the neighbouring plant-choked tanks. Not at all like music, but it sounded sweet as music this evening to Karuna. The monotonous evening conch called out, as it were, to some one. Karuna saw in her imagination the earthenware oil lamp light up in the hand of the beautiful bride. She even felt envious of the daily life of these village girls. She forgot that the dream-village with its conch-calls, lighted lamps, red paths, winding streams, rustic flutes and store of song and laughter, which she saw in twilight and mango-blossom madness, did not exist in reality. The things existed, but their spirit and beauty lay, like the spirit and beauty of so many other things, crushed out of all shape under the burden of a hundred kinds of filthiness and evil.

Karuna sat and wove countless fabrics out of her dreams. To-night they were invited to the secretary Gopesh Babu's place. She had no work in hand, hence the stimulation of her imagination. She staged her tales to-day in a corner of this deserted house. It suited her, and her mind would not even look at their Calcutta tenement. Not even the red brick palace could find a place on the borders of the village tank. The ruined house was set there as it were by the discriminating mind of the trained artist. She had not the strength to shift it, even if she wanted to do so.

But shouldn't she bring him here to whom she pawned herself on that dread night! The shock that she experienced on that night had kept her so long from looking back at it. To-day she discovered that the home she had been building up in a corner of her mind, where she went to lighten the burdens of her poverty-crushed soul but returned in trepidation, where she seated herself on bejewelled thrones to appease every hunger of her starved nature, that home had been smashed to bits on that stormy night by the mighty arm of Lucre. The person whom she had so far made only unsuccessful attempts to install in that home, could not be found anywhere to-day.

Karuna was feeling thoroughly ashamed at the conduct of her own mind. She rebuked herself and lectured her rebel heart on the sinfulness of ingratitude and insincere behaviour, but her hero could not find a place in the scheme of her new-born romance of the ruins. The young plant grows up and calls out to the clouds for rain in the heat of summer days, but would it invite the hail

storm? That would shatter it and strike it dead.

The net she had woven wanted to encircle a man who fitted in with the present surroundings, a man to whom everything had not yet assumed the definite details which the scorching summer light brings out, a man in whom one could find the vagueness, the mystery of the unknown, which she found in her dream-village.

Satadal, who first impressed the picture of this village romance on her mind, had also impressed another picture on her mind, and that, she thought, would be suited to the things she found now. Karuna scolded herself that that sort of childishness did not become her; but yet that picture began to come out of every corner of the ruins, the picture of one who the other day walked in front of their bullock cart in the sun, leaving even his shawl to cover the broken roof of the cart. His hair was flowing rebelliously in the wind and he was constantly changing the topic to avoid the enthusiastic eulogium of Gopesh Babu. He tore his shirt into two in his hurry to get their luggage down all alone, but he smilingly tied it up with a knot and never worried.

Karuna thought to-day, that she had prepared his throne under this colourful mango-tree, on the dust of broken petals—not only to-day, but through repeated incarnations over thousands of years. Here she had built up a thousand homes, and a thousand cataclysms had scattered them to the elements, but never had anything been able to destroy this melody nor her woman's heart. Karuna had never been taught about incarnations. She had never known this place in her present incarnation. But this three days' acquaintance was forcing her to forget everything else and tying her to the village dust and the village sky with century-old ties. Why, she could not understand.

The bullock cart belonging to the secretary Gopesh Babu came up resounding with loose-jointed noisiness and stopped under the teak tree. Karuna started up. Aruna ran into her room from the next room and cried, "Oh, Didi, is your meditation over? It is a good thing I am with you, or who knows what would not happen to you? Mr. 'Very Sweet' has sent in his cart, and who may be the Apollo of whom you are dreaming?"

Karuna said, "That will do, you have shown enough precocity! Now stop thinking of my well-being and finish your toilet."

Aruna said, "Why do you sermonise with-

out even looking up? I have finished with my hair ages ago. You—" Ronu came rushing up and tumbled upon Aruna with a cloud of dust on him, saying, "Chhordi dear, does Gopesh Babu always chew raw tamarinds? Why does he make such faces whenever he talks?"

Aruna pushed him away and remarked, "I don't know who chews raw tamarinds and who doesn't, but I know that you have become a perfect monkey. You have spoilt my newly washed dress! Don't you ever dare touch me again without first having a wash!"

"Oh what a dress: rotten stuff! No one would touch it even for money." Ronu departed to dress up for the invitation after this final fling.

As soon as everybody arrived at Gopesh Babu's place, the host came out with joined palms\* and stood before Tarini Babu. He said, "Oh, do come in, come in! The poor man's dwelling has been consecrated! God is extremely gracious!"

A little girl was standing near Gopesh Babu whom he prodded with his elbow and looked threateningly at. She went up to Karuna but remained staring at her blankly. Karuna appreciated her trouble. The poor village child had never seen a town-girl and had lost her power of speech at the first shock. She was not sure of the way she should play the part of receiving them. Karuna came to her rescue and said, "Let us go, which way is it?"

Gopesh Babu changed at once from his smile into a terrible grimace, saying, "Oh, you silly little idiot! What do you think you are gaping like that for? Very foolish, sir, very ignorant!"

Aruna tried to suppress her mirth and nearly cut her lips in two in her effort. But she suddenly pinched Karuna hard and spun round like a top to present her back to the company. The little girl started walking sideways to the women's quarter of the house as a result of the scolding. A middle-aged lady was standing at the door with her head completely covered with the end of her sari. No one could see her face nor hear her words. But her mannerism and swaying conveyed to the guests that she was welcoming them. Entering, they found sundry other younger women, who were all more or less frightened out of their wits. The younger ladies had dressed up in black lace

and salmon silk and the girls had put on belts over everything in order to vindicate their right to be styled modern. But some unknown fear dominated them all and nobody dared speak to the guests. Everybody waited as if to see or to hear something. Finding everybody silent, an aged widow came forward, asked them to be seated and began the conversation. The aged lady asked, "Look here dear, I don't know whether to address you as lady-teacher or as *Guru-ma*,\* so please excuse me. The hussies had all been receiving lessons at doing things properly the whole day from *Goopi*;† but see how they became like dumb animals at the right moment! Whoever you might be, dear, some one must talk to guests; this is our Bengali custom. Shouldn't I say, 'come and sit down,' because I don't know the Calcutta speech?"

The young ladies thrilled with signs of expecting some imminent danger. Karuna smiled and said, "What is there to require lessons in conversing with us? We are also Bengalis and women—we are not anything else, are we?"

The old lady said, "Quite true, only we are family people and not like you."

Karuna said, "We are also family people, we are not wanderers."

The old lady, failing to express herself, said, "That may be so, dear, we do not know all that."

The invitation passed off somehow. It seemed as if the guests as well as the hosts perspired and recovered their normal temperature after prolonged fever.

Ten o'clock at night, when they were returning home, the moon-light was flooding the thatched roofs of the cottages, and the sandy path along the stream appeared snow-white in the silver glow. There were few people in the lanes. As she felt the cold-white touch of the moon on the silent village, Karuna wondered sitting in the carriage, how men allowed such glory to go waste. She said, "It is abundance that makes a thing lose its charm in the eye of man."

Aruna said, "Not all people are poets like yourself."

A rather over-modern tune was suddenly played upon some unknown flute in the mango grove bordering the stream. Aruna said, "No, there is yet another poet in the village. This is no mere cowboy's flute."

\*Mother preceptor.

†Fond way of addressing Gopesh.

\* Showing respect.

Ronu remarked, "That must be Suprakash Babu. I made friends with him yesterday. I have seen, he has a couple of nice flutes. Let us stop the carriage, I will bring him along now."

Aruna said, "He is not a fool to play on flutes in the middle of the night. All people have not gone mad as you have."

The carriage was not stopped. Ronu at last said, "All right, let us see if he has not gone mad."

*(To be continued)*

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL BENGALI BY

ASHOKE CHATTERJEE.

## NOTES

### The British Period of Indian History.

Englishmen are masters of India to-day. From the worldly point of view, they—at least the imperialists among them, who form the majority—think that it is good for them to remain our masters for ever. Some of them may also have persuaded themselves that it is good for Indians also to be ruled by them for ever. They think or profess to think that it is necessary, too, for Indians to be thus ruled, as they cannot rule themselves.

In order to persuade us that it is good and necessary for us to be ruled by them for ever, Englishmen have felt themselves under the necessity of producing in us a conviction that we have lived for countless generations in a climate which has made us unfit for self-rule and that we also belong to a race which is not and cannot be self-ruling, being inherently of inferior stuff.

If the British contention were true, there would be no hope for us. So British historians of India have generally tried to produce a feeling of despair in our minds.

It is, no doubt, sad, but it is true, that the educated Indian's knowledge of the history of his country is confined for the most part to what he reads in his school histories. At first, the school histories prescribed as text-books to be used in our schools generally devoted only a few pages to the pre-Musalman period, in which, moreover, the Greek "conquest" of India cut the most prominent figure; so that Indian boys grew up in the belief that the history of their country was mainly one of a state of subjugation by outsiders. And in these histories, as well as in those which afterwards took their place in school and college courses, the Musalman rulers of India were

generally painted as oppressors whose rule did no good to India.

Gradually, however, a greater sense of proportion has been manifesting itself in school histories of India, so that nowadays a more adequate—though not a fully adequate—treatment of the Hindu-Buddhist period is found in them. Still, they fail to give their readers an adequate and exact idea of the civic, political, economic and all-round cultural achievement of our ancestors. Other historical works, no doubt, supply this deficiency to some extent. But so far as school histories of India are concerned, the chapters devoted in them to the Hindu-Buddhist period can cease to be politically depressing and harmful only when our children learn from them that in ancient times India was on the whole not less free or more enslaved than Britain was under her Celtic, Roman, Saxon, Danish and Norman conquerors.

We do not want to feed ourselves or our children on historical falsehoods or lies; we want to believe only in the truth. And that truth is that neither our race nor our climate prevented us from being on the whole as self-ruling as ancient peoples generally were. What our ancestors were, we may also be.

As regards the Muhammadan period also greater justice is being gradually done to the Musalman invaders and rulers of India. That Musalman rule did some good to India is being recognised more and more. It is also becoming more and more clear that the Moslem invaders were in some respects superior to the indigenous population of India. Instead of emasculating the people of India, Moslem rule appears indirectly to have energised and partially unified them, the result being the rise of the Marathas and the Sikhs. And there is at least one native power which has never been



entirely crushed either by the Moslems or by the British ; we mean Nepal.

With our advancing knowledge of the Hindu-Buddhist and Musalmap periods of Indian history, the Muse of History is coming to take her proper place in our culture as the curer of national depression and despair. Under her guidance and treatment, we are coming to know the defects and diseases in our mental, moral and physical constitution and in our religious, social and economic organisation, as also the remedies to be applied.

That the British people have become masters of India is certainly due to their superiority to us in some respects and to our defects in those respects. Some of these are patriotism, arms, military organisation, diplomacy, the art of intrigue, etc. In order that we may occupy the same position in the scale of manhood as the free and advanced peoples of the earth, it is necessary for us to know correctly and fully what our defects were. Both the Musalmans and the Hindus were to blame for the establishment of British supremacy in India.

Had the defects of the Indians been due to race and climate there would have been little hope indeed for us. But as far as we are aware, race and climate were not the determining factors in our enslavement.

From what we have said before, it must have been clear that even the histories of India used in our schools are gradually becoming fuller and more unbiassed in their treatment of the Hindu-Buddhist and Muhammadan periods. But the treatment of the British period lags behind. And there are reasons why it does so.

No history of India can hope to be used as a school-book which exposes all the means and methods used, not by Clive and Warren Hastings alone, but by all British empire-builders ; the tendency is rather to white-wash all the empire-builders in such books. Hence our children and their teachers are likely to have a lower idea of their ancestors and a higher idea of their British antagonists than true history warrants. It is not true of the (Hindu and Moslem) Indians and of the Britishers pitched against them, that the former were invariably weaklings, cowards, unwarlike men, crafty liars and traitors, and the latter were all uniformly strong, courageous, soldierly, straightforward, truthful, and honourable keepers of their plighted word. Fraud and lying diplomacy and faithlessness to treaties and to

pledges given, had much to do with the establishment of British supremacy in India. And in not a few battles did British generals and soldiers behave like rank cowards. The British empire-builders were past masters in intriguing and raising traitors by bribery and other means in the ranks of their Indian antagonists. They were not always or in most cases "on the side of the angels." To the undying shame of Indians, it must be admitted, of course, that so many of them could be made traitors to their country by the lure of pelf and power. That reveals the moral bankruptcy of a section of our people which was taken advantage of to make India a subject country.

All these things and much more, including some other defects in our society and national character, we have learnt from Major B. D. Basu's historical works. All the five volumes of his "Rise of the Christian Power in India" will soon be out. When his self-imposed task is done, he will have the satisfaction of having discharged a patriotic duty by years of unremitting toil and at considerable expense. The appraisement of the real worth of the volumes must be left to competent historians and serious students of history. All that we can say is that he has done his work with devotion to truth, courage, industry and genuine patriotism, not seeking to suppress or minimise the faults of his Hindu and Musalman countrymen. Whether even the devotees of "National" education will seek to profit by a study of his works, is more than we can say. That they should, goes without saying. For in his volumes will be found brought together information from sources not easily available. And even Englishmen will do well to read in his pages what their own countrymen have left on record as to how their empire in India was built up.

The *Times* of London cannot be accused of any partiality to Indians. Even such a journal, in a review of Major Basu's "Story of Satara," published in its Literary Supplement, is forced to admit that the way in which the Raja of Satara was treated "is still sufficiently discreditable to our modern notions of justice. The Raja was never given a fair chance of exculpating himself ; the officials perhaps, nervously afraid of treason, accepted as proof evidence which any counsel could have torn to tatters in an hour."

English writers of school text-books of Indian history may go on dealing with the British period in the old way. But after the

publication of Major Basu's works, making easily available many sources of information which were rare, little known, inaccessible, or difficult of access, there would be no excuse for Indian writers of school-books on Indian history to present to their readers a biased view of the long process of establishment of British supremacy in India.

### A Maulvi on Non-intellectual "Mental Calibre."

Maulvi Abdul Karim, formerly an inspector of schools in Bengal and at present a member of the Council of State, has submitted to Government a memorandum on the apportionment of jobs in the public service between Hindus and Musalmans. The Maulvi Sahib holds that the public service calls for "qualifications other than intellectual, such as strong physique, mental calibre, moral stamina, family traditions, social position, administrative capacity, sense of honour and integrity, a combination of all of which makes an ideal officer." Mental calibre denotes capacity or compass of mind. It is difficult to understand, therefore, why mental calibre should be considered a "qualification other than intellectual"; perhaps only men of the mental calibre meant by the Maulvi can understand. Let that pass, however.

The Maulvi will, we hope, admit that, though the public service calls for qualifications other than intellectual, it does call for intellectual qualifications also. We hope also that he does not suggest that those who lack intellectual qualifications or are not conspicuous for their possession, possess in an extraordinary degree "qualifications other than intellectual."

The difficulty is that the mere fact of a man's professing a particular faith or belonging to a particular social stratum or a particular family is no guarantee for his possession of either intellectual or non-intellectual qualifications. Some other means or tests have to be adopted to find out what qualifications of what sorts he possesses or does not possess.

Competitive examinations are not fully satisfactory tests of intellectual qualifications; but no better test has yet been devised or discovered. As regards the really nonintellectual qualifications, of which mental calibre is not one, the comparative strength of a candidate's physique can be ascertained by means of various tests. The Hindus and other non-

Moslem communities will not object to the adoption of such tests for the selection of candidates for the public service; but they will certainly object to anybody being selected or rejected without any such test for no other reason than his religious belief.

Moral stamina is not the monopoly of any religious community; it belongs or does not belong to particular individuals. The same is true of "sense of honour and integrity". Circumstances, events and emergencies prove or disprove their possession by individuals. Family traditions and social position can be boasted of by numerous persons belonging to all the various religious communities; they are not any community's monopoly. Besides, though we do not say that family traditions and social position do not count for anything, we do say that they are not a substitute for the requisite qualifications for public service which men may possess irrespective of birth or rank. Moreover, many 'aristocratic' families were founded by cheats and dacoits. Besides, what family traditions or social position did Napoleon possess? What did Cromwell, Haidar Ali or Shivaji, or Abraham Lincoln, or Niklai Lenin, Kutb-ud-din or Bakhtiar Khilji possess? But did they not possess administrative capacity? It is generally noodles who rest their case on family traditions or social position.

The fact is, leaders of the Moslem community like Maulvi Abdul Karim do not want any searching tests, other than the credal one in their favour, to be imposed. That is why they want a fixed proportion of Government jobs and seats in Councils. They do not see that no human authority can guarantee to any community the enjoyment of such privileges in perpetuity or for long. During Muhammadan rule, power and pelf belonged for the most part to the Musalmans. But they lost these, because they grew unfit in course of time. Similarly, even if some human authority gives them privileges now, they would be able to keep them only by fitness. But reservation of jobs and seats for them does not make for the increase or conservation of fitness.

The Hindu and other non-Moslem communities are wise in choosing to submit to all open tests, physical, moral and intellectual. That makes for the greatest efficiency.

In all schemes for the apportionment of jobs, etc., why is it forgotten that there are other communities besides Hindus and Moslems? And if "protection" is to be given to any, the smaller and weaker the community, the greater is its need of "protection."

## Calcutta University Budget

Our University has yet to learn to cut its coat according to its cloth.

The Board of Accounts had provided for a deficit balance of Rs. 1,84,000, but taking into account the amendments proposed by the Syndicate, which were carried on June 24, the deficit would amount to about four lakhs of rupees.

Principal G. C. Bose said that the discussion had revealed that the relation between the Board of Accounts and the Syndicate was anything but pleasant. The next point was about the Budget itself. The figures furnished showed that the ultimate deficit would be more than five lakhs of rupees or near about six lakhs. He would give them the warning that if they went to the Government with that deficit of six lakhs of rupees they very likely won't get a farthing. He had been told that the Government were contemplating the appointment of another committee to overhaul the whole machinery of the University.

Professor J. R. Bannerjee said that it would be better for them to place the true state of finances of the University before the Government and the public. Unless it were known that the University needed funds they could not expect grants from the Government or contributions from the Public.

Mr. Manmathanath Ray said that he did not know under whose authority Principal Bose had made the announcement that the Government were going to appoint a committee to overhaul the machinery of the University. The Senate was not to be cowed down by any such statements. The Senate had to do its duty. The question of a balanced Budget did not arise. If the question arose, the Post-graduate department had to be closed down. It was no use mincing matters and cutting down the figures.

Dr. Bidhan Chandra Rai said that he and his colleagues on the Board felt and expected this disaffection with the order of things. But the cause lay in the fact that the University had been called upon to bear a heavier burden than it could cope with. And what was the result? There was a feeling of insecurity as to tenure which did not and could not make for efficiency. It was just possible that a better understanding between the different departments of the University and a greater amount of co-operation between them would in the future not only mean improvement in all the activities of the University, but might also result in economy in various directions.

It was time that definite steps were taken by the Senate and the Syndicate to decentralize the government of the University and place the working of the various departments independent of control by individuals and dependent only on rules and conventions consolidated by practice.

Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhikari, the chairman, commenting on the deficits said that the Calcutta University was not singular in its misfortune. It had been the misfortune of the Government of India almost every year to have a deficit Budget till the salt-tax came to the relief of the Government. Things were changed. The requirements were growing and they could not be confined to their old groove of work. They had to expand and they were expanding. Therefore, whether the

State came to their help or not, whether the public came to their help or not, the University had to frame its ideal and to keep it aloft and work it with the resources at its disposal.

We cannot say that there are no grounds for the apprehension expressed by Principal G. C. Bose that, if one asks for too much, one may get nothing. At the same time Professor J. R. Banerji was right in holding that unless it were known how much money the University needed, grants from Government and contributions from the public could not be expected. But we doubt whether deficit budgets are the wisest means for letting people know the University's wants. For the fact is, University studies and ideals in modern times are limitless, whilst the resources of the country available for high education are not boundless. We, too, pretend to be idealists of a sort, but we do not agree that idealism is incompatible with common sense or with the recognition of the limited character of the available resources. It is not impossible to strike a middle course.

Mr. Manmathanath Ray held that "the Senate was not to be cowed down by any such statements." Sir Asutosh Mookerjee used to give expression to such sentiments. A man of his achievement and personality could perhaps fittingly say such things. But as every one is not Sir Asutosh, Mr. Manmathanath Ray would be well advised to refresh his memory of *Æsop's Fables*.

We are in sympathy with Dr. Bidhan Chandra Rai's observations quoted above. Only, one's respect for him would have been heightened if, during the life-time of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, he could have mustered sufficient courage to speak of "economy in various directions," of decentralizing the government of the University, and of placing the working of the various departments independent of control by individuals and dependent only on rules and conventions consolidated by practice. But so long as Sir Asutosh was alive, it was only "fitting spectacles of humanity" like ourselves who said such things, and the substantial and weighty forms of human beings who surrounded him found it more profitable and pleasant to humour him. But better late than never.

As regards Sir Devaprasad's remarks, we would remind him that as the Government of India possesses the power of levying taxes, including unpopular ones, and of collecting them, too, with the aid of the police and the army, if need be, which the University does not, little consolation can be derived from



claiming kinship with Government, on the strength of accidental resemblance as regards recurring deficits and impending bankruptcy. We, however, agree that the University should "frame its ideal, keep it aloft and work it *with the resources at its disposal*."

### Fear of Evil and Fear of Good.

The human mind is so constituted that men naturally put more value on the direct and the immediate than on the indirect and the remote. It also appreciates with greater intensity things which it can readily recognise and easily place in its field of experience. Thus we find people borrowing money for present expenditure which they will have to pay back twice or four times in the future. We also find people going in headlong for short-sighted policies involving an ounce of direct and readily recognisable benefit and tons of indirect loss. The men who stint in food or education and the shopkeepers who cheat for small sums are examples which at once come to the mind. In regard to the emotions also, men respond more quickly and intensely to direct and known forces than to indirect and subtle ones. One fears a jumping tiger with an ardour which one rarely displays in connection with approaching epidemics. One loves the hand that feeds with a readier love than one feels for a benevolent despot living in a distant capital, who may possibly be a greater benefactor. One hates a bullying street ruffian with a hatred more ferocious than the hatred one cherishes against the unseen designer of insidious tyranny.

The Anglo-Saxon and other rulers of British India, in spite of their control over the ocean waves, the movements of the sun and what not, have not been able to rule over the laws of psychology. Whatever may be the fate of the "waves", Britons have always been the "slaves" of psychological laws and weaknesses. Being fishermen and sailors by race and inclination, they naturally thought that evolution was controlled by hydrodynamic laws and that the grandest thing in creation would be to "rule the waves". Although Llyods' Register gives contrary evidence, let us concede the Britons their little vanity. But we have also to perform the painful duty of reminding them of their limitations. Right through modern times the British have gained their objective by diplomacy, statecraft, warfare

and sundry other moral, non-moral and immoral means. History gives evidence against the group ethics of the British. They have often employed means to achieve their ends which would never pass an ethical censorship. We suggest that the British, along with other nations, have repeatedly violated the ideal standard of group morality. It may be also suggested that they are thoroughly well versed in the ways of cunning, craftiness and hypocritical manouevring. Being so, they readily recognise these evil forces. And according to the laws of psychology previously referred to, they fear these forces (and other evil things) with a greater intensity than they do the forces of good which may equally oppose their interests.

The art of propaganda defines 'good' as anything that favours the end in view, and 'bad' as anything that obstructs the same. When the British or the Anglo-Indian press eulogise or traduce something or somebody, one can generally conclude that their praise or blame follows the logic of propaganda.

That we want national independence, we have made clear to the British long ago. That they do not feel overjoyed at the prospect of losing their Empire is more than clear to everybody. A study of the economic interests that the British have in India will make it thoroughly clear to all why the British want to control our political life.

The Anglo-Indians' interest lies in keeping this control over India, and they spare nothing to keep it. Their press is full of the propaganda stuff which aims at keeping their present rights intact. They run down whatever goes against them and raise to the sky whatever does the opposite. In this is also involved their ability to grasp what goes against them and what does not. They readily recognise certain things as detrimental to their cause and naturally condemn these with the greatest ferocity. Other things which do not oppose their ends directly or immediately, they run down with less velocity.

Time is a great factor in gaining or losing economically. A loss or a gain protracted over a longer or a shorter period would be greater or smaller accordingly. The sooner the Anglo-Indians lose their control over India, the more they stand to suffer economically. Hence the longer they can live here in full power, the more they stand to gain. Naturally, one can expect them to support things and people who willingly or unwillingly help them to keep their power longer than

they would be able to otherwise. Incidentally, they also believe that certain things and forces can dislodge them and certain others cannot. This belief rests upon their experience of forces which have the power to dislodge others. These are generally their forces of cunning, craftiness, violence and hypocrisy. The forces of good, being less known to them, are scoffed at by the Anglo-Indians as impotent and mad. They, in spite of their Christianity, cannot go deep enough into the less definite but stronger potency of the forces of morality and goodness. There are some Anglo-Indians who sincerely believe that the good cannot oust the vicious unless by means of vicious tricks. These are the people who scoff at forces which do not charge with fixed bayonets or with high explosives. These are also the people who do not see reason unless they see something landing between the eyes. These are again the spiritual spendthrifts who go on amassing a debt because they do not see the creditor or because the creditor is not armed to the teeth. When Mr. Gandhi started his movement of conquering evil by good, the Anglo-Indians scoffed at him; for who except a lunatic could think of fighting without weapons? And when they found Mr. C. R. Das suggesting going into the Councils, they hailed him as the "only sane politician" in India. They thought Mr. Das would surely prolong their stay in India and Mr. Gandhi might not. But when they suspected Mr. Das of things which they feared more than the forces of good, they at once changed round and added the respectful "Mr." or even "Mahatma" to Gandhi's name. To-day Gandhi is the man they swear by, while it is C. R. Das that they swear at. It is to be concluded that they consider non-violent non-co-operation as the lesser of two evils. Moreover, it is not so *palpably* dangerous, as the other.

Of course, they have also the sense to perceive that both Mahatma Gandhi's method and Mr. C. R. Das's declared method and what they suspect to be his secret method, are dangerous from their point of view, though in varying degree. So it is their game—the Anglo-Indian game—to set Mr. Gandhi and his followers and Mr. Das and his followers by the ears, in the hope that opposing forces may neutralize each other. *But it is not the Indians' game.* This the Indians should never forget. What Indians should try to bring about is co-operation among all on the basis of truth and non-violence.

A. C.

### Steel Protection Reviewed.

Among the principal recommendations of the Indian Fiscal Commission No. 1 (b) runs as follows :—

That discrimination be exercised in the selection of industries for protection, and in the degree of protection afforded, so as to make the inevitable burden on the community as light as is consistent with the due development of industries.

From this if one expected that the Government would exert itself to see that whatever was done to afford protection to industries would be so arranged as to rest as lightly as possible on the shoulders of the people, should one be hauled up for misunderstanding the motive of the Government? Hired technicians and professional quibblers may be found to prove that, in the above extract, the Government commits itself to do nothing of the sort; that from it one can expect the Government to keep the good of the people in view *only when selecting* industries for protection or deciding the *degree of protection*; or that there being so many "communities" in India, *the community* means a certain privileged community; or again, that whatever may be done will lead to the *due* development of industries, and so on.

Leaving aside such hypothetical hypocrisy, let us see if the steel protection duties, etc., rest as lightly on the community as is consistent with the due development of industries. Let us also see if the same will at all lead to *any* development of industries; for it is the latter that is the real aim of protection.

The duties have been placed for a period of three years and on building and constructional steel. The bounty will be given on railway materials. Now steel was so discriminatively selected for protection, because it is an essential for industrial development. Without a developed steel industry, the industrial structure of the country will lack a foundation as well as the necessary pillars of support. If all Indian industries had to look to foreigners for their supply of machinery and raw steel, the industrial life of India would be a precarious one. Moreover, with her natural resources, it would be also costly in the long run to depend upon foreign machinery and raw steel. It is **Industrial India** which mainly stood to gain from any development of the steel industry. But practically the whole burden of protection has been put upon that section of the people who go in for building houses and use steel for other constructional purposes. Some of them may be industrialists, but

the majority are not. Then again, the increased cost of railway materials would also be borne mainly by non-industrialists, either through increased fares and rates, or through the present high rates not being diminished, or through having to pay for the bounty money in ordinary taxes. There is little chance that industrialists would pay any considerable portion of the increased railway costs by means of paying higher freight charges. The industrialists of India are the most able to pay, apart from the fact that they *ought* to pay, for the protection. As things have been arranged, they will probably be the least affected people. The prosperous Jute Mills, *e. g.* would hardly feel even a touch of the new burden. And nobody will say that placing the burden on the weakest shoulders means sparing the community unnecessary suffering. Even Mr. George Pilcher, the renowned anti-protectionist who pleaded so ably for the prosperous industries of India which did not care for the steel protection idea, has contributed an article to a foreign paper pointing out our folly in protecting the steel industry and thereby placing a heavy burden on ourselves. We acknowledge ourselves beaten! If we remember aright, Mr. Pilcher was the economist who reiterated the folly of burdening the thriving industries in order to help infant ones. He has won his point: the thriving industries have not been burdened in any prominent way. Of course, though he has won, the ordinary common-sense principle of taxation has been set at naught, namely, that the heaviest burden of taxation ought to be placed on the shoulders of the wealthiest. Then, about the development of the steel industry. This system of protection will hardly draw fresh capital into the industry. It will doubtless help some firms to tide over a slump at the expense of a comparatively poorer section of the community. We wonder if it is fair to make some people pay for the solvency of a trade when such solvency benefits them in no direct and perceptible manner. The failure of big firms is a matter of concern for other big firms and the banking circle. Then, why should ordinary people pay for propping it up? It may be suggested that this is not the aim of the steel bounty. What is what will be proved in three years? Let us wait and meanwhile pay.

A. C.

### Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Memorial.

Various suggestions have appeared in the papers for perpetuating and honouring the memory of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. One is that College Square or Gol Dighi should be named after him, another that Russa Road (where stands his residence) should be named after him, a third that the new University building under construction in College Street should bear his name, a fourth that Senate House should be re-christened after him, etc. The first three may be carried out, not the fourth. But all are examples of how to do things on the cheap; for in carrying them out nobody's purse would be the lighter by even a pie.

At the University memorial meeting held at Senate House under the presidency of His Excellency the Governor-Chancellor, who spoke with dignity and as a gentleman ought, a resolution was carried for collecting funds for a fitting memorial. The memorial should, of course, be such as would encourage and promote scholarship and research in connection with the Calcutta University.

The list of subscriptions should naturally be headed by the profiteers and pluralists of the University.

### Eurasians to be Flogged only by Eurasians!

Two scoundrels, who are Eurasians, committed a dastardly outrage on a young Indian woman, and were sentenced by the Allahabad High Court to be flogged and imprisoned. Thereupon the Eurasian community petitioned the Government and started an agitation, demanding that flogging should be administered to Eurasian criminals by Eurasians alone, and threatening that unless that were done, the community would withdraw from the Auxiliary force. And lo! the Government whose representatives here and in England never tire to tell Indians that it will never yield to fear, has succumbed to the Eurasian menace! And Lord Reading's mission in coming out to India—to do justice and remove racial inequalities—has also been fulfilled.

*The Servant of India* observes:—

That the Eurasians as a body should have persuaded themselves to petition Government that flogging should be administered to criminals of their community by none other than Eurasians is itself an astounding phenomenon. But that the Government should concede this most preposterous demand because of that community's threat of



withdrawal from the Auxiliary force is more astounding still. When this foolish agitation was being carried on by the Eurasian leaders and when the pistol was being held at the head of the Government, it only afforded a good deal of merriment to most Indians, for no one then imagined that the Government of India would be either so weak as to entertain this demand for a moment or so dense as not to see the utterly immoral nature of the demand. But the Government has actually yielded and made a rule that Eurasians should be flogged only by men of their race, thus instituting a regular gradation in the matter of flogging; Europeans exempted altogether from this punishment. Indians subjected to flogging at the hands of all and sundry, and Eur-Indians flogged but only at the hands of Eur-Indians. To make this racial discrimination complete, the Government of India had only to go one step further, and following the good example of Kenya enact a law that Europeans (and Eurasians) are liable to be arrested only by the police of their own race.

### The Premier and Mr. Justice McCardie.

London, June 1923.

In the House of Commons Mr. Lansbury asked if Government would grant time for discussion of his motion asking for the removal of Mr. Justice McCardie from the Bench in connection with his summing up in the O'Dwyer case.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said that Government had come to the conclusion that a discussion on this subject would only add to the harm done to India by the words complained of.

As regards Mr. Justice McCardie it ought in fairness to be borne in mind that the objectionable passage did not occur in a considered written judgment but in an oral charge to the jury delivered at the conclusion of a lengthy and somewhat heated trial, and the very form in which it was couched showed that the judge was not informed regarding what took place. Mr. MacDonald affirmed that Government completely associated itself with the decision of the Government, and not merely of the Secretary of State for India, of the day.

The Premier added that, however unfortunate his words might have been, they clearly did not constitute the kind of fault amounting to moral delinquency which constitutionally would justify Government action. Government would always uphold the rights of the judiciary to pass judgment even on the Executive if it thought fit. It was therefore all the more necessary that the judiciary should guard itself against pronouncements upon issues involving grave political consequences which themselves were not being tried.

Mr. Lansbury expressed that he was perfectly satisfied with Mr. MacDonald's statement. (Ministerial cheers.)—(Reuter.)

Not being premiers, or M. P.s, or politicians of any sort, we are unable to understand how and why a discussion of the subject would have only added to the harm done to India by the words complained of. What is plain is that if the Premier had said "harm

done to England" instead of "harm done to India", he would have been nearer the truth.

There is, no doubt, some difference between an oral charge to the jury and a written judgment; but is there any law, good precedent, or justification for an oral charge to the jury partly resembling a harangue delivered to a mob by a partisan politician? Moreover, the judge himself said that he spoke "with full deliberation." The trial was undoubtedly "heated." But the judge himself partly created the heat and added to it. As a judge, he had no business to get heated.

Mr. MacDonald's apologia in exculpation of the judge leaves us under the impression that, if the latter had used "the words complained of" in "a considered written judgement," the Premier would still have been willing and able to find excuses for them.

The ease with which Mr. Lansbury "was perfectly satisfied" gives one the impression that when he gave notice of his motion, he did not mean business, but wanted to pose as a friend of India.

Of course, much of the activity of the House of Commons of the pro-India variety may be stage acting. On the stage two actors may be dire enemies, but in the green room they are chums again. So in the parliamentary stage, pro-Indian and anti-Indian M. P.s. may appear to be fighting like cats and dogs; but off the stage, they all want to combine to keep their hold on India to the extent necessary for exploitation and giving employment to a good proportion of Britishers.

### The O'Dwyer-Nair Case.

It is ancient history now that in consequence of the libel suit brought by Sir Michael O'Dwyer against Sir Sankaran Nair, the latter would have to pay the former £500 damages and £20,000 costs. Sir Sankaran's own expenses must have been more than £20,000; for he had to seek for and collect his evidence at his own cost, whereas an impartial Government deputed some of its servants to do the job for Sir Michael. So altogether the verdict means a fine of seven lakhs of rupees or thereabouts to be paid by Sir Sankaran Nair. This punishment has overtaken him for writing the demi-Government publication called "Gandhi and Anarchy," for which Government supplied much of the material and of which it also purchased

many copies. Hence Government is morally bound to pay the "fine", or at least half of it.

Apart from the fact that in criminal trials, either here or in England, where the parties are Indians *versus* Englishmen, Indians have not much chance of getting justice, in this particular case it was evident all along that the judge was a partisan. In fact, many of his questions and comments looked like those of the prosecuting counsel and would have been more appropriate if they had proceeded from the latter.

Some of the observations of Mr. Justice McCordie are so precious that no apology is needed for drawing attention to them. Said he :—

"Whatever criticism was made on the conduct of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and other officials in India nobody had in the slightest way challenged the incorruptibility, absolute honesty and efficiency of the military and civil officers who were called before them."

The allegations were that there was great oppression, that force and terrorism were made use of to obtain recruits, that Indians were subjected to cruel indignities (as by the infamous "crawling order"), that General Dyer massacred in cold blood innocent and unarmed people at Jallianwala Bagh, etc. Such being the case, what sort of defence or excuse is it that the men alleged to have been guilty were incorruptible, honest and efficient? We are not aware that any respectable or disreputable historian has ever urged in defence or exculpation of Nero's conduct that that emperor regularly and punctually paid his grocer's bills, that he did not accept bribes, that he was honest, and that at his order men were polished off with the greatest "efficiency"?

"He pointed out that Sir Michael O'Dwyer denied that there was terrorism in recruiting. There was not a single word in the two hundred native newspapers in the Punjab suggesting that terrorism prevailed. There was not a single letter of complaint on that subject to Sir Michael O'Dwyer."

"Mr. Justice McCordie asked: Was not the explanation that there was no oppression except in isolated cases of wrong-doing?"

The judge admits that there were isolated cases of wrong-doing, and he also states that there was not a single word in the two hundred native newspapers in the Punjab suggesting that terrorism prevailed. We assume that his latter statement is correct. Now, seeing that in normal times some newspaper or other in a province does report even isolated cases of wrong-doing, how did the

judge explain to himself why during the period in question not even one paper out of 200 mentioned any case of wrong-doing? Any man possessing an iota of common sense in considering the circumstances, would come to the conclusion that the people of the Punjab were so unmannered by terrorism as to be unable to voice their grievances. And that was in fact the case. True stories of oppression crossed the seven seas and reached *Truth* in London, which published them. Here in Calcutta we also became aware of the state of things in the Panjab.

Trained lawyers of the ability and position of Pandit Madan Mohar Malaviya, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. Abbas S. Tayabji, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, with Mr. K. Santanam as Secretary, formed the Punjab Sub-committee of the Indian National Congress who in 1919-20, conducted the Congress Punjab enquiry, and after recording the evidence collected, in 946 royal 8vo pages of small type, arrived at some conclusions, of which we copy one below :

"The people of the Punjab were incensed against Sir M. O'Dwyer's administration by reason of his studied contempt and distrust of the educated classes, and by reason of the cruel and compulsory methods, adopted during the war, for obtaining recruits and monetary contributions and by his suppression of public opinion by gagging the local press and shutting out nationalist newspapers from outside the Punjab." P. 157 of Vol. II, *Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Sub-committee of The Indian National Congress.*

Whether General Dyer was or was not guilty of the alleged atrocities was not a question at issue; he was not the or a plaintiff. Nevertheless, the judge asked :

"Was General Dyer guilty of the alleged atrocities? He said that he could not help feeling that the word atrocity ought not lightly to be applied to a man who might have been guilty of an error of judgment but who admittedly acted with the most absolute honesty of purpose. Nobody had challenged the integrity and honour of General Dyer. Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the witness-box had said that from General Dyer's statement before the Hunter Commission. General Dyer's conduct was indefensible. General Dyer's statement before the Army Council mentioned circumstances which apparently were not present in his mind when he gave his evidence before the Hunter Commission and said, *inter alia*, that he was convinced that a determined and organized movement was progressing to destroy all Europeans in the district and to carry the movement all over the Punjab."

#### EXCEPTIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

"As General Dyer was approaching the end of his life Mr. Justice McCordie thought it proper to read a summary of General Dyer's motives as given

to the Army Council, according to which it appeared that General Dyer considered that he had a rebel army in front of him, and if he had not crushed it, a mob movement would have followed which would have resulted in the European population being destroyed and the Government held in contempt.

"Mr. Justice McCardie, continuing, said:

"Suppose that General Dyer's force had been wiped out, the consequences might have been appalling. That factor must be considered when the jury weigh the question of atrocity or not. The jury must remember that grave evils sometimes demand grave remedies."

"In expressing his own opinion, and speaking with full deliberation, knowing the whole evidence given in the case, he considered that General Dyer, under grave exceptional circumstances, had acted rightly, and that he was wrongly punished by the Secretary of State for India."—*Reuters*.

British papers like the *Westminster Gazette* and Anglo-Indian papers like the *Pioneer* and the *Statesman* have expressed the opinion that Justice McCardie was evidently biassed.

When a man deliberately massacres innocent unarmed persons assembled for a peaceful purpose, it is no defence to say that the slayer was an honest man and that his honour and integrity stand unchallenged. Murder is murder, whether committed by an honest and honourable or a dishonest and dishonourable man. "Nobody has challenged the integrity and honour of" Gopinath Saha. He "admittedly acted with the most absolute honesty of purpose." He also was "guilty of an error of judgment." But all the same, Saha was hanged, and justly and legally hanged.

It is amusing to find the judge laying stress on what Dyer said before the Army Council, but which he had not said before the Hunter Commission. Obviously when the man deposed before the Hunter Commission, he believed that he, a mighty white general, would not be punished in any way for killing some niggers. So he spoke the truth. But finding that his conduct had been censured, he got afraid, and, so, when making his statement before the Army Council, he concocted the story of the motives as given to the Army Council. There is no reason why the circumstances mentioned by Dyer, at a later period, before the Army Council, should have been absent from his mind, at an earlier period, when giving evidence before the Hunter Commission. It is altogether a novel theory that a man's memory of past circumstances strengthens with the lapse of time.

If Dyer really thought that he had a rebel army in front of him, it must be said

that one who could take a peaceful gathering of unarmed villagers and others of all ages and sexes, assembled on a festive occasion, for a rebel army, was a fool or a lunatic or a perfectly panic-stricken person. The Army was no place for such a person.

The judge spoke "with full deliberation, knowing the whole evidence *given in the case*"; but that was not all the evidence which the Hunter Commission and the Secretary of State for India had before them. Hence his opinion that Dyer was wrongly punished by the Secretary of State for India was unwarranted. He was very lightly punished. He ought to have been punished exactly as other murderers are punished.

### Admirers of Saha and Dyer.

The admirers of Dyer, including Mr. Justice McCardie, lay stress on his motive: but they would not allow the admirers of Gopinath Saha to lay stress on *his* motive. On the other hand, Gopinath Saha's admirers paid homage to his motive, but have condemned Justice McCardie for belauding Dyer's motive. There is one point of difference, and that goes in favour of the admirers of Saha. The latter say that Saha's motive was good but his deed was bad. The admirers of Dyer applaud both his motive and his deed.

### Serajganj Resolution on Saha.

We do not intend to discuss all the squabbles relating to the Serajganj resolution. We shall state only our conclusions and impressions.

Our opinion is that the resolution belauding Gopinath Saha's patriotic motive and sacrifice, in connection with the murder of Mr. Ernest Day, as it appeared at first in the press, gave the real purport of the original Bengali resolution as passed by the Bengal Provincial Conference. The version subsequently published was an afterthought, owing its origin to the criticism to which the resolution had been subjected in India and England.

### On Retaliator Mud-throwing.

All who have expressed any opinion like the above, have been accused of mendacity, hypocrisy, insincerity, etc. They are also said to have entered into a conspiracy with



the bureaucracy to destroy the benign power of Mr. C. R. Das. So far as we are concerned, we non-co-operate with the Swarajist tribunal and refuse to plead. As regards some of our contemporaries, *The Servant*, for example, we never imagined that its editor Babu Syamsundar Chakravarti was ever under the necessity of taking lessons in truthfulness, sincerity, etc., from Mr. C. R. Das and his followers. We admit that for all of us who have to dabble in politics, there is room for growth in truthfulness, sincerity, etc. But we do not concede the claim of the Swarajists to act as our mentors and teachers.

There is no question that Mr. C. R. Das has given up a large income and is entitled to praise for what he has suffered for his country's cause. But as others, too, have made sacrifices, it cannot be said that he has a monopoly of truthfulness.

People are, no doubt, impressed with the bigness of the sums he could have earned but does not; and it is right that they should be. But we may be allowed to put in a word for the poor people who also have made sacrifices for the motherland. They have not sacrificed lakhs, or thousands, or even hundreds; but they and their families have run the risk of and faced starvation and homelessness, which the richer heroes have not done. In our humble opinion, the sufferings and privations undergone are a truer measure of sacrifice than the amount of money one chooses to do without. For one may have his food and raiment and abode and even his comforts even after giving up lakhs, but another may have to face destitution and starvation without his ten or twenty rupees. We are not disposed, therefore, to despise Syamsundar Babu and consider him capable of mendacity and hypocrisy simply because he has never been a successful man of the world. On the other hand, we do not assert that he is a greater man than his richer traducers simply because he is poor. In fact, we are not in a position to act as judges of the real personal worth of any contemporary person; we can discuss only his public actions. But we do remind many of Syamsundar Babu's accusers that he has been a State "guest" longer than most of them. We beg pardon of Babu Syamsundar for these personalities.

Let there be no pride of sacrifice. Let not sacrifice be used as an investment for obtaining power, lest it become a commercial transaction.

### Pecuniary Sacrifice and Personal Worth.

If Buddha had not left the world but had accepted his inheritance, his income would not have been greater, most probably it would have been less, than what many merchants and even professional men earn at the present day. But people do not think of his greatness in terms of the wealth that he gave up.

If Jesus had pursued his father's craft of carpentry, his annual income would not have been greater than the daily income of many professional men, not to speak of that of some men of business.

If Chaitanya had continued to be a professor of Sanskrit, he would not have had a larger income than doles of rice, gifts of loin-cloths and chadars and metal dishes, cups, &c.

If Nanak had stuck to his father's grocery, he could have been only as rich as most village grocers.

Examples need not be multiplied. The world's great teachers who are revered by countless millions did not sacrifice much in the way of external possessions. Not a few moderners have given up more material possessions than they. Yet those great teachers are more revered than any modern man. Why? Because they had sacrificed their baser selves and acquired inner possessions of immeasurable value; because they had become godlike.

### Professor Surendranath Das Gupta at the International Congress of Philosophy.

Professor Helmuth von Glasenapp of the University of Berlin has sent to us for publication the address delivered by Professor Surendranath Das Gupta at the International Congress of Philosophy held recently at Naples, which we intend to publish in the next issue. The Berlin Professor has written us a covering letter which was obviously not meant for publication, but from which we may be permitted to extract a few sentences. Prof. Glasenapp writes:—

"Prof. Das Gupta has left Naples almost immediately after the Congress was over. I was present at the meeting and begged his MS. of him for writing an appreciation of it in some of the leading German journals,...

"Allow me, Sir, to congratulate the University of Calcutta on its possession of a man





Professor Dr. Surendranath Das Gupta  
and a Friend

of Prof. Das Gupta's stamp. He is already very wellknown in Europe by his excellent work, "History of Indian Philosophy", and made a very great impression by his learned lecture. He was universally admired and there was quite a craze for his autographs and photographs. Benedetto Croce, the leading philosopher of Italy, who had taken no part in any other deliberations, came only to preside over his lecture alone. Visits of such persons to Europe do a great benefit both to Europe and India."

Prof. Glasenapp has also kindly sent us a short report on the Congress which he has published in the German paper "Zeit" and a short summary of his lecture on Jaina Philosophy published in the same paper. We may be able to publish translations of these.

Dr. Pran Nath, Ph. D. (Vienna), has also sent us translations of what has appeared in some of the leading Italian papers about Prof. Das Gupta; he says he could not possibly send us all that has appeared or are shortly to appear about him in various Italian and German papers. What he has sent, we in-

tend to make use of. Dr. Pran Nath writes of "the profound impression that Professor Surendranath Das Gupta of your University has produced on the continent and notably in Italy at the last International Congress of Philosophy at Naples by his lectures and discussions."

It may be incidentally observed here that the Bengal Education Minister, Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq, passed over Professor Das Gupta's just and indisputable claims to the principalship of the Sanskrit College on the ground of his not being a Brahmin by caste!

### Gopinath Saha's Motive and Sacrifice.

A man becomes fully entitled to praise when he does a good deed. It is not very easy to perform a good deed. The desire of the doer must be pure, his motive good, what he chooses to do must be decided by right reason, and the means adopted must be such as would not be really injurious to anybody. Let us take an example. Charitable deeds, such as giving alms or other help, are generally looked upon as good. But inconsiderate or indiscriminating charity has a tendency to pauperise and impair the self-respect of the objects of charity. So even good desires or good motives or even apparently good deeds may not make a man a real benefactor.

Hence when a man claims to have desired to do good to his country by killing some one, those who praise his motive or his patriotism incur a great responsibility; for killing is, *prima facie*, bad.

Let us first consider whether it was at all necessary to give Saha any praise. His admirers profess to believe in *ahimsa* or non-violence. Let us take them at their word. They were then bound to pay their highest tribute of respect to those whose motive was patriotic, whose means and methods were non-violent and did not militate against *ahimsa*, and who had made sacrifices, who were courageous and truthful and who had suffered. There have been many such. We need not enter into details. One such real hero's sufferings and privations in prison had been such that he died of tuberculosis. Many of the political prisoners who endured flogging and hungerstruck in jail were of the stuff of which heroes are made. They could have faced death in any form if required to do so. Do we find the recipient of the highest honour at the Serajgunj Conference to be

any such person? No. The greatest respect was shown, the highest homage rendered, not to any such, but to one who had committed a murder. Why? "Because his motive was patriotic." But, as we have shown, there were others actuated by the same motive, but who had not violated the principle of *ahimsa*. So, let us ask again, why? "Because he had sacrificed himself." This cannot be admitted. After killing Mr. Day in a particularly brutal manner, Saha fled. He was pursued by some of his innocent countrymen, whom he knew to be innocent, but he fired on them and killed some. This is not *self-sacrifice*, though when he went out to kill Mr. Tegart he knew he ran the risk of being hanged. When a man tries his utmost to save himself, even by killing others, it is a misuse of language to speak of his *self-sacrifice*. He was caught by others and by them sacrificed at the altar of law. After his arrest, he certainly stood his trial like a man, spoke the truth, expressed sorrow for having killed an innocent man, and met death smilingly. These are good traits in his character. But the records of criminal trials contain accounts of many murderers who have gone to a police station of their own accord and surrendered themselves willingly and ascended the gallows with firm steps. We feel sorrow for the boy Gopinath Saha. But we can see no reason for placing him on a high pedestal.

Good motives alone cannot entitle one to honour. There have been real political dacoities, sometimes attended with murder. The misguided dacoits wanted to have funds for freeing their country. Some of them have received the highest penalty of the law. But who ever thought of giving them their meed of praise in the political conference of a province? The men who recently killed half a dozen Sikhs in the belief that the latter were kidnappers, may have been actuated by the good motive of ridding society of such pests. These murderers also still lack their minstrels. Public men who make hairsplitting distinctions between the goodness of the motive and the badness of the deed, ought not to forget that by belauding a good motive or a good quality associated with a bad act, they partly diminish the odium attaching to the bad deed, though that may not be their intention. Moreover, when there is no lack of such good motives and good qualities associated with good deeds, there is no excuse for holding up to admiration similar motives and qualities associated with bad deeds.

Those who act thus, betray thereby their partiality for the bad deed.

That the framers of the resolution in praise of Gopinath Saha rendered only lip homage to *ahimsa*, becomes clear from their speeches in the course of the debate. One gentleman, who condemned Saha's deed outright, was rewarded by the audience with repeated cries of "shame". The atmosphere in such a gathering was certainly not charged with *ahimsa*! Another speaker openly poured ridicule on non-violence and advocated recourse to force. The mover of the resolution tauntingly asked, where was non-violence when the Congress congratulated Kemal Pasha on his victories? Yet this very same man had moved the resolution beginning with reaffirmation of belief in the principle of non-violence!

### Belief in Non-violence and Congratulating Kemal Pasha.

There are in the Congress those who, like Mr. Gandhi, believe that violence of any sort, including killing, is wrong under all circumstances in all countries; and there are again those who think that in the circumstances of India, non-violence is the right policy. The latter form the majority. Mr. Mahomed Ali has said again and again that as his religion enjoins and sanctions the use of violence in case of need, he would have no objection to resort to violence, if non-violence failed to bring him to the goal. The Congress creed states that Swaraj is to be attained by Indians by non-violent and legitimate means; it does not, as it cannot and should not, lay down the law for all countries. So, those Congressmen with whom non-violence is only the right policy for present-day India but not a spiritual principle for all times and climes, can certainly congratulate Mustapha Kemal Pasha on his victories with perfect consistency. Those with whom *ahimsa* or non-violence of any kind is a spiritual principle cannot do so. Hence the taunt of the mover of the Saha resolution can touch only those (if any) who, believing in *ahimsa* as a spiritual principle, nevertheless voted for the Congress resolution congratulating the great Turkish patriot.

### War and Assassination.

If *ahimsa* be considered a spiritual principle, as we do, though we may not be



able to act up to it, then ordinary murders, political assassinations and wars, all come under the ban. But if it be not considered a spiritual principle, each act of violence and policy based on violence must be judged on its merits. If violence enables an individual or a nation to attain its object and if the object be self-defence, defence of liberty, or attainment of liberty, or any such legitimate and moral object, then from this point of view violence becomes justifiable.

We do not, of course, discuss here the pacifist principle that war in itself is a crime, an epitome of all crimes, and a relic of barbarism, that the evils of war outweigh its gains, and that after a successful war the real work of amelioration and liberation has still to be pursued in peaceful ways.

Mustapha Kemal Pasha fought to make and keep his country free and fought successfully. Hence he was right in fighting.

Those who consider political assassination to be a legitimate weapon for the liberation of a subject country, have to show from history that such assassinations have liberated any country. Political assassinations may have been followed afterwards by revolutionary wars or wars of independence and liberation. But there must not be any mental confusion. The efficacy of the method of political assassination must be determined apart from that of revolutionary wars or wars of liberation. Our limited reading of history has not convinced us that the method of assassination has ever sufficed to make a country free.

But supposing it had succeeded in any other country, it would still have to be decided calmly whether it would succeed in India. We have devoted some thought to the subject, off and on, for some years. Our conclusion is that the method of assassination is not only morally wrong but would also be ineffectual in India.

The principle of *dharma-yuddha*, which may be translated in different contexts as war of religion, righteous war or fair fight, requires that if a fighter is to be praised he must have acted in a sportsmanlike manner. But it cannot be said that a political or other kind of assassin is a sportsman. He hits from behind, hits his victim when he is unprepared for the attack, hits without warning or notice. That is cowardly. In wars, too, sometimes there are sudden attacks without a declaration of war. But such attacks are not considered proper according to international usage; and once when there has been such an attack,

there is practically declaration of war, and the parties remain prepared for attacks thereafter. In assassinations the rules of the game are not observed. Hence, the mind recoils from associating heroism with assassinations.

We may be wrong, but it has occurred to us that if Bengal had been accustomed to real fighting in battle-fields, there would not have been any such gloating over an assassination as there has been at Serajganj and afterwards.

### Praise of Dhingra.

The admirers of Gopinath Saha have tried to support themselves by giving glaring publicity to an extract from Wilfrid Scawen Blunt's "My Diaries" relating to the murder of Sir Curzon Wylie by Dhingra in London fifteen years ago. The extract alleges that Dhingra was highly admired in private conversation by Khaparde, Lloyd George and Winston Churchill. One need not feel in the least nonplussed by being confronted with this extract. Every act must be calmly considered in all its bearings before it is praised. Lloyd George and Winston Churchill are said to have admired Dhingra's patriotism. But may one ask, what is the value of their praise, when they not only made no efforts to save the life of one whom they are alleged to have considered a heroic patriot, but have not done anything to further the cause of the liberation of India, for which Dhingra claimed to have laid down his life?

It is not necessary to repeat all that we have said regarding what constitute a good deed and regarding good motives associated with good or bad deeds, nor all that has been said about the morality, fairness and efficacy of political assassinations. But one or two incidental observations relating to Dhingra's case require to be made.

"No Christian martyr ever faced his judges more fearlessly or with greater dignity."

The comparison is inapt and misleading. Dhingra's fearlessness or dignity is not questioned. But martyrs, Christian or non-Christian, were not brought before their judges for killing the objects of their hatred and killing also those who, like Dr. Lalkaka, tried to save the lives of the victims. Martyrs were tried for their faith, not for man-slaughter. The judges of the martyrs were generally persecutors. It was not so in the case of Dhingra.

In his dying statement, Dhingra declared that England and India were literally "in a perpetual state of war". He said he "attempted to shed English blood as an humble revenge for the inhuman hangings and deportations of patriotic Indian youths."

Among uncivilised and semi-civilised peoples, blood-feuds prevail. If a man of one tribe has killed or injured one of another tribe, anybody belonging to the latter tribe feels justified, even after many years, decades or generations, in killing a person of the former tribe. We do not believe in this savage theory. Hence, Dhingra's taking the name of God, of Sri Ram, Sri Krishna and the mother-land, leaves us cold and unmoved.

Mr. Blunt writes :—

"We (himself and Khaparde) agreed that if India could produce five hundred men as absolutely without fear, she would achieve her freedom."

We greatly respect and prize absolute fearlessness and we also agree that for winning freedom for India, absolute fearlessness is indispensably necessary. But we do not agree that fearlessness is the only requisite for freedom, or that fearlessness impelling 500 men to assassinate Englishmen would set India free.

The Sikhs who wanted to enter their temple at Nankana Sahib and on whose living bodies kerosene oil was sprayed and set fire to and who were thus slowly burnt to death, the Sikhs who did not wince under all sorts of police violence at Gurukabagh, the Sikhs who as members of Jathas were massacred but did not flee,—were all absolutely fearless, not less so than Dhingra; and their total number exceeded five hundred. But India is not yet free.

So, though fearlessness is indispensable, something more is needed. But that something is not assassination.

### Anti-Asiatic Fever in America

The "Nordics", particularly of the Anglo-Saxon variety, are the least human of all races. They are always stamping down logic, ethics and science in order to admire the tint of their skin and sundry other exclusive qualities of mind and body which they love to think that they possess. It is needless to comment upon the biological superstition which pervades their mentality. We can only offer our sympathy to the demented millions who, in spite of their boasted universal education, have managed

to forget the days when Pope Gregory so patronisingly said, "Not Angles, but Angels" to some fair-complexioned slave boys, and also the days before the soft touch of affluence and luxurious living reduced the muscular toughness of the darker races.

In the ups and downs of history, races go on top and to the bottom, but not for ever. That the Anglo-Saxons are on top to-day should not make them absolutely confident of retaining that place for ever. Even now, they are softening and getting demoralised out of their proper fighting trim under forces which have, since the dawn of human civilisation, dragged down the top-dogs. They shall, like the Babylonians, Greeks, Romans, Hindus, Mahomedans and others, fall from their powerful position. They may ask, "Why shouldn't we make the most out of it, while we occupy this position?" The answer is that the world is sick of employing the old-time methods of dislodging undesirable people from the place of honour. They may make hay while the sun shines, but they should not; because the storm, when it bursts upon them, will blow all their treasured hay to the sixteen points of the compass and, maybe, add further to their misery. What is the fun of collecting a lot of hay when one is surely not going to get sufficient leisure to eat it in peace? And even if one did get the required leisure, should one for that reason become engrossed in the making and eating of hay? Hay is not the only thing that can be made with the sun shining. So, why not make better things while the sun shines?

The anti-Asiatic laws, recently passed by the U. S. Congress, have given rise to terrible antagonisms. The Japanese are not an essentially peace-loving nation. They commit suicide from an idealistic point of view and are quite capable of giving any power a bad time of it. Let us see how the Japanese feel about the anti-Asiatic laws. The *Nichi Nichi*, Tokyo, thinks :

"They utterly disregard justice, liberty, equality and reason. Complaint is womanish. Let bygones be bygones. But the matter seriously affects the honour and the prestige of the State, it violates justice and humanity, and we must rise to the difficulty to fight for the cause of, and to protect, humanity and justice. We do not like war, but the sense of honour dictates us to take up the gauntlet thrown down at us. Disturbers of peace are the anti-Japanese members of the American Congress, while we are advocates of peace. Important as peace is, we are under no obligation to keep it up when our honour and prestige are jeopardised, and when justice, humanity and reason are trampled under foot. We are yearning after an ideal state in which peace, justice,

humanity and reason will prevail. We think it a calamity to the human world that discord between States becomes war. The outstanding difficulty between the United States and Japan is unlikely to eventuate in a war. We shall be greatly vexed if it would lead to war. We only hope the anti-Japanese American Congressmen should be well aware that, when we stand at the cross-roads of peace, justice and humanity, we would prefer justice and humanity to peace."

The *Hochi*, Tokyo, says :

"As long as they (a political group of English-speaking nations in another quarter of the globe) insist upon persecution of different races, the humiliated peoples will naturally be united to stand against injustice. Although there is no knowing when the Chinese and Indians will become world powers, and although there is no knowing when all the Asiatic peoples will become united in their common effort to resist the pressure of different races, it is certain that they will be strongly united against the pressure from outside in some future time. If this supposition proves true, it is the English-speaking nations who will be responsible for it."

It is quite true that the English-speaking people suffer the most from the vaingloriousness due to the possession of real and imaginary qualities. The Latin races, who have contributed by far the most to the progress of Western civilisation, are not so thoroughly diseased with absurd vanities. At least they do not show any to the world outside. The Anglo-Saxons are universally disliked, even by fellow *white* men, for their "arrogance and overbearing attitude". The U. S. of America, though less Anglo-Saxon than the British, seem to be taking the lead in the present march to the citadel of racial hatred. Their Klan (Ku-Klux-Klan) had been organised mainly for the purpose of realising the superiority of the white man. The Klan ideals seem to have spread quickly and the whole of North America is slowly becoming a sort of Darkman's Grave.

The world belongs to Humanity and not to the Anglo-Saxon, the Latin or the Asiatic. Any attempt at race exclusion will fail and may end in disaster. If the Americans want to allow only high-class people in their country, they have every right to do so. But they have no right to exclude any race or races because of racial reasons. America was wrested by force and fraud and treachery from the Amerindians. It belongs either to them by right or to Humanity. If it is intended to cultivate a Super-race of men in America, let there be a scientific effort at achieving that end. Not all white men are first-class men, nor all Asiatics inferior men. Let there be just and reasonable standards set up for selecting immigrants. The exclusion laws,

along with the two per cent. arrangements, are scienceless and senseless. They will simply lead to further wars. We are astounded to find the Americans behaving in this foolish fashion after all their boost of "plans" and "points" to attain universal peace.

A.C.

### Can Japan Fight America?

Any war between Japan and America would be mainly restricted to naval battles. There may also be attempts on both sides to land troops in certain islands in the Pacific and maybe, also in China. Everything would practically depend on how strong the two powers are in naval power and also in the air (for coastal bombardment would surely play a prominent part in any Americo-Japanese War.)

The Japanese navy was profoundly affected by the Washington Agreement whereby Japan did not go in for the construction of several capital ships. It is estimated that Japan and the U. S. A. have at present not less than

	U. S. A.	Japan
Dreadnaughts & Battle-ships	18	10
Armoured Cruisers	} 25	3
Light Cruisers		15
Torpedo Gunboats, etc.		4
Destroyers	302	125
		(60 Modern) 1923
Torpedo Boats	144	19
Submarines		45
		(30 more building)

One cannot say anything about the efficiency of the two navies. It is the general impression that both are fairly up to the mark.

A. C.

### Revival of the Anglo-French Entente Cordiale

When France occupied the Ruhr, Great Britain did not at all approve of that high-handedness. Great Britain never likes foreign powers to be high-handed. As a result of the French demonstration of military prowess and unscrupulousness, relations between France and Great Britain were strained for a long time. But recently, with the advent of M. Herriot to power in France, things have moved towards a strengthening of the



entente cordiale. M. Herriot is pro-British and Britain is also not so very anti-French now as it was in the first days of the Ruhr occupation. People are looking for a reason to account for this fresh outburst of friendship between the two ancient enemies. Below we are reproducing an extract from the London *Daily Telegraph* which may throw some light on the mysteries of British loves and friendships.

"Five years ago the German flag was not seen at sea, as all her sea-going vessels had been surrendered under the Treaty of Versailles; now it is to be met with everywhere. Great passenger liners, and also cargo carriers, are being constructed in complete confidence that the German people are again going to play a considerable part in the economic affairs of the world. It was stated recently that the shipbuilding movement in Germany has received a severe check owing to unfavourable industrial and economic conditions. But there is no indication of any such tendency in the latest returns of Lloyd's Register. On the contrary, there is more tonnage in hand in German establishments at the moment than in all the shipyards of France, Italy and Norway combined.... Though the Germans plead poverty when there is talk of paying reparations, they are managing somehow to obtain money for the restoration of their mercantile fleet, and, as our Berlin correspondent has frequently reminded us, for re-equipment on a lavish scale of their factories and workshops. Of all the mysteries associated with the economic condition of that country, none is more arresting than Germany's rise once more as a great sea-power with a large and expanding mercantile marine."

Evidently, it is as mysterious as the underlying causes of the Great War. The paper then goes on to say that there were possibilities of Germany *once again* becoming "the most serious rival of Britain" in shipbuilding, navigation and sea transport.

So, we find Britain worrying about Germany's revived rivalry. Then why not a revival of the ideals of the entente cordiale?

### Two Notable Works on Indian Economics.

The amount of literature passing under the clan name Indian Economics is by no means small. But when we raise the question of how much of it really deserves the name, we have to face trouble. Anything from literary sketches by imaginative members of the I.C.S. to unreal statistical data pass off as Indian Economics in this country. Intelligent and trained efforts at discovering and solving India's economic problems are so rare that it is with a feeling of relief that we went through the pages of two books by Prof.

Rajanankanta Das, M. Sc., Ph. D., of the New York University. These books deal with the "Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast" of America and with "Factory Labour in India".

In the first Prof. Das removes much of the doubts that one might feel regarding the productive efficiency of Indians under modern conditions of economic organisation. We are irrevocably swept by his findings and conclusions into the belief that, given favourable surroundings, Indians can be as efficient as Europeans and Americans. He gives us valuable information regarding Indian immigration into America, its distribution, employment, income, efficiency, standard of living, problems, etc., etc. He gives us a new outlook upon the possibilities that lie before India in the field of economic progress.

In his second book Prof. Das gives us a clear exposition of the conditions that affect the life of labour in India. We learn much from it about the new and old factory organisation in India, the rise of factory labour, factory life, health, hours of work, efficiency, wages etc., etc. The two books are worth the attention of everyone interested in Indian economics.

A. C.

### Mahatma Gandhi's "Spinning" Resolution.

The following is the full text of Mahatma Gandhi's "spinning" resolution, as moved at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Ahmedabad on the 28th June:—

"In view of the fact that the members of the Congress organisations throughout the country have themselves hitherto neglected handspinning in spite of the fact that the spinning wheel and its product, handspun *khaddar*, have been regarded as indispensable for the establishment of Swaraj, and although their acceptance has been regarded by the Congress as a necessary preliminary to civil disobedience, the All-India Congress Committee resolves that members of all elected Congress organisations shall, except when disabled by sickness or prevented by continuous travelling, regularly spin for at least half an hour every day, and shall each send to the Secretary of the All-India Khadi Board at least 2,000 yards of even and well twisted yarn of their own spinning, so as to reach him not later than the 15th day of August 1924, and thereafter in regular monthly succession. Any member failing to send the prescribed quantity by the prescribed date shall, unless unavoidably prevented, be deemed to have vacated his office, and such vacancy shall be filled in the usual manner, provided that the member vacating in the manner aforesaid shall not be eligible for re-election before the next general election for the members of the several organisations."

As the Congress has accepted handspinning and the preparation and use of *Khaddar* as

preparations for civil disobedience and also as indispensable for the establishment of Swaraj, it is only proper and logical that the members of the executive organisations of the Congress should themselves set the example of spinning. It has been always a standing joke that Congress leaders in general, with honourable exceptions, have told other people to spin but have not themselves been doing so. For this reason, Mahatma Gandhi was right in moving this resolution. It was, of course, a foregone conclusion that many leaders would oppose it; because they have not hitherto spun nor would they spin in future, but at the same time they are unwilling to forego the power, prestige and influence which connection with the executive organisations of the Congress brings them. But their opposition ought to have come much earlier and in open Congress. They ought to have moved in open Congress long ago that the charka was for the rank and file, not for the big folk. But evidently they were afraid of losing popularity and power by ceasing to shout with the crowd in favour of the charka. No doubt, since Council-entry became an open issue, some leaders have spoken not only disparaging or minimising the importance of the charka, but have actually avowed their disbelief in *ahimsa*. But so long as charka and spinning retain their present place of importance in the Congress platform, those leading members who would not spin must be prepared to hear it said of them that they preach what they do not practise. Therefore consistency and sincerity require their resignation or removal from the executive bodies.

Apart from the place which the Congress has given to handspinning in its programme of work, and taking the Congress to be meant for bringing about the liberation and uplift of the country by all legitimate means, we think there are many who do not spin but who are yet good political workers. Hence, it is not reasonable to take it for granted that those who do not spin are, *ipso facto*, unworthy to be leading workers in the country's cause. But this is a position which members of the Congress cannot consistently take up so long as handspinning occupies the important place that it does in the Congress programme.

In moving his resolution,

Mr. Gandhi made a long speech and told the meeting that if the country wanted his lead it must accept his terms; otherwise it must select some other leader. He admitted that his resolution was unconstitutional, but constitutions, he said, should

be trampled under foot if they did not serve the purpose for which they were made.

#### "TYRANNICAL MOTION."

Pandit Motilal Nehru pointed out that the resolution was unconstitutional and tyrannical, and he refused to abide by its terms and vacate office. At the end of a reasoned and dignified speech he threw out the challenge that he and his party would go out to return with a larger majority to sweep away those who stood by the resolution. So saying he and his followers including Mr. C. R. Das walked out of the meeting.

The debate was resumed by the remaining members; and those among them who spoke on the resolution showed anything but meek allegiance to Mr. Gandhi. They roundly reproached him for having brought them to such an awkward pass, and made no secret of their conviction that his drastic resolution was impossible of fulfilment.

#### LARGE MAJORITY OR NONE.

Mr. Gandhi in his reply on the debate said that they were morally bound to count the absentee Swarajists' votes as against his resolution, and, if in that way the resolution were defeated he would retire in favour of anybody who would give them the lead they wanted.

An amendment for deleting the penalty clause of the resolution was defeated by 67 votes to 37 and the original proposition was carried by 82 votes to 25.

As the president then adjourned the meeting, Mr. Gandhi asked them to resume their seats, and said that they were morally bound to count the votes of the absent Swarajists in connexion with the penalty clause that had been declared lost. He said that if the Swarajist votes were taken into account the amendment should be treated as carried and not the original proposition. Some others pointed out the unconstitutional aspect of such a procedure, as they already passed the original motion.

This difficulty was got over by a fresh resolution being drafted re-affirming the first part of the resolution and deleting the penalty clause. It was put to the meeting and declared carried unanimously. The text of the resolution was as follows:

"In view of the fact that certain members, while the proceedings of the Committee were going on, deemed it necessary to withdraw from the Committee by reason of their resentment of the penalty clause in the obligatory spinning resolution, and in view of the fact that the penalty clause was carried by only 67 against 37 votes, and further in view of the fact that the said penalty clause would have been defeated if the votes of the withdrawals had been given against it, this committee considers it advisable to remove the penalty clause and to reaffirm the said resolution without such clause."

#### Is the Saha Resolution an Omen?

The resolution passed at Serajganj in praise of Gopinath Saha has been said to embody the opinion of Bengal. It does nothing of the kind. Large numbers of delegates were neither elected nor properly registered. They were hired young men brought from neighbouring places. It is not necessary now

to speculate as to why such a resolution was at all moved and passed. What is needed is is to try to foresee whether it forebodes any recrudescence of terrorism in Bengal. Our opinion is that it does not. Hence, no police or executive action or other measures are needed. If any "strong" action be taken, that may have the effect, undesired by the bureaucracy, of making the pro-violence party, assuming that one exists, popular among unthinking persons, whose number is large in all countries. No Government should, except in cases of dire necessity, create opportunities for sensation-mongers to pose as martyrs.

### India Primitive and Up-to-date.

In his new work, "India : A Bird's-eye View", published by the Oxford University Press, Lord Ronaldshay has tried to make his readers realise the magnitude of the contrast afforded by different parts of the Indian continent. After describing the contrasts in the physical conditions, he observes:—

"Nor is the contrast between the peoples at each end of the civilised scale less striking than that between the tropic luxuriance of one part of India and the sterile aridity of another. In the peoples of India is to be found an ethnologic pageant epitomising the gradual growth of civilisation through centuries of time. At one end of the scale are men of the finest culture who have reached dizzy heights in the realms of speculative thought: at the other, men whose religion has not yet outgrown the stage of the crudest superstition. At this end the bow and arrow represents the highest achievement in the domain of mechanical invention: at the other we are presented with the spectacle of an Indian scientist contriving and constructing apparatus of such "exquisite refinement" (the words are those of Professor Patrick Goddes) as to excite the astonished admiration of the scientists of the West. It is, indeed, a long way from the bow and arrow of the aboriginal Kohl or the primitive plough of the Indian peasant to the "Resonant Recorder" of Sir Jagadis Bose, recording automatically measurements of time as short as a thousandth part of a second."

### Imperial Preference.

The reader is aware that Mr. Baldwin's resolutions relating to Imperial Preference have been rejected by the British House of Commons. There is a discussion of this problem of Imperial Preference in Lord

Ronaldshay's aforesaid work "India : A Bird's-eye View." Says he in course of it:—

"A temperate statement of the Indian attitude is to be found in the 'Modern Review' of October, 1922, an admirably conducted periodical which voices the views of a large section of educated public opinion in India, which, without necessarily being extremist, is emphatically nationalist. After arguing that, while Great Britain has certainly much to gain from preferential relations between herself and India, the latter country stands only to lose by them, the writer touches upon the political aspect of the question.

"However striking the idea of an Imperial Zollverein may be to the imagination, it must remain an absurdity so long as the different countries remain separated, not merely by long distances, but by feelings and prejudices based on race, colour and political status. So far as India is concerned, Imperial Preference is not a practical proposition at the present moment. The question rests largely on sentiment. But to appeal to Indian sentiment in the existing state of things in the country is to mislead human nature."

"And he concludes with this warning:

"Imperial Preference forced on the people under present circumstances is likely to make them regard it as another device invented for the further exploitation of the country. It would indeed be extremely unwise to take a step which is calculated to embitter feelings and strengthen prejudices, and which may easily lead to disastrous consequences."

"These are the words, not of the politician seeking popularity in an appeal to race prejudice, but of Dr. Pramathanath Banerji, Minto Professor of Economics at the Calcutta University. And the views which he expresses are to be found stated with equal emphasis in the report of the Indian Fiscal Commission of 1922."

Lord Ronaldshay's own view, is:—

"It may be that not until India has attained full self-government will such a community of interests spring up between her and the other units of the British Empire as will lead her spontaneously to become a contracting party in some scheme of Imperial federation. But much in the meantime may assuredly be done to bridge the yawning gulf which to the detriment of both, has opened in recent years between the Indian and the British peoples."

### Protection Demanded by More Industries.

Five firms representing the cement industry and five the paper industry have submitted applications to the Tariff Board for obtaining protection for these industries.

We are for protection provided it is given only to those firms 75 per cent. of whose capital is owned by Indians and three-fourths of the members of whose board of directors are Indians. Another condition is that all firms receiving protection are to be bound to take Indian apprentices to be trained in all grades and kinds of work connected with the manufacture of the class of goods protected.



### The Match Industry.

Some leading Indian manufacturers of safety matches have placed before the Commerce Member of the Government of India a representation, pointing out the difficulties under which the industry labours and making suggestions for making it a stable and thriving one. They recognise that :

The Government has shown a slight tendency towards protection. An import duty of 12 annas per gross was levied in 1921. In 1922 it was raised to Rupee 1-8 per gross. In March 1924 an import duty on splints and veneers was levied at the rate of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  annas add 0-6-4 per lb. respectively. All these measures are good as far as they go, but the primary object of these measures which the Government of India had in view was the balancing of the budget and the introduction of protection was only an incidental result, and as such they could not be supposed to work in the best interests of protection. But so far as it went it was successful. The enhancement of duty has proved conclusively that the major portion of it instead of falling on the consumer is borne by the foreign profiteers. Our first method, therefore, of stimulating the industry is an effective tariff wall. A tariff wall in order to be effective should not only be sufficiently high, but it should also be proof against evasion. When the duty of Rs. 1-8 was imposed on manufactured matches the foreign manufacturers took advantage of the tariff wall by importing splints and timber on which there was a nominal duty of 15 per cent *advalorem*. The Swedish and Japanese combines have taken advantage of this fact and have constructed nearly a dozen match factories for manufacture of matches by trying to evade this specific taxation. The present system of taxation of imports is unsound for want of certainty. A tax open to evasion is unsound economical y.

The memorialists have shown that the Match Industry fulfills all the conditions laid down by the Fiscal Commission for the grant of protection. They rightly urge that the concessions be granted to Indian companies, and not to foreign companies, who have neither a rupee capital nor a proportion of Indian Directors on their boards, nor give facilities to Indian apprentices to be trained in their works. They observe :—

This is nothing new that we ask for. It is only what has been granted to us on paper. The Government has laid it down as its defined policy under free trade condition; page 200, Minute of Dissent, Fiscal Commission Report :—

The settled policy of the Government of India is that no concession should be given to any firms in regard to industries in India unless such firms have a rupee capital, unless such firms have a proportion, at any rate, of Indian Directors, and unless such firms allow facilities for Indian apprentices to be trained in their works.

The Government has in our opinion acted in a way prejudicial to the interests of Indian manufacturers by allowing the Swedish and Japanese combines to set up factories in Bombay and other places. The setting up of a factory behind a tariff wall is a

concession by itself, as has been emphatically pointed out by the Dissenting Members of the Fiscal Commission. It is hoped that the Government will soon set right this wrong. It is productive of economic loss and is tantamount to depriving the country for an indefinite future of the possibility of developing an industry which should be its own, and for which its material resources eminently befit it—a matter which may legitimately form a source of serious discontent.

It is very frequently urged that India needs a large supply of foreign capital, business ability and skill, and India's Government being a foreign exploiting one, it naturally supports this plea. The memorialists meet this argument by quoting the following passage from the Fiscal Commission Report, page 202, penned by the dissenting members :—

We regret that our colleagues should have thought fit to depreciate the capacity of Indians in the matter of industrial enterprise. The history of such industrial development as has been possible under the free trade conditions shows that Indians have freely imported technical skill from abroad pending the training of Indian apprentices, and have conclusively shown their capacity to organise and develop large-scale industries. The lack of capital to which repeated references have been made is due more to the risks involved in establishing new industries under free trade principles than to actual inadequacy of capital. This was in our opinion clearly proved by the industrial activities which resulted from the indirect protection afforded by war conditions. The enormous amounts which the Government of India have been able to borrow in India for State purposes is another proof that adequate capital is available in India for investment in sound and safe channels ensuring a reasonable return. A policy of protection will give the necessary confidence and we hold the view that reasonably adequate capital will be available under such a policy. In support of this view we may quote from the evidence of Mr. Shakespear of Cawnpore, who stated that once confidence was created by adopting a policy of protection the difficulty in obtaining capital would largely disappear.

Even if Indian capital were shy even after the provision of proper safeguards, which it is not, it would be better for India to wait for better times and conditions to come than to allow the industrial field to be occupied by foreigners. Mineral deposits cannot be renewed by any amount of human skill and capital. If foreigners obtain the mineral concessions, the mineral wealth of the country is practically lost to us for ever, for most of it goes to the foreigners' pockets. As regards the wealth of our forests and other wealth of the vegetable kingdom, it is, no doubt, renewable; but if foreigners obtain concessions of the forest areas and other areas of land growing raw vegetable materials for industries, how and where can Indians grow in future

their timber and other forest produce and all other kinds of vegetable raw materials?

As regards business ability and technical skill, there is more of it among Indians than foreign capitalists, industrialists and technicians find it to their interest to recognise and admit. Many Indian technicians have talents and skill which lie unutilised for want of a proper field of work. As many Indian industrialists and capitalists are generally not sufficiently well-informed to judge of the capacity of Indian trained men and technicians and as they take the words of foreign experts, however unqualified, to be gospel truth, Indian knowledge, talent and skill are neglected or are sometimes offered beggarly terms, whereas some white men who are really their inferiors get better offers.

The memorialists have made the following suggestions, which we support:—

1. Effective protective duty to be imposed on foreign timber imported in India in any form for the manufacture of matches.

2. No concessions to be given to the foreign companies in the line of forest leases, factory sites, etc. in India.

3. Subject of protective duty for Match Industry to be entrusted to the Tariff Board for investigation.

4. Provincial Governments be advised to encourage Indian enterprisers by giving them all facilities in procuring regular supply of wood for the Match Industry.

5. Preservation and propagation of suitable match wood species for the purpose of Match Factories.

6. The character of the companies should be entirely Indian.

7. The indigenous manufactures should be allowed a sufficiently long period to experiment and develop themselves.

8. Foreign capital and skill should come in only to supplement the Indian when needed.

9. Whenever a foreign company is allowed to establish itself in this country, it must fulfil the three basic conditions as already stated above.

10. The Government should give adequate support in the form of subsidies, bounties, rebates and special facilities for obtaining timber suitable for match manufacture from Government Forests.

11. Where Forests form part of the transferred subjects the Provincial Government should be instructed to observe the above-mentioned stipulations in the interests of the indigenous industry.

lim League and whereas it is now generally felt that the conception of Swaraj should be translated into the realm of concrete politics and become a factor in the daily life of the Indian people, the All-India Muslim League hereby resolves that in any scheme of a constitution for India that may ultimately be agreed upon and accepted by the people the following shall constitute its basis and fundamental principle:—

(a) The existing Provinces of India shall all be united under a common Government on a federal basis, viz. that each province shall have full and complete provincial autonomy, the functions of the Central Government being confined to such matters only as are of general and common concern.

(b) Any territorial re-distribution that might at any time become necessary, shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority of population in the Punjab, Bengal and N.-W. F. Province.

(c) The mode of representation in the Legislature and in all other elected bodies shall guarantee adequate and effective representation to minorities in every province, subject however to the essential proviso that no majority shall be reduced to a minority or even to an equality.

(d) Full religious liberty, the liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education shall be guaranteed to all communities.

(e) The idea of joint electorates with a specified number of seats being unacceptable to Indian Muslims on the ground of its being a fruitful source of discord and disunion and also as being wholly inadequate to achieve the object of effecting representation of various communal groups, the representation of the latter shall continue to be by the means of separate electorates as at present, provided that it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorates.

(f) No Bill or resolution or any part thereof affecting any community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the elected body concerned, shall be passed in any Legislature or any other elected body if three-fourths of the members of that community in that particular body, oppose such Bill or resolution or part thereof.

That the Muslim League wants full and complete provincial autonomy is good news. The League, however, says nothing as regards the reduction of the powers of the bureaucracy in the Central Government and the increase of popular powers there.

It is noteworthy that the League is opposed to any territorial redistribution, however desirable on important grounds, which would affect the Muslim majority of population in the Panjab, Bengal and N.-W. F. Province. In other words, their outlook is strictly and irrevocably credal, communal, sectarian, not national.

Clause (c) of the resolution also aimed at safeguarding Muslim political and economic interests, which are considered as distinct from and, perhaps, opposed to the interests of other communities. Had they been considered identical with those of the other

### The Muslim League on Swaraj.

The following resolution on Swaraj was passed at the 15th adjourned session of the All-India Muslim League held at Lahore:

Whereas the speedy attainment of Swaraj is one of the declared objects of the All-India Mus-

communities, this clause (c), the outcome of fear and distrust of other communities, would not have been deemed necessary. This distrust and fear is not peculiar to the Moslems; non-Moslem communities also have them.

There is nothing to object to in clause (d). Perhaps a liberal-minded and non-sectarian constitution-builder with wide national outlook would provide that if special arrangements be required to be made for the education of the backward classes of the nation, such arrangements must be made for all classes and sub-classes which are on the same level of backwardness, irrespective of creed or religious belief. For it is well known, that the aboriginal classes known as Animists and some semi-aboriginal castes classed with Hindus are much more backward in education than the Muslims. But the amount of special educational help and encouragement which is given to Musalmans is not provided for all the aboriginal and semi-aboriginal classes.

That the Muslim League would demand continuance of separate electorates was expected.

In clause (f), for "affecting any community", we would substitute "*specially and exclusively* affecting any community." For all Bills and resolutions considered in elected bodies which are meant for all, necessarily affect all communities but no single community should for that reason have the power to throw out the Bill or the resolution even though all the other communities want it for their good. The utmost that may be conceded in special and extreme cases is that the objecting community may be placed outside the scope of the Bill of the resolution in question.

### The Muslim League and the Reforms.

The text of the resolution on the Reforms passed by the Muslim League runs thus:—

It is the considered and emphatic opinion of the All-India Muslim League that the Reforms granted by the Government of India Act of 1919 are wholly unsatisfactory and altogether inadequate to meet the requirements of the country and that the virtual absence of any responsibility of the executive to the elected representatives of the people in the Legislature has really rendered them futile and unworkable. The League, therefore, urges that immediate steps be taken to establish Swaraj, that is, full responsible Government, having regard to the provisions of Resolution No. 2 (that on Swaraj), and this, in the opinion of the League, can only be done by a complete overhaul of the provisions

of the Government of India Act of 1919 and not merely by a process of departmental enquiry with a view to discover the defects in the working of the Act and rectifying the imperfections under the rule-making powers of the Act.

This resolution is in accord with the sentiments of all politically-minded Indians.

### The Muslim League Urges Hindu-Muslim "Unity."

The Muslim League urged the importance of Hindu-Muslim "Unity" in the following resolutions:—

The All-India Muslim League views with great alarm the deplorable bitterness of feeling at present existing between Hindus and Mussalmans in the different parts of the country and strongly deprecates the tendency on the part of certain public bodies to aggravate the causes of differences between the two communities, thus doing incalculable harm to the national cause. While placing on record its firm conviction that no political progress is possible in this country unless it is based on a solid substratum of Hindu-Muslim unity, and that the interests of the country demand mutual sacrifice and an intensive spirit of give and take on the part of the communities, the League makes an earnest appeal to all public bodies to discontinue all activities savouring of aggression and to concentrate their efforts on the question of establishing Hindu-Muslim unity on a firm basis.

Whereas inter-communal unity is extremely necessary for gaining Swaraj and whereas conditions, political and religious, unfortunately exist in the country on account of which a recrudescence of inter-communal differences takes place every now and then, and it is most desirable that means should be adopted to meet such cases, the League resolves that Conciliatory Boards consisting of representatives of all communities be constituted in different districts with a Central Board in the capital of each province, (1) to settle all matters likely to create communal differences, and (2) to deal with all cases of conflict and investigate and enquire into acts of aggression on the part of any particular community.

It is a matter for satisfaction that the Muslim League is convinced that no political progress is possible in this country unless it is based on a solid substratum of Hindu-Muslim unity, and that the interests of the country demand mutual sacrifice and an intensive spirit of give and take. But as the League insists on treating the Hindu and Muslim communities as practically having different and perhaps conflicting political interests, *vide* clauses (b), (c) and (e) of its resolution on Swaraj, it is perhaps not quite correct to say that it is Hindu-Moslem *unity* that is desired. It would probably be better henceforth to declare that the acceptance of or



acquiescence in conflictless Hindu-Moslem disunity and separate existence is wanted.

That mutual sacrifice and a spirit of give and take are needed is a truism. What has not been made clear is what sacrifice the Moslem community has made or is prepared to make, not what it has given or is prepared to give. The resolution on Swaraj quoted in a previous note does not give any indications in this direction. It was said some time ago at Serajganj that the Musalmans were prepared to stop music in their processions before Hindu places of worship; but the Hindus have never objected to such music before their temples, as there is nothing against it in the Hindu Shastras. So this so-called concession was unreal, illusory and not wanted.

The proposed boards of conciliation are worthy of every support.

### "The Message of the Forest."

"The Message of the Forest" by Rabindranath Tagore was published in the **Modern Review** for May, 1919. Lord Ronaldshay gives a summary of the poet's argument in his latest book and observes: "The theory briefly set forth above is one of much attractiveness. . . . But it does not accord with conditions at the present day." Then follow more than five pages of facts and reflections which are too long to quote here.

### "Untouchability" at Serajgunj Conference.

A resolution calling for the removal of "untouchability" was passed at the Serajgunj session of the Bengal Provincial Conference. This was followed by delegates of all castes partaking of refreshments and water served by men of the so-called untouchable castes. This is good so far as it goes. But the evil of untouchability can be considered to have been eradicated only when people cease to pay any attention to the caste to which men and women belong in their daily ordinary intercourse with them in the villages and smaller towns and in choosing their cooks and other domestic servants.

### Satyagraha at Tarakeswar.

That places of pilgrimage should be freed from oppression, corruption and immorality, that they should not have any priests or servitors of the gods at whose hands women's honour is not safe, that all public temple incomes and properties should be devoted only to public good but not to enable the priests and servitors to lead the life of debauches, admit of no question. For these reasons efforts directed towards the removal of the Mohant of Tarakeswar and his men deserve public support. But we do not understand on what grounds the receiver appointed for the shrine by a law-court is obstructed by the Satyagrahis in the discharge of his lawful duties. The Swarajists cannot pretend that they have boycotted the Government. So there is no consistency in or justification for this so-called Satyagraha on the part of the Swarajists. It is not Satyagraha but obstruction. Whether the Mohant's residence is a private place and private property, or whether it is both temple property and a place of public resort, can be decided only by a law-court. But the Satyagrahists seem determined to make their way into it by strength of numbers, perhaps to take possession of it. But on whose behalf? Tarakeswar is a Hindu shrine, and therefore it is only the Hindu public who are entitled to interfere in its affairs. The Satyagrahists have not been elected by the Hindu public. The Congress is a non-sectarian or all-sectarian political body, not a Hindu religious body. It has no *locus standi* in Hindu religious affairs, and hence no Congress organisation had any right to order or direct the Satyagraha at Tarakeswar. The Hindus have no *esprit de corps*, hence even Musalmans have come forward to offer Satyagraha at Tarakeswar! Would the Muslim community have tolerated interference on the part of the Congress with the affairs of any mosque or dargah?

It is unfortunate that interested sensation-mongering prevents people from seeing things in their proper perspective and in the true light, and in consequence, quiet undemonstrative work suffers. Just as despots have often resorted to foreign wars in order to divert men's attention from internal corruptions and evils, so do many demagogues get up sensations to distract men's minds.

## Indian Art Revival.

*The Yorkshire Herald* reports:—

The Earl of Ronaldshay, speaking at a meeting of the India Society at 21, Cromwell Road, London, declared that he would put two questions for consideration: firstly, what evidence was there of an Indian art renaissance; and, secondly, assuming that evidence of a renaissance existed, what significance was to be attached to the movement? Although he could only speak with first-class knowledge of Bengal, it was in Bengal that the chief evidence of an art renaissance was to be found. That evidence was at present provided mainly by the existence of a modern school of painting in Calcutta which was associated with the names of the brothers Abanindra Nath and Gaganendra Nath Tagore. As regards the second question, it was the extreme sensitiveness of many Indians so strongly developed that tended to make them suspicious of an Englishman's motives,

He could give them an example of this in connection with the Government grant which he had been instrumental in securing for the school. He had purposely arranged for it to be given free of conditions of any kind. Nevertheless, his action immediately became suspect in certain quarters, and this feeling found expression in the editorial columns of the *Modern Review*, "an admirably conducted periodical of much merit with a wide circulation throughout Bengal and, indeed, beyond it. The argument was that it was a mistake on the part of the school to have accepted assistance from the Government. While admitting that he had laid stress upon the fact that the acceptance of this grant involved neither official inspection, interference, nor control, the writer feared that it might nevertheless lead to a sense of obligation on the part of the school, which, in its turn, might induce a conscious or unconscious deference to the official or European view of what Indian culture is, or means, or ought to be or mean. "We are subjected to European dominance, pressure and influence," the article concluded, "in almost all corners of life from so many directions that we could wish that the centre of Indian culture were located even in a hut, rather than that it should be subject to any kind of non-Indian obligation and influence."

The attitude here taken up was of interest. Lord Ronaldshay said, as showing more deeply the antagonism arising out of the clash of ideals of the East and West which had permeated the minds of some at least of those who were affected by it. Happily, there were many who were ready to extend the hand of friendship to the Englishman who sought to understand and sympathise with the Indian point of view. He was fortunate in having received much kindness and many proofs of goodwill from the people of Bengal, and from none more than from those associated with the movement of which he had spoken that evening.

As we have not changed our views since we wrote the sentences quoted by Lord Ronaldshay, it is necessary for us only to observe that we are not suspicious of every "Englishman's motives." We are quite prepared to give his Lordship credit for good intentions. But we know the weakness of many

of our countrymen better than he, and are therefore anxious that our cultural movements should be free from even unintended extraneous influence of an undesirable kind. We could have easily shown that the undesirable consequence apprehended by us had been actually produced, but the illustrations would have been too personal. So we desist.

We are not unfriendly to the subsidised Indian Society of Oriental Art. When in February 1923, some members of the Bengal Legislative Council wanted to deprive the Society of its grant, ours was the only journal which drew prominent attention to this bad move and supported this grant.

It may be pointed out in this connection that though of all Indians Rabindranath Tagore possesses the most international mind and the most world-wide outlook and is the freest from prejudice against foreigners, including Englishmen, so much so that he has often been publicly ridiculed for his cosmopolitanism, yet he has consistently refused all along to ask for or accept any Government grant for his school and university. Lord Ronaldshay might enquire why.

## Bertrand Russell Sees Dark Future.

Mr. Bertrand Russell, British philosopher, mathematician and social scientist, drew a dismal picture of the future influence of "the American financial empire" over the rest of the world at a dinner of the League for Industrial Democracy in New York.

In the presence of several hundred liberals, radicals, social workers, university professors and students of sociology, Mr. Russell declared that the deep-seated evils of American civilization might be summed up in "militarism and competitive industrialism." But this is true also of European civilization in general.

"In the event of war, nine-tenths of the population of London will be unable to escape and will perish," he declared.

"That is why we have not protested more vigorously against French policy in the Ruhr. In Germany and Russia the evils which the English only fear have already happened."

To avert such a calamity a change of system and not a change of heart was necessary, he said. We think both are needed. He saw no ultimate hope except in a single Government for the whole world with the sole control of armaments. Conventions prohibiting

the use of certain means of warfare were "futile." Nor did he place faith in the League of Nations, for it would not attempt to coerce France or England, "much less restrain Russia and America from acts of aggression."

#### HE FORESEES AMERICAN IMPERIALISM.

"Very reluctantly I have come to the conclusion that the first formation of a world government, if one is ever formed, will be by way of imperialism, not by the way of voluntary federation." Mr. Russell continued.

"In this process America will play the chief role. In spite of the immense amount of ignorant good-will in America, American policy since 1914 can be explained in terms of interest. Practically everything that has been done has furthered the oil interests and the house of Morgan. The same sort of interest has, of course, dominated British and French and all other national policies."

"It is a great mistake to regard political events from a moral point of view. In the growing tension between France and England, America has pretended neutrality, but has, in fact, taken the side of France. This may not have been the desire of the average man, but in international affairs the average man seldom counts for much."

If Mr. Russell meant that moral judgments ought not to be passed on political events, he was wrong. But if he meant that political events do not generally arise from the pursuit of high ethical ideals, he was right.

He said that England could not adopt socialism, because America would believe it had nationalized women and slaughtered thousands, and for this reason would prohibit the export of raw cotton and grain to England. This is an allusion to the identical rumour regarding Bolshevik Russia.

"I foresee at no distant date an extension of the American financial empire over the whole American continent, the whole of Western Europe and also the Near East," he said. "In Persia it is already established. The empire of American finance will be in the highest degree illiberal and cruel. It will crush trade unionism, control education, encourage competition among the workers while avoiding it among the capitalists. It will make life everywhere ugly, uniform, laborious and monotonous. Men of ability in all countries will be purchased by high salaries. The world will enjoy peace, broken only by the dropping of bombs from airplanes on strikers, but it will look back to the old days of war as a happy memory almost too bright to be true."

#### LIBERAL FEELING THE ONLY HOPE.

"The only hope, so far as I can see, lies in a great development of liberal feeling and thought in America. The power of a financial magnate rests, in the last analysis, on opinion. Opinion in America supports the present system for several reasons:

First, fear of violent revolution. The sooner Western Socialists have done with talk of violence, the better. Second, there are immense numbers of people who will suffer in their pocket if they offend the plutocrats. Only self-respect can make journalists, professors, persons and others cease to be lackeys. Third, the proletariat in America are mainly foreigners. This will grow less with time.

"But the fundamental reason for the acquiescence of the average American citizen in the system under which he lives is that it suits his philosophy. Americans are still devoted to a conception of life which results from the impact of machines on decaying Puritanism."

"The question is one of psychology. Will industrial nations in the end weary of worshipping the machine? I believe they will and in that day industrialism will become a boon. Until then it is a curse, like every false god."

Britishers feel so safe in America that they can criticise the American Government very harshly. Perhaps Mr. Russell forgot that his words were applicable to his country also, with slight changes.

Mr. Russell is wrong when he says that America is controlling the oil interest of the world. It is the British who mainly control the oil of the world; and there is some possibility of Anglo-American world domination, instead of merely American world domination. The trend of world politics since the world war and the Washington Conference is in that direction.

Mr. Russell's prediction regarding dropping bombs from aeroplanes is grimly interesting; but it has happened in India, Mesopotamia, Africa, and Egypt under the British Empire. It means nothing but the pot calling the kettle black. Mr. Russell forgets that Asian independence is the first requisite for freedom and peace.

#### Deadlock Averted at Ahmedabad.

After the passing of Mr. Gardhi's "spinning" resolution at the Ahmedabad meeting of the All-India Congress Committee on the 28th June, there were private discussions and negotiations between Mr. Gardhi and the Swarajists, as a consequence of which deadlock was happily averted. The Swarajists were again present in the meeting of the Committee on the 29th and expressed satisfaction at the compromise agreed upon. Mr. C. F. Das said at this meeting that they had been forced to leave the previous day's meeting on account of the unconstitutional character of the proceedings.



"They attended to-day's meeting as a result of the understanding arrived at last night, but it should not be understood that yesterday's resolution was taken part in by the Swarajists. He was sure that they would take the resolutions of yesterday as genuinely passed by the majority."

Mr. Gandhi then spoke. He called upon the Swarajists to work the "Charka" programme. He further expressed the hope that they would do so in a good spirit. He then moved his second resolution. It was moved and passed in the following form :-

Inasmuch as it has been brought to the notice of the All-India Congress Committee that instructions issued from time to time by officers and organisations duly authorised thereto have sometimes not been carried out properly, it is resolved that the executive committees of the Provincial Congress Committees shall have power to take such disciplinary action, including dismissal, as may be deemed advisable and in cases where the default is by provincial authorities the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to take such disciplinary action including dismissal as may be deemed advisable by the respective committees of the Provincial Committees.

The resolution also contains other disciplinary measures, but is devoid of the penal clause in the original resolution.

Like the second, Mr. Gandhi's third resolution also was a compromise resolution and was couched thus :-

The All-India Congress Committee draws the attention of the Congress voters to the fact that the five boycotts, namely, of all mill-spun cloth, Government law courts, educational institutions, titles and legislative bodies, except in so far as they may have been affected by the Coanada resolution, are still part of the Congress programme,

and, therefore, considers it desirable that those Congress voters who believe in the Congress programme do not elect to the various Congress organisations those who do not believe in carrying out in their own person, the said five boycotts except where affected by the said Coanada resolution, and the A.I.C.C., therefore, requests such persons who are now members of the Congress elective organisations to resign their places."

After Mr. Gandhi had moved it without any speech, there was a long discussion, after which, according to *The Servant*, it was passed by an overwhelming majority.

### Geology, Mining and Metallurgy at the Hindu University.

Geology has an educational and cultural value in addition to its practical value to the industrialist. Therefore the forward step which the Hindu University has taken in establishing a department of the connected subjects of Geology, Mining and Metallurgy is matter for satisfaction for educationists and industrialists. It is only proper that the mineral wealth of India should be exploited by Indian experts with the help of Indian capital and labour. The Department owes its inception to the munificence of His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur, who has given to the University a donation of Rs. 2,00,000 non-recurring and Rs. 24,000 per annum recurring in perpetuity.



"On the sea-shore of endless worlds."—*The Crescent Moon*.  
By Mr. Bireswar Sen.

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## THE FOURFOLD WAY OF INDIA

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

AN artist carefully selects his lines and colours and harmonises them in such a manner that they no longer remain a sum total of lines and colours. They transcend themselves to form a picture in which the artist's ideal of perfection finds its release in a final attainment. Similarly, India in pursuit of her ideals of liberation, a liberation in the bosom of the Perfect, tried to train and manipulate life's forces towards a deliberate end. Life, according to her, must not only grow within itself but outgrow itself into a higher meaning which is beyond it, as the flower outgrows itself into the fruit. Lines through their discipline of limits lead the form to the region of beauty which is the expression of the Limitless. India's aim has been to guide life's current through its boundaries of banks towards an unbounded sea of freedom. The object of this paper is to discuss the principles and method of such an art of living which once India taught her children to follow.

The flesh is impure, the world is vanity, therefore renunciation in the shape of self-mortification is necessary for salvation,—this was the ideal of spiritual life held forth in mediaeval Europe. Modern Europe, however, considers it unwholesome to acknowledge an everlasting feud between the human world of natural desires and social aims on the one hand, and the spiritual life with its discipline and aspiration on the other. According to her, we enfeeble the moral purpose of our

existence if we put too much stress on the illusoriness of this world. To drop down dead in the race course of life, while running at full speed, is acclaimed by her to be the most glorious death.

It is true that Europe has gained a certain strength by pinning its faith on the world, by refusing to dwell on its evanescence, on the certainty of death,—condemning the opposite frame of mind as morbid. Her children are, perhaps, thereby trained to be more efficient in competition, to gain victory in the struggle which, in their view, represents the whole of life. But, whatever may be the practical effect of leading this life as if its connection with us were interminable, that is not a fact.

Doubtless Nature, for its own biological purposes, has created in us a strong faith in life, by keeping us unmindful of death. Nevertheless, not only our physical existence, but also the environment which it builds up around itself, desert us in the moment of triumph. The greatest prosperity comes to its end, dissolving into emptiness; the mightiest empire is overtaken by stupor amidst the flicker of its festival lights. All this is none the less true because the truism bores us to be reminded of it. Therefore all our works which make for the composition of our life have to be judged according to their harmony with their background, the background which is death.



And yet, it is equally true that, though all our mortal relationships have their end, we cannot ignore them with impunity while they last. If we behave as if they do not exist, merely because they will not persist, they will all the same exact their dues, with a great deal over by way of penalty. We cannot claim exemption from payment of fare because the railway train has not the permanence of the dwelling house. Trying to ignore bonds that are real, albeit temporary, only strengthens and prolongs their bondage.

That is why the spirit of attachment and that of detachment have to be reconciled in harmony, and then only will they lead us to fulfilment. Attachment is the force which draws us to the truth in its finite aspect, the aspect of what is, while detachment leads us to freedom in the infinity of truth which is the ideal aspect. In the act of walking, attachment is in the step that the foot takes when it touches the earth; detachment is in the movement of the other foot when it raises itself. The harmony of bondage and freedom is the dance of creation. According to the symbolism of Indian thought, the god Siva, the male principle of Truth, represents freedom which is of the spirit, while the goddess Sivani, its female principle, represents the bonds which are of the real. In their union dwells the ideal of perfection.

In order to achieve the reconciliation of these opposites, we must first come to a true understanding of man; that is to say, we must not cut him down to the requirement of any particular duty. To look on trees only as firewood, is not to know the tree in its completeness. Similarly, to look on man merely as the protector of his country, or the producer of its wealth, is to reduce him to soldier or merchant or diplomat, to make his efficiency as such the measure of his manhood. Not only is such a view limited, it is destructive. And those whom we would thus glorify are but assisted to a rocket-like descent.

How India once looked on man as greater than any purpose he could serve, is shown by the well-known couplet of a Sanskrit poet which may be translated thus: For the family, sacrifice the individual; for the community, the family; for the country, the community; for the soul, all the world.

A question will be asked; "What is this soul?" Let us first try to answer a much simpler question; "What is life?" Certainly life is not merely the facts of life that are evident to us, the breathing, digesting and

various other functions of the body; not even the principle of unity which comprehends them. In a mysterious manner it contains within it a future which continually brings itself out from the envelopment of its present, dealing with unforeseen circumstances, experimenting with new variations. If its presence, with dead materials, chokes the path of its ever-unfolding future, then it is a traitor that betrays its trust. The soul, which is our spiritual life, contains our infinity within it. It has an impulse that urges our consciousness to break through the dimly lighted walls of animal life where our turbulent passions fight and scream to find their throne within that narrow enclosure. Though, like animals, man is dominated by his self, he has an instinct that fights against it, like the rebel life within a seed that breaks through the dark prison bringing out its flag of freedom in the realm of light. Our sages in the East have always maintained that self-emancipation is the highest form of freedom for man,—because it is his fulfilment in the heart of the Eternal, and not merely some reward achieved through some process of what is called salvation.

That was what had been preached and practised in India. Our sages saw no end to the dignity of the human spirit which found its consummation in the Supreme Spirit itself. Any limited view of man would therefore be a false view. He could not be merely Citizen or Patriot, for neither city nor country, nor, for the matter of that, the bubble called the world, could contain his infinity.

A poet of classical India, who was once a King, has said: *What if you have secured the fountain-head of all desires; what if you have put your foot on the neck of your enemy, or by good fortune gathered friends around you; that, even, if you have succeeded in keeping mortal bodies alive for ages,—what then?*

The realm of our desires is for the creature who is imprisoned within his self. These desires not having their perspective of the eternal have some fanciful value for which the prisoners scramble in the dark and break each other's skulls. You can only direct man's life towards its perfection if you remind him that there is something for him which is ultimate and those who stop short of that can never find the answer to the question: What then?

Europe is incessantly singing paeans to Freedom, which to her means freedom to acquire, freedom to enjoy, freedom to work.

This freedom is by no means a small thing, and much toil and care are required to maintain it in this world.

In the process of attaining freedom a man must bind his will in order to save its forces from distraction and wastage, so as to gain for it the velocity which comes from the bondage itself. Those who seek liberty in a purely political plane must constantly curtail it and reduce their freedom of thought and action to that narrow limit which is necessary for making political liberty secure, very often at the cost of liberty of conscience. Are the soldiers of England free men, or are they not merely living guns? And what of the toilers in her mines and factories—mere appendages of the machines they work,—who assist with their life's blood to paint red the map of England's Empire. How few are the Englishmen who really participate in this political freedom of theirs? Europe may have preached and striven for the rights of the individual, but where else in the world is the individual so much of a slave?

The only reply to this is the paradox to which I have already referred. Freedom can only be attained through bonds of discipline, through sacrifice of personal inclination. Freedom is a profit which can only be gained if you lay out a commensurate capital of self-restriction.

Individualism was also the object of India's quest,—not of this narrow kind, however, for it stretched up towards self-emancipation,—so it tried to gain this larger individual freedom through every detail of life, every relation of family and society. And as in Europe her ideal of freedom has manifested itself in the full rigour of mechanical and military bonds, so the ideal of India found its expression in the strict regulation of the most intimate details of the daily life. If we fail to see the ideal behind and focus our view on its external manifestations which are of the present age, then indeed in India individual liberty appears most thoroughly fettered. It has happened over and over again in the history of man when the means have got the better of the end. It occurs either when some passion like greed lures away our mind from the ideal end to the material means itself, making us blind to their relative value, or when through lassitude of spirit our endeavour falls short of its aim and takes pride in conforming to regulations that no longer have their meaning, that exact our sacrifices without giving us anything in return.

That is what has happened in our country. We still submit to the bondage of all kinds of social restrictions, but the emancipation which was the object is no longer in our view. So that if now the looker-on should come to the conclusion that the social system of India is only a device for keeping down its people by unmeaning prohibitions, we may get angry, but we shall find it difficult to give an effective contraccition.

It is not my object to lament our downfall. What I wish to point out is that India had originally accepted the bonds of her social system in order to transcend society, as the rider puts reins on his horse and stirrups on his own feet in order to ensure greater speed towards his goal. India knew that society was not the ultimate end of man, but through the mutual help and collective endeavour of individuals it was the best means of training him for and leading him to liberation. And her bonds were even more severe than those which Europe has imposed on herself. That was because an even greater freedom was in contemplation. Her present plight only shows that the deeper the lake, the more cavernous is its hollow when it has dried up.

The reconciliation of these opposite aspects of bondage and freedom, of the means and the end, is thus referred to in one of our sacred scriptures:

"In darkness are they who worship only the world, but in greater darkness they who worship the Infinite alone. He who accepts both, saves himself from death by the knowledge of the former, and by that of the latter attains immortality."

That is to say, we must first have our fulness of worldly life before we can attain the Infinite. Desire must be yoked to work for the purpose of transcending both desire and work, and then only can union with the Supreme be thought of. The mere renunciation of the world does not entitle to immortality.

The same scripture says:

"Performing work in this world, must thou desire to live a hundred years. O man, no other way is open to thee. His work never absolutely attaches itself to man."

A full life with full work can alone fulfil the destiny of man. When his worldly life is thus perfected, it comes to its natural end, and the fetters of work are loosened and drop off.

In Europe we see only two divisions of man's worldly life—the period of training and that of work. It is like prolonging a straight

line till, wearied, you drop off your brush. Such elongation of a straight line can never produce a picture; it can have no design; so it is unmeaning. Work is a process and cannot really be the end of anything; it must have some gain, some achievement, as its object. And yet Europe has omitted to put before man any definite goal in which its work may find its natural termination and gain its rest. To acquisition, whether of material or of knowledge, there is no limit. And European civilisation puts all its emphasis on the progress of this cumulative acquisition forgetting that the best contribution which each individual can make to the progressive life of humanity is in the perfection of his own life. So their end comes in the middle of things; there is no game, but only the chase.

We, also, say that the desire is not exhausted, but rather increases, with the getting. How then is one to come to the end of work? The reply that India of old gave was, that there is an exception to this general rule, that there is a plane wherein getting does arrive at its terminus, whereto if we strive to attain, our work shall come to an end, and rest be ours. The Universe cannot be so madly conceived that desire should be an interminable singing with no song to which it can be completed.

India has not advised us to come to a sudden stop while work is in full swing. It is true that the unending procession of the world has gone on, through its ups and downs, from the beginning of creation till to-day; but it is equally obvious that each individual's connection therewith *does* get finished. Must he necessarily quit it without any sense of fulfilment? Had that been so, he would have been unfortunate indeed.

On the one hand, I represent in me an endless current of generations; with my life I add to its flow, I contribute as much as I can to its store of ever increasing experience of knowledge and possibilities of power. On the other hand, I represent the individual whose life has a beginning and end in itself and therefore who must find some ideal of perfection in that limited period of time. The unending stream can have no idea of completeness, its nature is movement. To remain for a moment its part and then to vanish means struggle and no realisation. Those who say that the world is a humming top of absurdity which only hums and whirls for no reason whatever, should not preach their gospel of work and help this madness of

movements. As in the heart of all things there is the impulse of unending progress, so there must also be the ideal of fulfilment which only gives meaning to all movements. Who is to realise it if not the individual? The movement which is in the finite has its claims from him, but the fulfilment which is in the infinite has also its call to him. When we respond to that call, then death does not come as an abrupt interruption to our world of reality. Directly we know the truth which is ultimate, we enter the realm of the everlasting yes.

In the division of man's world-life which we had in India, work came in the middle, the freedom at the end. As the day is divided into morning, noon, afternoon and evening, so India has divided man's life into four parts, following the indication of his nature. The day has the waxing and waning of its light, so has man of his bodily powers; and acknowledging this, India gave a connected meaning to his life from start to finish.

First came *Brahmacharya*, the period of education; then *garhasthya*, that of the world's work; then *vanaprasthya*, the retreat for the loosening of bonds; and finally, *pravrajya*, the expectant awaiting of freedom through death.

Nowadays we have come to look upon life as a conflict with death,—the intruding enemy, not the natural ending,—in impotent quarrel with which we spend every stage of it. When the time comes for youth to depart, we would hold it back by main force. When the fervour of desire slackens, we would revive it with fresh fuel of our own devising. When our sense organs weaken, we urge them to keep up their efforts. Even when our grip has relaxed, we are reluctant to give up possession. We fain would ignore all the rest of our life except only its morning and noon. And when at last the growing dusk compels us to acknowledge its afternoon and evening, we are either in a rebellious or in a despairing frame of mind, and so unable to make due use of them. We are not trained to recognise the inevitable as natural, and so cannot give up gracefully that which has to go, but needs must wait till it is snatched from us. The truth comes as conqueror only because we have lost the art of receiving it as guest.

The stem of the ripening fruit becomes loose, its pulp soft, but its seed hardens with provision for the next life. Our outward losses, due to age, likewise have corresponding inward gains. But, in man's inner life, his will plays a dominant part, so that these



gains depend on his own disciplined striving ; that is why, in the case of undisciplined man, it is so often seen that his muscles slacken, his legs totter, and yet his stern hold on life refuses to let go its grip, so much so that he is anxious to exercise his will in regard to worldly details even after his death. This kind of tenacity is coming to be regarded, even in our country, as something to be proud of ; but what is there so glorious in it ?

Renounce we must, and through renunciation gain,—that is the truth of the inner world.

Man leaves the refuge of the womb in order to achieve the further growth of body and mind in which consists the whole of the child life ; next, he has to leave the self-centred security of this narrow world and enter the fuller which has varied relations with the multitude ; lastly comes the decline of the body, and enriched with his experiences, man should now leave the narrower life for the universal life, to which he must dedicate his accumulated wisdom on the one hand and, on the other, should himself enter into relations with the Life Eternal ; so that, when finally the decaying body has come to the very end of its tether, the soul views its breaking away quite simply and without regret, in the expectation of its own rebirth into the infinite.

From individual body to community, from community to universe, from universe to Infinity,—this is the soul's normal progress.

Our sages, therefore, keeping in mind the goal of this progress, did not, in life's first stage of education, prescribe merely the learning of books or things, but *brahmacharya*, the living in discipline, whereby both enjoyment and its renunciation would come equally easy to the strengthened character. Life being a pilgrimage, with liberation in the Supreme Being as its object, the living of it was a spiritual exercise to be carried through its different stages, humbly, reverently and vigilantly. And the pupil, from his very initiation, has this final consummation kept in his view.

The series of adjustments between within and without which constitute the physical life, have become automatic ; but in the case of man, his mind comes in as a disturbing factor which is still in the stage of conscious experimentation and which therefore may involve him in endless trouble before its activities can be attuned to universal law. For instance, the body may have come to the end of its requirement of food for the time,

whereas the mind will not have it so, but, seeking to prolong the enjoyment of its satisfaction, even beyond actual need, spurs on the tongue and the stomach to greater efforts, thus upsetting age-long adjustments and creating widely ramified trouble in the process of the superficial effort required for procuring needless material.

Once the mind refuses to be bound by actual requirements, there ceases to be any reason why it should cry halt at any particular limit, and so, like trying to extinguish fire with oil its acquisitions only make its desires blaze up all the fiercer. That is why it is so essential to habituate the mind, from the very beginning, to be conscious of, and desirous of keeping within, the natural limits, in other words, to attune itself to the universal nature, so that with every liberty to play its varied tunes, it may learn to avoid discord with the Good and the True.

After the period of such education comes the period of worldly life. Our law-giver Manu tells us that

*"It is not possible to discipline ourselves so effectively if out of touch with the world, as while pursuing the world-life with wisdom."*

That is to say, wisdom does not attain completeness except through the living of life ; and discipline divorced from wisdom is not true discipline, but merely the meaningless following of custom, which is only a veil for ignorance.

Work becomes true, only when desire has learnt to control itself. Then alone does the householder's state become a centre of welfare for the society, and instead of being an obstacle helps on the final liberation. When all his work is true, having the detachment of unselfishness, its obligations cannot curtail the freedom of his spirit.

When the second stage of life has thus been spent, when the crops that were raised on the field of youth have been harvested and garnered and done with, life's evening comes, the time to leave the enclosure of labour for the open road ; to set out for home where peace awaits us. Have we not been toiling through the live-long day for this very home,—the Home which is fulfilment itself ?

After the infant leaves the womb, it still has to remain close to its mother for a time, remaining attached in spite of its deliverance, until it can adapt itself to its new freedom. Such is the case in the third stage of life, when man, though aloof from the world, remains in touch with it. He still gives to the world

of his store of wisdom, as the ripe fruit dropped from its stem, gives food to the world before its seed finds soil for its further life. His wisdom comes to the world like a shower of rain which is for all, because it is taken up in the upper air of disinterested detachment.

Then at last comes a day when even such free relations have their end, the emancipated spirit steps out of all bonds to face the Supreme Spirit. Just as a good housewife, while dealing with diverse men and things in the course of her duties, is after all doing the work of her husband's household all the time, openly and tacitly acknowledging at every step her relationship with him, yet at the end of the day she puts aside all her work and betakes herself with her husband to the solitude of their union, so does the soul, whose world-work is done, put away all finite matters and come all alone to its communion with the Eternal.

Only in this way can man's world-life be truly lived from one end of it to the other, without being engaged at every step in trying conclusions with death and without being overcome when death arrives in due course, as by a conquering enemy.

This fourfold way of India attunes the life of man to the sublime harmony of the universe, leaving no room for untrained desires to forget their simple relations therewith and to pursue their destructive career unchecked, but leading them on to their final relations with the Supreme.

I feel that the doubt may arise here : how far is it possible so to mould the whole people of any country? To which I would reply that when the wick is ablaze at its tip, the whole lamp is said to be alight. Whatever may be the ideal of the righteous life, it finds luminous expression only in the top-most few. If in any country even a small number of its people succeed in realising an ideal, that is a gain for the whole of it.

However dire may be the outward degeneration which has overtaken us in India, there is an inmost core still alive within us, which refuses to acknowledge anything less than the Supreme as the highest gain. Even now when any great soul strikes a higher note, our whole being responds, and no lesser consideration of worldliness can stop it from so doing.

Now-a-days, on occasions of festivity in our country, we have acquired the habit of adding a foreign brass band to the usual set of our own festive pipes, thereby creating a terrible confusion of sound. Nevertheless,

the plaintive Indian note of our real yearning may be discerned by the sensitive ear, through all its clash and clang. But while, in the public part of our homes, the foreign big drum and blatant trumpet proclaim the pride of wealth and the emulation of fashion, those who are in touch with the privacy of our inner life, know that this deafening din does not penetrate there.

We were not always this kind of a market crowd, jostling and elbowing one another so vulgarly, quarrelling over privileges and titles, advertising our own worth in unashamed exaggeration. The whole thing is sheer imitation and mostly sham. It has no redeeming feature of courtesy or gracefulness. But, before this age of make-believe overtook us, we had an inherent dignity of our own, which was not impaired by plain living or poverty. This was for us like a congenital armour which used to protect us against all the insults and trials of our material vicissitudes. But this natural protection has been wheedled away from us, driving us to take our stand behind bluster and bluff. Dignity has now become an outside thing which we must bolster up by outward show. As we no longer reckon inward satisfaction to be the fulness of wealth, we have to hunt for its paraphernalia in foreign shops, and never can gather together enough.

But, in spite of all this, I say that it has not worked its way into the core of our being. It is yet of the outside and therefore, perhaps, so excessively obvious. Just because we have *not* become really used to our new acquisitions, do we make so much of a turmoil about them, like the boisterous movements of the inexperienced swimmer.

Moreover, I cannot at all admit that there can be anything in man's higher life which is only good in a particular geographical latitude. It is never true that we must take refuge in meekness because we are weak, or that we want righteousness only as a convenient cloak for hiding our indigence. Ideals preached by great personalities of the world need for their acceptance more steady courage, perfect training, power of sacrifice, than those which are needed to make good our school-learned lessons on the profits of insensate competition and the duplicity and carnage of a hungry nationalism thriving on human flesh.

To prepare, in a spirit of reverence and by a life of discipline, for the world-life in which the soul is to attain maturity amidst



her daily work of self-dedication and find at the serene end of her physical existence her own perfect revelation in a world of ineffable light and life,—is the only way through which a human being can attain to consistency and fulness of meaning.

If we believe this, then we must also recognise that each and every people must strive to realise it, overcoming their respective obstacles in their own way. If they would live in truth, then everything else,—the luxury of individual riches, the might

of nations,—must be counted as subordinate. The spirit of man must triumph and liberate itself, if man's incessant endeavour during all these ages is to attain its fulfilment.

If that is not to be, and yet if by the help of some magic wand of progress men find an inexhaustible source of incessant profit, some weapon that in a second can kill millions of enemies, some potion that can keep their mortal bodies alive for ages,—what then?

## DAIL EIREANN: THE IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS —A GENERAL IMPRESSION

By St. NIHAL SINGH

### I

JUST as I entered, for the first time, the chamber in which DAIL EIREANN—corresponding to the British House of Commons—holds its sittings, and took my seat in the Press Gallery, a Deputy sitting at some distance to the left of the Speaker's chair rose to his feet and began to address the Assembly. The distance between us could not have been more than 20 or possibly 30 feet. Yet I could not understand a word he was saying. His voice was audible enough: in fact, he spoke loudly.

I was on the point of asking my neighbour an oldish, stoutish man representing one of the news agencies, what the Deputy was saying, when I suddenly began to follow the speech without difficulty. It then dawned upon me that he had been speaking in Irish, and possibly finding that he was not being followed by some of his fellow-Deputies or by some of the reporters in the Gallery as well as he wished, had turned to English, which he spoke almost like a foreigner who thought in another language. On subsequent inquiry I learned that Gaelic was his native tongue.

A similar experience must have fallen to the lot of other visitors from abroad, for it is not at all uncommon for some of the Deputies to start off in Irish and continue in English.

Every one of them, whether Gaelic-speaking or not, in any case, begins with the phrase "*A Ceann Comhairle*" (pronounced "*AKin Korle*"), which is the Irish equivalent of the English "Mr. Speaker."

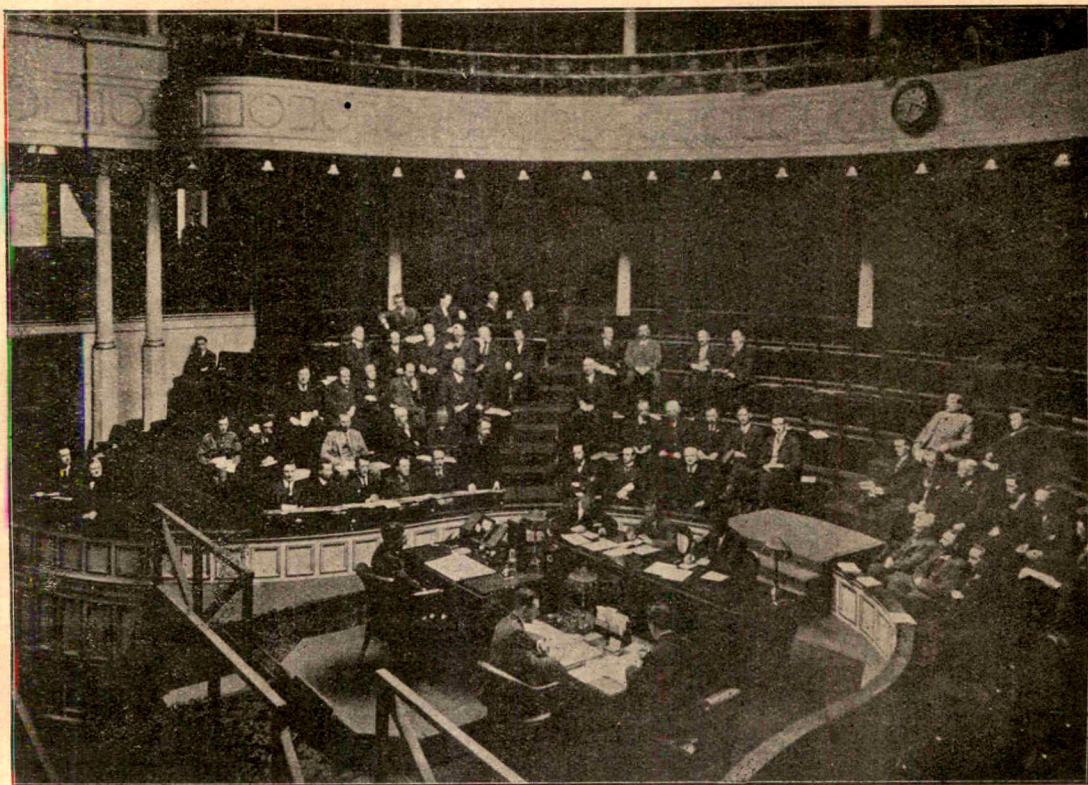
Some persons among the Irish, while undoubtedly patriotic, fell disposed to laugh at the attempt to revive the Irish language, and ever seek to obstruct it. Some of the Deputies object, on the score of expense, if for no other reason, to the printing of the Dail documents and Acts of Parliament in Irish side by side with English.

This attitude is scarcely to be wondered at when it is remembered that for many centuries a systematic endeavour was made to overlay Irish culture with English civilization. So successful, indeed, proved the effort to kill the Irish language that it has ceased to be spoken over the larger part of the island, "native speakers" being confined to remote districts along the southern and western seaboard—about 600,000 persons out of a total population of over 4,000,000 persons taking the whole of Ireland.

### II

The green tint of the Order Paper (symbolic of the Emerald Isle, though blue is the traditional Irish colour) which attracted my eye as soon as I sat down, the use of Gaelic by the Deputy who proceeded to speak





The Dail in Session. Prof. Michael Hayes is in the Chair, while the Clerk is Seated at the Table to his right. President Cosgrave is addressing the Assembly. Besides him are seated the Ministers of Justice, Finance, External Affairs, Agriculture. General Mulchy, until recently Minister for Defence, is in Uniform. The Attorney-General is the second figure from the reader's left.

just as I entered, and the Irish title by which the Speaker was addressed by all the Deputies, forcibly brought home to me the fact that the Irish Free State to-day is a separate entity, possessing a legislature elected by the Irish people and solely responsible to them for its acts. The designation of the Assembly by the Irish title, "Dail Eireann," instead of by an English or semi-English term such as "House of Commons," carried my mind back to the days when the great majority of Irish men elected in Ireland to the lower chamber of the British Parliament constituted themselves into a sovereign legislature, declared the establishment of Saorstat Eireann (the Irish Republic), set up a Government of their own, and even when proclaimed by the British as an unlawful assembly, and compelled to meet clandestinely, carried on an intensive struggle until Britain saw fit to conclude an agreement whereby she withdrew her civil and military control and left the Irish to rule themselves as they chose. The continuance of the use of the Gaelic phrase "*Teachta Dala*,"

shortened into "T. D.," (delegate) and of the word "Deputy" with the republican associations, instead of the English term "Hon'ble Member", the retention of the words *Ta* (yes) and *Nil* (no) to indicate the results of Divisions, and the floating of the Irish tri-colour over Leinster House—the temporary home of the Assembly where it is in session, serve to form a bridge between the pre-Truce and the present Dail.

### III

The *Ceann Comhairle*—Professor Michael Hayes, one of the representatives of the National University—in himself, constitutes a link between the stirring past, filled with struggle, and the future, full of promise. Born in 1889, he grew up at a time when Dr. Douglas Hyde, now a professor in the same University, Dr. Eoin MacNeill, now the Minister of Education, and others, were making a determined effort to bring about the revival of Irish language and culture. At an early age he became associated with the Sinn Fein movement. When the Truce came, in the



summer of 1921, he, with many fellow-workers, was confined in an internment camp. Towards the end of 1921, Professor Hayes like his other countrymen had to choose between the



Prof. Michael Hayes, T. D., who represents the National University in the Dail and has been its *Ceann Comhairle* (Speaker) since Sept. 9, 1922. Lacking legislative experience and legal knowledge, when elected to that office, he, possessing an exceedingly keen mind, soon mastered parliamentary procedure and handles the legislature with great skill and tact.

resumption of the Anglo-Irish war and the acceptance of the Anglo-Irish Agreement signed, on behalf of the Irish, by Arthur Griffith (the founder of Sinn Fein), General Michael Collins (the leader of the left wing of Sinn Fein), and others on December 6th. He voted in favour of the Treaty, because it gave his people "the substance of freedom if they had 'the courage to take it,' and because it would give to 'Irishmen and women in Ireland absolute and complete control of their trade,' and, what was even more important, 'absolute and complete control of education,' for he considered that 'the spiritual penetration, the sway of English manners and customs, of the English tongue, English ideas and English ideals in Ireland' was 'the most dangerous thing to the underlying spirit of any

nation.' With control of education in an Irish State where there would be no interference whatever from England, 'that rot could be stopped.' In a word, he would accept the Treaty because he believed that it gave his people 'power to direct all' their 'spiritual activities...in the right way.'

At the time this speech was made Professor Hayes was engaged in helping to organise educational work in behalf of his nation as an essential part of the Sinn Fein programme. He found it impossible to make much headway because in the country in general "at the moment practically every child in Ireland" was "being educated in the most deplorable way...under an English system, guided by English ideas, and interpreted in an English way."

Immediately following the ratification of the Treaty by the Dail, Professor Hayes was appointed Minister for Education by President Griffith, and held this post until the assembly of the Dail which had been convened for the express purpose of implementing the Treaty and enacting the Constitution and which elected him *Ceann Comhairle*. Though no doubt entirely lacking in knowledge of legislative procedure, and even of legal technicalities, he was capable of clear thinking and of mastering any subject in which he had made up his mind to become proficient. He, moreover, had the foresight to realise that authority for drawing up the Constitution would be derived not from the "Anglo-Irish Treaty, not from any Act of the British Parliament, but from the Irish people," and therefore, he could well be trusted to preside over the deliberations of an Assembly which was to fashion the instrument meant to conserve the freedom that had been won as the result of a struggle stretching (intermittently) over eight centuries.

Everything about the *Ceann Comhairle* as he presides over the Dail emphasises the difference between that assembly and other legislatures, especially those in the British Commonwealth of Nations. As he sits with his back to the Press Gallery, only his head and shoulders visible to newspaper men, no wig covers his hair, which is almost as dark as mine. His lounge suit might have been made from the same bolt of blue serge from which was cut the one I wear. There is nothing to distinguish him from the other members of the Dail, except that the chair in which he is seated, and table in front of him, are placed on a platform slightly higher than the floor of the House, separated from



the Press Gallery by a staircase which has been put in to enable him and his staff to come into the chamber by a private way.

## IV

The *Leas Ceann Comhairle*, or the Deputy Speaker—Mr. Padraic O'Maille (Patrick



Mr. Padraic O'Maille, T. D., the Dy. Speaker of the Dail. Joining Sinn Fein as a boy, he took an active part in the Anglo-Irish struggle, and suffered imprisonment and deportation, and was for three years "on the run." For accepting the Anglo-Irish Treaty he incurred the ill-will of those of his comrades who stuck to the "Republic," and was badly wounded and very nearly died. (The picture has been copied by Mr. S. Hurley and reproduced by kind permission of the artist, Mr. Patrick Tuohy.)

O'Malley,—when relieving the Speaker, is just as informally clad. Born in Conamara, a mountainous district of Western Ireland where the Irish language is still the mother-tongue of the majority of the population, he came under the influence of revitalising Nationalism while in his boyhood, entered Sinn Fein, and became active in the Volunteer movement as soon as that activity extended to Western Ireland. Imprisoned for taking part in the Easter Rebellion of 1916, Mr. O'Malley was released towards the end of the year, but was again arrested in February, 1917, for alleged complicity in a plot and reported to Kington, in Hertfordshire (England)

from which place he managed to escape a few months later. On May 17, 1918, seven or eight members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, the militarized police consisting entirely of Irishmen with the exception of a few officers, which constituted the main prop of the British regime, surrounded his house and ordered him to surrender. He and his brother opened fire on them and made it so hot for them that they retired. From that day till the one on which the Truce was signed—over three years—he was constantly "on the run." In November of the same year the voters of Conamara expressed their appreciation of him by electing him Member of Parliament at the General Election, with a majority of 8,252 over Mr. M. O'Malley, who sat as a "Nationalist" Member for that constituency in the House of Commons.

Mr. O'Maille was one of the original band of Sinn Feinners who constituted themselves into the Dail, as the only legislature which the Irish were prepared to recognise. Though "wanted" by the police, he managed to come from the extreme west of Ireland to Dublin (in mid-east of the Island) to attend most of the meetings of that Assembly (even after it had been "proclaimed") and still to elude the Royal Irish Constabulary, supplemented by the "Black and Tans" and the military, at one time numbering 50,000 officers and men.

By voting in favour of the Anglo-Irish Treaty Mr. O'Maille, like the other pro-Treaty Deputies, made bitter enemies of many of his former colleagues. Less than six months after his election on September 9th, 1922, to the Deputy-Speakership of the Dail, he, with a fellow-Deputy, Sean Hales, was going to the Assembly in a horse-drawn vehicle, known as an "outside car" or "jaunting car" when one or more "Irregulars" (anti-Treatyites) opened fire upon them. Four bullets hit Hales and he was killed on the spot. One bullet pierced through O'Maille's arm. Another entered his body through the back, struck the spine, glanced off, and lodged over the left lung. While recovering in hospital after a serious operation, pleurisy set in and for a time his condition was very grave. His iron constitution, however, enabled him eventually to recover.

## V

The clerk of the Dail—Colm O'Murchadha (Murphy) is as inconspicuously clad as the speaker or the Deputy speaker. No wig, no gown, no lace or braid distinguishes him from an ordinary citizen, as he sits at an



oblong table a few feet from the presiding officer of the Assembly, at his right.

Mr. Murphy acted as Assistant Clerk to the Dail in the pre-Treaty days, while Mr. Patrick O'Keefe, Secretary to the Speaker,



Mr. Patrick O'Keefe, one of the officers of the Dail, who has been active in every phase of the Anglo-Irish struggle.

represented North Cork in that Assembly, having for years been closely associated with Mr. Arthur Griffith in his Sinn Fein activities. At the time the assembly met in 1922, Mr. Murphy and Mr. O'Keefe were serving in the National Army, acting as Governor and Deputy Governor of a military prison in Dublin.

There is no mace or other regalia on the table in front of the Speaker, as there would be if the men who constituted that body hankered after pomp and pageantry. Nor do the front benchers sit with their feet resting on it, as they do in the British Parliament and even in some of the Indian legislatures.

Directly above the table used by the

official reporters—in front of the Speaker's table—is the glass dome of the building, throwing a flood of light upon the people working beneath it.

Some of the men on the staff of the Dail took part in the rising of 1916, while others participated in the Anglo-Irish War of 1919-21, and in the recent "Irregular" campaign. That is particularly true of the men of the Guard, in black uniform. Colonel Patrick Brennan, the Superintendent, has been active in every phase of the struggle in Ireland since 1916 and was at one period (1922) in command of the First Western Division. Captain Byme, Captain of the Guard, was also one of the original volunteers and took a prominent part in the conflict of recent years.

One of the black-uniformed messengers who has carried my card to many of the ministers and other Deputies lost an eye and the use of one of his thumbs in the Anglo-Irish war. A portion of one of his legs had to be amputated on account of wounds received in the civil war.

## VI

None of the Deputies affects any formal dress. Though I have had the opportunity of attending many a meeting of the Dail, I do not recollect to have come across a single tall hat or frock or morning coat.

One or two Members must, however, find it difficult to repress their leaning towards dandyism. That disposition is, however, offset by the inclination upon the part of some of the Deputies to take no thought of how their clothes look.

Most of the Members of the Dail are clean shaven. A few wear beards.

The Deputies enter and leave the Chamber without formally bowing to the Speaker, as is the custom in the House of Commons and other assemblies. They might well adopt some such form without fear of suggesting to any one that they have a "slave mind" or that they lack independence of spirit.

## VII

The red plush-covered benches or tip-up chairs on which the Deputies sit are arranged in horse-shoe fashion around the officers of the Dail. The front rows are provided with desks.

The seats rise, tier upon tier, to a wide corridor from which open the gangways leading down to the benches, cutting them up



into sections. The Members go down to their seats from above instead of going up to them from the floor of the House.

In the centre of the corridor, against the back wall, sit the men of the Guard, barely visible to members of the Press Gallery. The left-hand corner, has been partitioned off to form the Speaker's Gallery, and affords a fine view of the Speaker, nearly the whole of the Dail, and of the Deputies as they enter the chamber through the doors hard by opening on to the landing at the top of a grand staircase.

The Gallery for ordinary visitors is higher up, just beneath the ceiling, which is lofty. I have never sat in it, but I understand that it is far from satisfactory.

### VIII

The Assembly presents an exceedingly youthful appearance. On more than one occasion, while sitting in the Speaker's or the Press Gallery, I have attempted to count the grey heads among them, and have failed to discover more than five or six, some of whom I find suffered terrible ordeals during the period of Anglo-Irish Struggle. The majority of the Deputies must be in the thirties.

I doubt if there is any National Assembly anywhere else in the world containing so many young men as the Dail. I am sure that no country in the world has so many legislators who have seen the inside of Jail and internment camps, as the Irish Free State has.

At times when some dull subject is being discussed, the benches are almost empty. On such occasions two or three Deputies, rather more carefully dressed than most of their colleagues who take delight in occupying seats in the topmost row, look isolated, like the gods on the Olympian heights, surveying with almost cynical unconcern the drab scene which is being enacted below. Now and again one of them becomes agitated over the crass neglect of national interests by the minister and harangues the Assembly.

The Chamber would present a very different appearance if the Republicans did not look upon the Dail as a usurper set up by their ancient enemies—the British—and, in consequence, boycott it. They look upon the "rump" of the Dail as the rightful Assembly, call their chief leader, who is confined in a military prison, the "President," who has his own Cabinet. At the last General Election they captured 44 constituencies. If they were to attend the sittings the potential strength

of the Opposition would be more than doubled.

The Dail, it must be remembered, is not constituted along the traditional British Parliamentary lines, and does not consist of one Party in power and another in opposition.



Col. Patrick Brennan, Superintendent of the Irish Parliament, who has seen much fighting during recent years.

I say traditional, because with the rapid strides made by the British Labour Party during recent years that system has broken down; and in consequence, a party enjoying a minority vote is in office and is likely to remain there until Mr. Ramsay MacDonald cares or is compelled to go to the country for a mandate.

Elected on the basis of proportional representation, specially designed to safeguard the interests of the minorities, the Dail, on the contrary, consists of a number of groups, as is the case with the legislatures on the Continent. Five of them, not taking into consideration the anti-Treatyites (Republicans), are openly acknowledged, though undoubtedly at least one of the five is really a coalition of two or more distinctive elements.

The *Cumann na nGaedhail*, or Government Party, consists of 57 Deputies, one of



them a woman (Mrs. Collins O'Driscoll, a sister of General Michael Collins, who, while acting as President,—of the provisional Government and Commander-in-Chief of the National Army, was shot dead by the anti-Treatyites in September, 1922. Acute differences in the spring of 1924 over a mutiny in the Army, led to the secession of some eight members, who constituted themselves into the "National Group."

The Independents and the Farmers each number 15. There are, besides, 14 Labour Deputies.

The Government and its supporters sit at the extreme left of the Speaker, instead of at the right, as is the case in the English Parliament and in other countries. The terms "Right" and "Left," used figuratively to indicate conservatism and radicalism, have, therefore, no application to the groups in the Dail.

In a sense it is in the fitness of things that the Ministers and their supporters should constitute the Left. Less than half a dozen years ago they were being spoken of as "the murder gang," were "on the run," their pictures and descriptions published in the "Hue and Cry" issued by the British police, with its headquarters at Dublin Castle, and large rewards offered for the heads of some of them.

The President, a short, lean man with fair hair which refuses to "stay put," sits in the front row, almost in a straight line with the Speaker's left hand. Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, the Vice-President of the Executive Council and Minister for Justice, Mr. Ernest Blythe, the Minister for Finance, Mr. Patrick McGilligan, Minister for Industry and Commerce and Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, Minister for External Affairs, also members of the Council, sit in adjoining seats. They all are of much the same age—in the thirties—and have graduated out of the revolutionary movement into their present positions.

Mr. Hugh Kennedy, the Attorney-General and one of the framers of the Free State Constitution, occupies a seat immediately behind the President. Powerful in physique, gentle in voice and manner, nimble in wit, he would be an acquisition to any Assembly. I often see President Cosgrave turning around and having a whispered conversation with him.

Mr. Patrick Hogan, Minister for Lands and Agriculture, Mr. Finian Lynch, Minister for Fisheries, Mr. J. J. Walsh, Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, and Mr. Seamus Burke,

Minister for Local Government and Public Health, sit on one side or the other of the Executive Councillors. They are all known as "Extern" Ministers, because they are not members of the Executive Government, but are *individually* responsible to the Dail for their actions whereas the Executive Councillors bear *collective* responsibility to that assembly. After graduating out of the school of revolution they are making their mark as builders of new Ireland.

Dr. Eoin MacNeill, the Minister for Education, the only other Member of the Government, and for that matter, of the Executive Council, does not sit with the other ministers, but occupies a seat several rows behind and above his colleagues. Older in years than any of them, a scholar by temperament and training, he is one of the few great men of the world who have lived to see the fruition of a movement which they initiated for leading their people out of the darkness of subjection.

General Richard Mulcahy, until recently Minister for Defence and Commander-in-Chief of the National Army and a member of the Executive Council, inconspicuously occupies a seat on one of the back benches. With the forehead of an intellectual, the eyes of a mystic, and a prophet's voice and style of speech, he shines despite the surroundings in which he tries to hide himself.

Above the *Cumann na nGaedhae*, Deputies sit the members of the newly-formed "National Group." Mr. Joseph McGrath, their leader, acted as courier between the Irish Delegation and the Republican Government during the Anglo-Irish negotiations in 1921 and was, until recently, Minister for Industries and Commerce and a member of the Executive Council, while Mr. Dan McCarthy, his Second-in-Command, was the Chief Whip of the Government Party.

The next section is occupied by the "Independents." This group is far from homogeneous since it comprises at least two distinct elements; (1) the remnants of the old Irish Parliamentary Party popularly known as the Nationalist Party and men of like belief, and (2) of men who used to delight in the name of "Southern Unionists." Not so very long ago these two sections were bitterly opposed to each other.

The Irish Parliamentary Party was at that time trying to secure Home Rule by acquiring control over the British Liberals and Radicals, and through that control smashing the power of the House of Lords and the Conservatives in the Commons, only to



and that, at the supreme moment, the Liberal Prime Minister would not toe the line chalked by them. The "Southern Unionists" were, on the other hand, the descendants of the British garrison in southern Ireland, or their partisans and apologists, almost cent per cent of them professing the same faith (Protestantism) as did their British masters, and, in consequence, practically monopolised the loaves and fishes in the administration. Both looked with undisguised contempt upon the Sinn Féin Party, which eventually triumphed.

## XI

But four members of this group may be set down as "Nationalists." The rest are mainly ex-unionists, though some of them prefer to be called "Business men," and others "University Representatives." One or two of them—certainly Major Brian Cooper, an ex-M. P.—had seen the wisdom of abandoning opposition to Home Rule some time before the new order had been actually initiated. Others accepted the *fait accompli* with good grace instead of sulking, as some irreconcilables are still doing.

Members belonging to the "Farmers' Party" sit separated from the "Independents" by a gangway. They constitute a small group (15 in all), when it is remembered that the Irish Free State is an agricultural country, fully two-thirds of its inhabitants depending upon farming and farm industries for their existence. Some of the younger men, such as Mr. Baxter and Mr. Heffernan, give promise of making powerful debaters.

The Labour Deputies, 14 in number, occupy the section to the Speaker's right. Mr. "Tom" Johnson, their leader, is a man of great force of character, who speaks with deliberation and impartiality—and often eloquence. He answers to the description of Leader of the Opposition, as nearly as any one can in the special circumstances of the Dail.

## XII

As a general rule the debates are conducted in a sober, orderly manner much to the surprise of the visitor, who arrives from abroad with the preconceived notion that the atmosphere pervading an assembly of Irishmen is bound to be warm. At times, however, when a subject of vital importance on which differences of opinion is intense come up for discussion, the atmosphere becomes charged with electricity, as, indeed, happens in other parliaments. Talk becomes tense.

Interjections are flung about and personalities are dragged into the debate.

Such occasions always serve to demonstrate the adroitness of the *Ceann Comhairle*. Though exceedingly young and inexperienced to be filling a position of such responsibility, he, since his election in 1922, has succeeded so well in mastering parliamentary procedure that men grown old in the performance of similar duties have little to teach him. The warmer the atmosphere in the chamber tends to become, the cooler he seems to grow. Without appearing to exert himself, certainly without making a show of the authority vested in him or an exhibition of pomposity, he steers the discussion into quieter channels.

Possessing the gift of humour and an unusually quick mind, Professor Hayes accomplishes with a jest what other persons occupying the same position fail to do with a rebuke. He has a tantalising habit of refusing to take seriously Deputies who are constitutionally incapable of conceiving that they are ever in error, much less laughing at anything they may have said or written or done. He has a still more discomfiting habit of refusing to be drawn into an argument, or to answer a hypothetical question. He leaves the interpretation of the Treaty and the Constitution based upon it to the courts, but, on the other hand, is always ready to give a ruling whenever there is any real need for one. His attitude towards the Dail is invariably deferential.

The Speaker, in his dealings with the Deputies, invariably shows the strictest impartiality and fearlessness. On more than one occasion I have noticed that he has kept the Ministers, even the President, from wandering into irrelevancies.

He is, therefore, just the man for the job—a leader who does not appear to lead—a ruler who seems only to serve. So unassumingly has he worked that not many of the Deputies even realise the pains that he has taken to educate the Dail to discharge its duties.

The reader must not forget that the Speaker can remain ahead of the other Deputies only a step or two—that everything that he teaches them he has first to learn, acquiring the information sometimes only a few hours, or even minutes, before he imparts it.

## XIII

Whatever the hour at which the visitor chances to arrive at the Dail, whatever the



subject of discussion, and whatever the mood in which the Deputies carry on the debate, he soon discovers that the average of speaking, in view of the youth of the assembly and the inexperience of the legislators, is good. The style differs with different individuals, according to temperament, intellectual equipment and practice. But even Deputies who are comparative novices seldom hum and haw, as is often the case with legislators elsewhere, but speak as if words come easily, naturally. There are some members, like Deputy Maginnis, of the National University, from whom words flow in a steady stream, sometimes with the rapidity and fulness of a hill torrent after a cloudburst. Some of the younger men show great promise as debators.

The language in use nearly all the time is English: but it is not exactly the King's English. Unlike the phraseology current in the British House of Commons until Labour came into its own, it is not stilted. Similes and metaphors leap from the lips of the Deputies. The phraseology, in any case, is rarely dull, or unimaginative.

The pronunciation of a Deputy is hardly ever the same as that of the one who precedes him. In a single debate I have detected more than a dozen brogues—different ways of rolling the r's, speaking in a rasping tone, as if steel were being chewed into bits and spat out, or in a soft, sing-song fashion, and so on. For this richness of variety alone, sitting listening to a Dail debate is enjoyable.

#### XIV

The subjects which come up for discussion are full of interest in themselves. They are all related, in one way or another, to the great change through which the Irish people have so recently passed, the replacement of a system of governance imposed from the outside with one created by the Irish and conducted according to their will by men of their own blood, put into power by them without any interference from Britain.

The period of chaos and tragedy seems to be closing, but continues to crop up again and again in discussion.

The work of reconstruction is beginning and gradually questions pertaining to one or another phase of it are more and more occupying the attention of the Deputies, and are pushing discussion of a vague, general character into the background.

This construction is, I think, being impeded because some of the Deputies

including some of the Ministers—are disposed to grudge expenditure of a productive nature—expenditure which should really be regarded as an investment. I am not at all surprised that such an attitude of mind should exist, because since the constitution of the Free State many valuable lives have been lost and property valued at £50,000,000 has been destroyed in the internecine warfare which began almost before the Irish Free State had come into existence.

The Minister for Finance, one of the ablest of men thrown up by the strenuous times through which Ireland has passed, has had to find large sums of money for paying the cost incurred in putting down the "irregular" campaign and for compensating the sufferers. That "trouble" has prevented agriculture and industry from reviving and, therefore, has had a depressing effect upon revenue. It has, moreover, impeded the collection of taxes. The anti-Treatyites, further more, continue to embarrass the Government by saying that when they come into power they will repudiate the Free State Loan, which has fallen slightly below the price of issue.

The Ministers have permitted false considerations of economy to prevent them from



Mr. Eamon Duggan, one of the Signatories of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, who now acts as Parliamentary Secretary to the Irish Free State Government.

having adequate and efficient assistance. Until recently there was but one Parliament



tary Secretary—Mr. Eamon Duggan, the only one among the signatories of the Anglo-Irish Treaty who will make common cause with the Government. In the Estimates for 1924-25 provision has, however, been made for two.

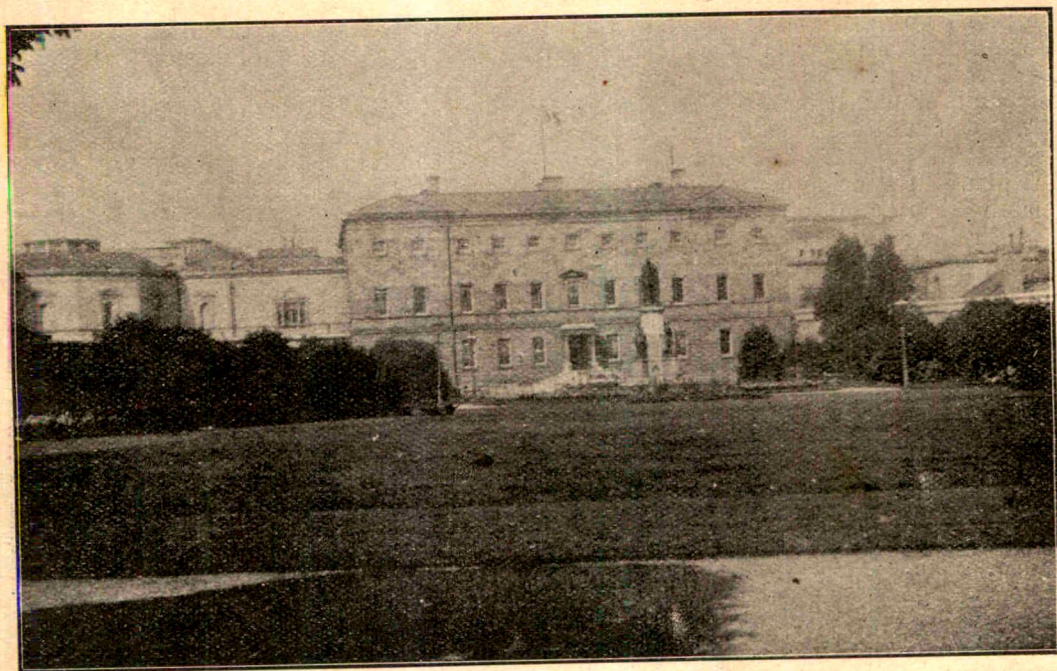
The Secretaries to some of the Departments, and other high officials, are either not as competent as they might be, or otherwise they grew up under a regime which lacked the vitalising impulse of Nationalism. The Ministers, in any case, are, I fear, much too hard worked to have the leisure and freshness of mind essential for constructive work.

### XV

Pressure of urgent work of various kinds, as well as financial stringency, have prevented the Dail from settling the question of a permanent home. The building in which it

while the Deputies themselves are far from happy, because lack of room causes inconvenience even to the Ministers, not to speak of the back-benchers.

To acquire the old Parliament House in College Green (sold in 1802 for £40,000 and a ground rent of £240 *per annum* to the Bank of Ireland, which continues to occupy it) and to convert it for legislative use, would cost a large sum of money. Some Irishmen are opposed to that idea, not so much on the score of expense, as on account of the fact that the Catholics, who constituted the vast majority of the population, were excluded from that Parliament, and were not even allowed representation; and because the members of that Assembly sold the country in 1800. Many Irishmen would, however, like nothing better than to see the Free State tricolour floating from the flagstaff of the



[Reproduced by the courtesy of Dr. Smith.

Leinster House, in which the Dail (the Irish House of Commons) meets for the time being. The photograph was taken by Dr. Smith, of the Agricultural Department, on the day that the Irish tricolour was floated on the top of it for the first time, and is, therefore, of historic importance.

functions is a part of Leinster House, which for a considerable time has been owned by the Royal Dublin Society, and was secured temporarily because of its proximity to the Government Building, in which administration is conducted. The members of that Society are pressing for its retrocession;

building, proclaiming to the world that the day of subjection and corruption is over, and that the men and women of the country are jealous of their national honour and worthy of the trust reposed in them.

The proposal to remove the Dail to the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham, over a mile



from the Government Building, finds favour with few persons. The conversion of the building would cost a considerable amount of money; and the Ministers and other high officials would suffer even more inconvenience than the common people were such a transfer to take place. Perhaps the simplest plan

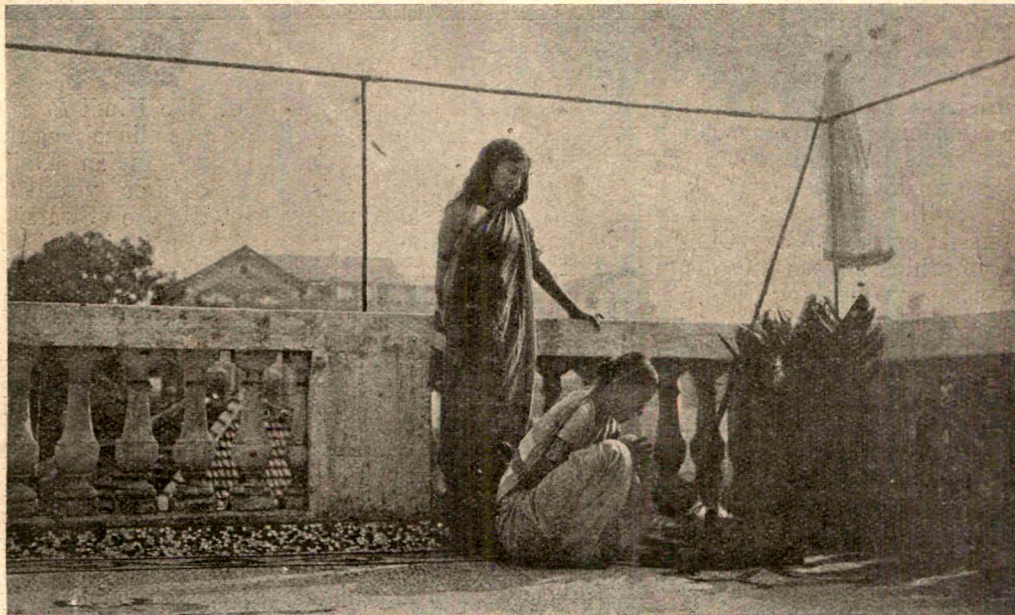
would be to acquire the whole of Leinster House from the Royal Dublin Society, and to make the alterations and additions necessary to fit it to improve the accommodation now available for legislative purposes until such time as the question of a permanent home can be definitely settled.

## FLAGS IN ANCIENT INDIA

By H. A. TALCHERKAR, B.A., BAR-AT-LAW.

ON festive occasions in this country it is usual for citizens to decorate their dwellings. We see Hindu householders erect arches of plantain trees and palm leaves at their entrances and hang festoons. On Padwa new year's day in the month of

for a wedding house. It is a common site on feast days for Hindu houses hangin out pennons and banners of coloured paper and cloth and wave the same when marching in procession. Not infrequently these decorations consist of British, Colonial, Continental and American



A Mahratta Lady Worshipping the Goodi on the Padwa New Year's Day

March the rich and the poor in Western India are seen hoisting their best raiments on the 'Goodi'—the staff. The "Medha" with the unhusked cocoanuts and the umbrella attached to a post is an auspicious symbol

colours, prints of which being available in the markets are freely used here. A departure was however made at Indore in Central India about the time of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales' visit to H. H. the Maharaja Holkar's





Indore Jolly Club Artists Preparing Flags and Bunting

Capital City. A variety of flags based on the epics of Mahabharat and Ramayan were used in the streets of Indore in honour of the Royal Guest. These different flags were specially designed by the writer of this article who got the artists of the Jolly Club Industrial School of which he was the president, to spare no pains in making the mythological designs very effective. This novelty seemed to be much appreciated. One could see the standards of epic heroes like Arjoon, Bhishma-charya, Duryodhan, Ashwathama, Jayadratha, Ravan, Bharat, Mahadev, Vishnu and hundreds of pennons and bunting and streamers with the insignia of Shiwaji's tiger-claws, conch, chakra, lotus, the club, and the holy swastika cross. The red and white "Banda" standard of the Indore State with the Holkar crest was noticed prominently floating on the Town Hall, temples, mausoleums, chattris, palaces and several public gate-ways of Indore city.

About the time of coronation of King George V, Lord Amthill for the first time strongly advocated the necessity of a common flag for India, especially when every one of the colonies smaller than India owned their own distinctive flags. We remember the various endeavours made by Mr. Burjorji

Nowrosji, the Editor of the *Hindi Punch*, in suggesting designs for a national flag in his ingenious cartoons on Indian National Congress. It is over three years since Mahatma Gandhi evolved the Swaraj flag with the figure of the spinning wheel on white-green-red background.

The incidents which took place at Nagpore and other places with regard to flag processions show us preeminently how the Indians have now become awakened to the necessity of possessing some national symbol which would play an important part in ruling and organising their national life. At this juncture therefore the following monograph on the various flags and standards of ancient India will prove interesting to the numerous readers of the *Modern Review*.

The flag undoubtedly is an emblem of past resolves, past deeds and past heroes. As soon as mankind began to collect together for some purpose, some kind of conspicuous object became necessary as the symbol of the common sentiment as the rallying point of the common force and flags became essential for military purposes. The ancient Egyptians had their own peculiar insignias, viz. sacred animals, boats, tablets bearing a King's name, fans and bunches of feathers raised at



the end of staffs. The Assyrians had their various different emblems. The Greeks and the Romans bore different distinguishing marks on their flags. In modern times we find each nation having its own standard. The Union Jack means a world to the English. The stars and stripes evoke patriotic sentiments in the hearts of the Americans. The Japanese banner unfurled exposes the rising sun. Every nation, we thus find, has come to regard its standard as a most sacred thing in the world. It is only natural that the Hindus, Jains, Budhists, Mahomedans, Parsis, Jews and all others who claim a home in India should recognise a common flag to to live and to die for.

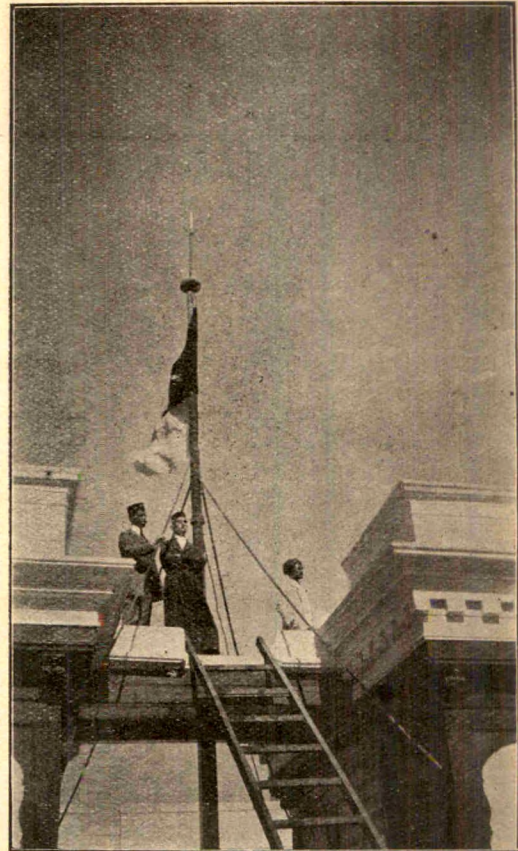
The idea of a flag is not foreign to the traditions of Indian history. We read in our ancient epics great commanders and chieftains descended from the Sun and the Moon carrying their distinctive standards as marks of their heraldry. Coming to modern times the terracotta coloured Bhagwa Zanda of the Great Shivaji and safron-coloured flag of the Rajput warriors are wellknown. The Mahomedan Rulers in India had green as their distinctive colour. Every group of Sadhus owned their special pennons. Hindu temples and Mahomedan mosques fly their own flags. Students of history know of instances of men who have laid down their lives for the glory of their own banner.

In the Vedas,—6th Mandal Rigveda — contains verses which lay down that banners and drums formed the emblems of ruling monarchs, which shows the very ancient origin of flags. In Atharva Veda two lines clearly indicate a common flag with device of the Sun on it for the Aryans. As time advanced and Aryans came to be settled in different areas conquered by them, they had naturally to resort to different badges and emblems to mark out their lines and stations of their encampments. Thus originated different standards to enable the leaders to keep in order the bands working under them when marching or on the battle-field.

In the Mahabharata, the hero Bhismacharya's flag is described to be of pure white, that of Dronacharya had the figures of Kamandalu bow, arrow and fire-place. Duryodhana's flag bore the representation of a cobra. The detached tail of a lion marked the banner of Ashwatthama. The standards of the Paurava kings and Jayadrath had emblems of the horn and the wild bear. Raja Kaling had the symbol of fire on his banner.

In the Manusmriti and the Ramayan we

are told of the flags with the representation of the beheaded head and that of the mighty Bharat with the token of Kovidar tree. The Amarkosh mentions that oxen, crocodiles and

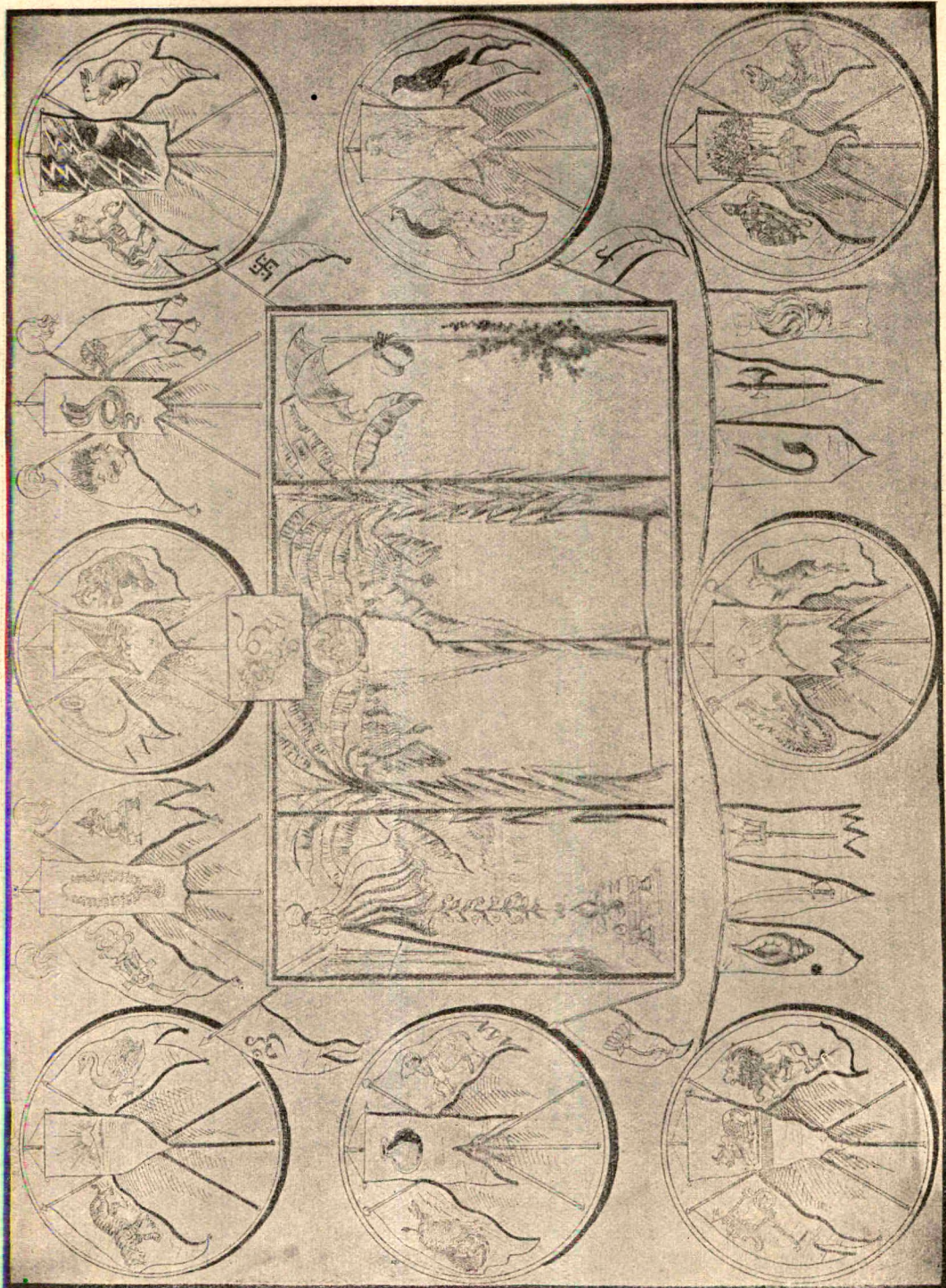


White and Red Flag "Banda" Hoisted on Old Palace, Indore.

eagles were the devices on the flags of Shankar, Madan and Vishnu. The poet Kalidas in the Raghu Vansh refers to the sword streamer of God Indra. The demon Shambhar had the emblem of a garland on his banner, and in the Naishadha we have the fish banner of Cupid (Madan). The mighty Arjoon's flag had the picture of Hanuman (Monkey). The Kalpataru gives a list of various royal flags, pennons and buntings bearing the figures of crocodile, elephant, lion, tiger, horse, deer and parrot. The same author whilst dealing with materials for flag-staffs mentions the wand of sal, palash, champak and nim and gives the first place to bamboo in jungles. The writer also refers to solid flags of gold, silver, copper and other metals.

The Hemchandra mentions flags of smoky green colour with figures of dogs, cows, donkeys,





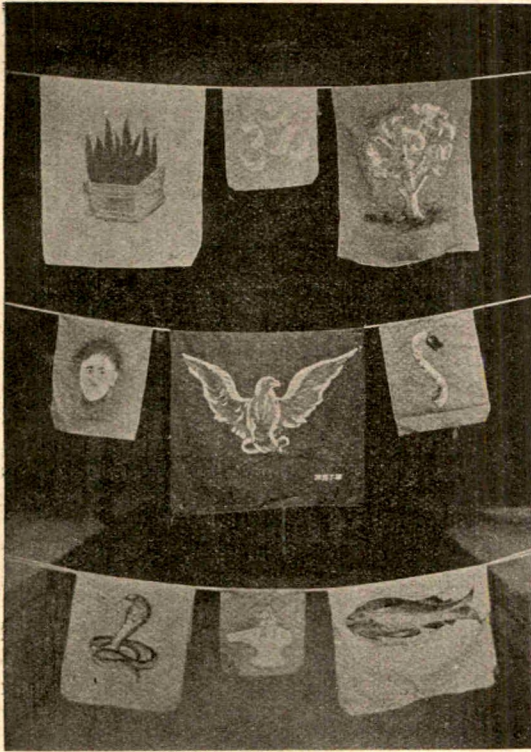
Some Flags of Epic India. The Fourth Flag from the right corner and the Flag on the left top corners (bearing the writing ॐ) represent the Flags of Mahatma Gandhi and the Brahmo Samaj respectively.

erows, hawks, geese, elephants, oxen, rippling circles of water, pitchers, tortoise, the crouch and serpents. The Kriyasar enumerates the

emblems on royal banners such as elephants, goats, buffaloes, fish and deer. The Suta-Sanhitay after narrating banners with



pictures of thunder, Sakti, staff, sword, goading instrument, man and trident, gives measurements of flags and buntings which should be from  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 15$  and  $1\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$  with chamars, *i. e.* hair whisks at the top of

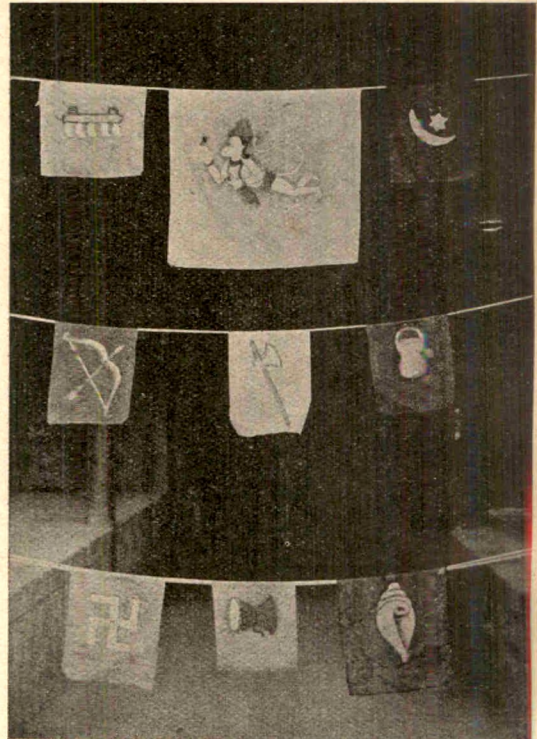


Flags of Ancient India

the staff and bells attached to the bottom ends of the flag so that they may tickle as the flag waved in the air. The Pratishtha Sar Sangraha describes the colours of flags, giving prominence to yellow and green. It also gives the dimensions of the flags which should be  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  and length of the staff to be 18. The Hayshirshya Panch Ratri Grantha mentions the colours of flags to be red or white and its material to be either cotton or silk and should have chamars—hair whisks—at the top of the staff and bell attached to the bottom-ends of the flag.

It would be extremely interesting if any of

our enterprising cotton-mill owners prepared a set of flags relying on the descriptions given in Sanskrit literature. The Ajanta caves which may be appropriately styled India's art sanctuary will be able to furnish accurate designs. These sets of flags should be cheap and made available for Indians of limited means so as to be used freely on auspicious occasions. These decorations are bound to strike a new note and awaken the echoes of an old one



Flags of Ancient India

in the heart of every lover of India's glory. The practice of using foreign, outlandish and discoloured flags would cease, and these flags of ancient India would not only have an educative effect on our younger generation but would kindle in them a national spirit and spare them the awkwardness of hanging down their heads among the civilized nations for the want a national flag!



## "WHITE" AMERICA

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, PH. D.

AMERICA is to be strictly a "white man's country." This is the dictum which has fired the imagination of the reputed hundred per cent Americans. Indeed, the United States Congress has just passed a drastic law which purports to render America completely white, chemically white, if you please.

The new immigration act, popularly known after its sponsor Mr. Johnson of Washington, would restrict immigration to this country on a basis of two per cent of the foreign citizens of each country here in 1890, with an annual minimum quota of two hundred for each nation.

The last immigration law, which recently expired by limitation, was adopted in 1920 as an emergency measure. It provided for a three per cent restriction on the basis of 1910 United States census. Now the reason for the adoption of 1890 census, in place of 1910, as the basis of the quota is not far to seek. It is to restrict such peoples of south-eastern Europe as Italians, Greeks, Armenians, Czechs, Russian and Polish Jews, who are considered to be of lower mentality to the north-western races. And since the census of 1890 shows the heaviest immigration from north and western Europe, that particular period has been selected as the basis of the quota. The law is, then, subtly designed to diminish the number of south and eastern Europeans and increase relatively the number of north European immigrants. And as for the Oriental nations, they do not count at all. The bars are up against them. Asians are not placed on any quota: they are excluded wholesale.

The discrimination is based apparently on assimilability; but really on the assumption that Asian races are inferior and debased. Only the natives of north-western Europe are superior beings, because they alone belong to the mythical "Nordic" race—whatever that may mean. The nebulous Nordic race is supposed to be pure white. To be great, to be a desirable American citizen, every nation must belong to this alleged Nordic stock.

Gleaming through the tedious mass of diatribes, there appears the pet thesis of the inventor of the Asian bogey that the blond of the

north is the only true human variety of Homo sapiens, and that the people of the East are the scum of the earth, a menace to the superior American germ-plasm. It is useless to consider at great length this swash-buckling racial egotism which find in the pure Nordic tribe the "superior brand." Practically all the reputable scientists are agreed that there is no such thing as a pure race. The conclusion of the latest anthropological analysis that "every modern race and nationality is of strongly mixed descent" admits of no doubt.

The devotees of the "patriotism of skin" overlook the demonstrated fact that the masses of every race are mentally on the same basis with the masses of every other race. Professor Woodworth of Columbia University, after making an exhaustive intelligence test of the "backward" races, compared the result with a similar test given to all types of "superior" white men. His finding was that there was "no appreciable difference in the average of any of them except that the Igoroto and the Negrito of the Philippines and the pigmies of the Congo were somewhat deficient." "This crumb," he says, "is about all the testing psychologist has yet to offer on the question of racial differences in intelligence."

The origins of culture are not "Nordic"; they are Eastern and Mediterranean. The distinguished American ethnologist, Dr. Robert H. Lowie, makes a refreshing statement on this point. In his scholarly volume, *Culture and Ethnology*, Dr. Lowie writes:

"Our economic life, based as it is on the agricultural employment of certain cereals with the aid of certain domesticated animals, is derived from Asia; so is the technologically invaluable wheel. The domestication of the horse certainly originated in inner Asia; modern astronomy rests on that of the Babylonians, Hindus and Egyptians; the invention of glass is an Egyptian contribution; spectacles come from India; paper, to mention only one other significant element of our civilization, was borrowed from China. . . . It is worth noting that momentous ideas may be conceived by what we are used to regard as inferior races. Thus the Maya of Central America conceived the notion of the zero figure, which remained unknown to Europe until they borrowed it from India; and eminent ethnologists suggest that the discovery of iron technique is due to the negroes."

Furthermore, there is nothing to believe

in the whole history of human civilization that a perpetually superior race is wholly responsible for a superior culture. "We find, to begin with," observes Professor Smertenko of Hunter College in a recent issue of *The Current History Magazine*, that,

"Different nations or races are at various times in the vanguard of cultural development. Thus in the fifteenth century the standard of civilization in China is much higher than that of Europe. Western Europe surpassed the Orient during the Renaissance, but Western civilization was taken over and improved upon in many respects by the Japanese during the lifetime of the average middle-aged man."

The debt which Europe and America owe to Asia is irredeemable. For, continues Professor Smertenko in exploding the myth of the superiority of the tall blond race of the north,

"Without the inventions of India, China and Egypt, inventions which the Jews, Greeks and Romans passed on in an improved state, industry and agriculture, astronomy and mathematics, music and art might still be in a primitive condition."

The attempt of the high priests of intellectual Ku Kluxism to give a scientific mandate to a racial bigotry is absurd. It may have, however, a deep-laid purpose. Who knows this may be a step in the direction of what Josey's *Race and National Solidarity* bluntly hints at "the permanent domination of the world by the white races?"

That, however, is not likely to happen. The supremacy of Europe and America is not an immutable law of nature. Indeed, the liberation of the Orient, when it will deal on terms of perfect equality with the Occident, is near at hand. "It should be regarded as nearly certain," observes Bertrand Russell, that,

"All Asia will achieve independence during the next fifty years. The European Powers which offer the least opposition to this movement will suffer least from it. Probably the British Empire will offer the most opposition, and will, therefore, suffer most."

Returning once more to the Johnson immigration law, we find that it will reduce immigration from Europe to approximately 160,000 annually. And many of them will come from races of southern and eastern Europe—races, which are charged in America with every defect and degeneracy. The mixing of blood with the east European stock, asserted the pseudo-scientific immigration restrictionists time and again, will produce nothing but wretched mongrels, having the vices but not the virtues of both stocks.

Now the Tokio Government made a bristling protest against the Johnson exclusion law.

which bars the entrance of Japanese immigrants into the United States or its possessions. The Japanese Ambassador Masanao Hanihara specifically demanded that Japan should be "treated on the same footing with other independent nations" and that Nippon should be placed on the two per cent quota basis along with European countries. The American Secretary of State Hughes was in accord with this demand. He supported the claim of Hanihara saying that the two per cent quota would limit Japan to only one hundred and forty-six immigrants a year. The Congress, however, saw fit to overrule Mr. Hughes.

The Johnson immigration act of 1924 not only affects the Japanese but also Indians, as indeed every other Oriental "ineligible to American citizenship." So far as any one knows, Indians are not coming in large numbers to the United States. Nor has India any desire to send its nationals to countries where they are unwelcome. At present, there are less than 3,000 Indians in the whole of this great Republic. And it is of this handful of people that 110,000,000 Americans are in dark dread, almost panic-stricken. The exclusion of Indians by law and placing them on a racial scale even lower than some of the Mongoloid men of eastern Europe is an act of crude racial discrimination. Why the peoples of the Mongolian blood should be considered superior to and better "developers of Caucasian civilization" than the Aryan Hindus remains a mystery to all, except the United States Congress.

It is admitted, of course, that the question of immigration lies within the jurisdiction and power of Congress. Every nation has the technical right to decide whom it will exclude and whom it will admit. India has no idea of interfering with the regulation of American immigration problem. All one would like to point out is that with America, immigration should not be a question of national sovereignty, but a question of national decency. To single out the Indian as a people undesirable in the eyes of the world is an international insult; it is a slur upon the Indian people.

The United States Supreme Court decided last year that the Hindus are not "white persons" and are therefore ineligible to American citizenship.\* Following that decision, Indians who had been legally naturalized have been called upon to surrender their naturalization

\*. See the author's article "Indians Barred from American Citizenship" in *The Modern Review*, June, 1923. pp. 631-695.



papers, and three citizenship papers have already been cancelled.

Proceedings have also been instituted, under anti-alien land laws, to evict Indians from farms they bought with their hard-earned money.

The expatriated Indians are the victims of bitter race prejudice, aroused by selfishness and greed. "Swat the Hindu;" is a good campaign slogan. "Treat 'em rough;" is a fine battle-cry. The Hindustanese are not, however, loafers or jailbirds. They are steady workers. In the opinion of many unprejudiced observers even Indian laborers are in a way an economic necessity. They toil in the hot fields and the orchards and the vineyards when the sun is 120 degrees. Fancy lily-white American men working all day in that sun, hoeing weeds, bending their backs, and digging their fingers into the hot baked soil! The truth of the matter is that Indians are an honest, hard-working, god-fearing people. And it is this class of men whose lands are now being escheated.

I wrote to the British embassy at Washington, not long ago, asking if any steps had been taken to protect Indians from the confiscation of their property. The only answer that came from the embassy was that a copy of the Supreme Court ruling that an Indian was ineligible to American citizenship had been forwarded to the London Whitehall. That is all this august English ambassador has so far found time to do!

Up to this time there has been little or no restriction as to the admission of the Indian students in America. All that is now changed. Students desiring to proceed to the United States for the purpose of study must "obtain an official ruling regarding their admissibility before starting on their journey by submitting through an American Consular officer (in India) their application for admission as students. They should give detailed statement of their scholastic or scientific attainments and details concerning the course of study or special work which they expect to pursue while in the United States." The Consular officer will then forward these applications to the Secretary of Labor in Washington, who will decide on the admissibility of the bonafide students.

After the completion of their studies, the students must leave this country forthwith. And if during their stay here as students they

engage in any gainful occupation or are married, they will be charged with "a failure to maintain the status which admitted" them, and will be immediately deported.

The intent of the new immigration law is apparently to exclude all non-white races and to maintain the Nordic supremacy. "The highest moral duty of America is to keep her blood pure," said The Reverend Doctor Whimsett, a moral clergyman of Chicago. "I regard it as our solemn duty to restrict European immigration and exclude Asiatics." Well said, "thou good and faithful servant!" But—what of Africans, the despised American "untouchables" who can neither eat nor drink nor mingle with the white? There are in the United States some 12,000,000 African negroes, and in twenty years ending in 1920 there had been admitted 200,000 black negroes in this country. Who says the American lacks the niceties of "romantic conscience"?

While Americans launch the holy crusade of "America for the Americans Only" and revert to tribalism, they do not at the same time hesitate to assert their candidacy for the "moral leadership of the world." Has mankind ever seen the like of it?

The leading Japanese papers predict that the exclusion act will awaken vigorous pan-Asianism as an effective and irresistible world-force. In the meantime, Japan, for one, is determined not to let the American affront go unchallenged. It has in its diplomatic negotiations used the language that goes before the bayonet, and has already threatened the United States with "grave consequences." Proposals for the enforcement of the anti-alien land act, passed by the Japanese Diet ten years ago, but never enforced, are now under serious consideration. Will the Americans be run out of Japan bag and baggage? Moreover, a Tokio dispatch announced the other day that the Japan Printing Association—practical as usual—had voted to place a boycott on all goods from California. What will India do? Has India a national soul to save?

The Japanese journal *Yoroxu* says, American missionaries are viewing the immigration crisis with indifference, and declares "if the missionaries come to Japan to propagate peace and brotherly love, America needs their service more than Japan; let them hurry home and save their own people."

# INDIAN PHILOSOPHY IN RELATION TO CONTEMPORARY ITALIAN THOUGHT

## PREFACE.

(Read at the International Congress of Philosophy at Naples by Dr. Surendranath Das Gupta the representative of the Calcutta University. Senatore Croce in the chair.)

**S**CHOPENHAUER expressed the hope that the discovery of Sanskrit would bring a new epoch in the development of European thought, just as the introduction of Greek studies had done in the Renaissance period. But obviously enough that hope has not been yet so well fulfilled. The discovery of Sanskrit gave of course a very great impetus to the studies of comparative philology and also to a certain extent to those of comparative mythology and religion, but it does not seem to have touched the inner vein of European culture and civilisation. Apart from the differences that exist between the intrinsic value and purpose of Greek literature and Sanskrit literature, one fact may be pointed out with little fear of contradiction, that as compared with the knowledge of Greek literature in Europe, Sanskrit is known more by name than by actual acquaintance—exception being made only in the case of a few orientalists or Sanskritists who are working in this or that country. This may be due to various reasons. But one fact seems to be almost certain that European thought was in a state of whirlpool, when Greek studies were introduced during the renaissance, and Greek culture shone forth like a light-house at a distance, when Europe was groping its way in the dark in the black waters of the middle ages. But when Sanskrit was discovered in Europe, she was at day-break near in sight of the promised land and she cared little for the discovery of old light-houses.

Another reason why Sanskrit studies suffered in Europe is the vastness of the literature as compared with Greek. India is a country almost as big as the whole of Europe excluding Russia and in almost every part of it works were being composed for the last two thousand years or so and in some parts where there was early penetration of Aryan culture for more than 5000 years. Even when allowance is made for the want of printing machines in early days and other modern facilities for publication it is easy to imagine what a huge literature India must have produced on a large variety of subjects. It is well worth pointing out here that during this very long period of Indian civilisation, in spite of foreign invasions and dominations, there is such a strange continuity of culture and thought, that the literature and thoughts of any period explain and interpret the others. The whole thing appears as immense and deep as the vast ocean that partly surrounds India and one is simply overawed by the sight of it. Foreign civilisations, that encroached upon India have but left probably just as much permanent impression on her as the furrows that a ship makes, when she makes her way through the sea. Political dependence also often discredits the value of a culture and makes it difficult for it to attract the attention that it deserves, for attention is often drawn more easily by a hard blow than by passive self-contained look

such as that which India can give. Misrepresentations, sometimes deliberate, and sometimes due to ignorance, had their share in discrediting Sanskrit culture and its value.

Of all the different branches of investigation and study that are comprised within Sanskrit culture, Philosophy is the most important. In Indian culture it is like the nucleus from which everything else has grown. It is therefore natural that the philosophic and religious literature (Philosophy sometimes gets mixed up with religion) are by far the most extensive. The language of remarkable philosophical works of great depth, penetration and subtlety is indeed very precise, definite and clear in their own way, but is very technical, and European works on Indian philosophy, which show a thorough grasp and mastery of this language, are indeed very few. The Sanskritist has indeed another difficulty; he is not as a rule a student of philosophy. He began Sanskrit as a linguist or an archaeologist and these interests even with most of the very best Sanskrit scholars in Europe outweigh the cultural or the real philosophical interest. The result is that with most of the old type of Sanskrit scholars there is a strong tendency not to rejuvenate what appears to be dead but to mummify what is living and pulsating with thought. For the Sanskritist generally starts with the postulate that he is before a dead culture; he has around him nothing but the dead bones; and if anything appear to be living, it must be made to die by the axe of his interpretation, before he can feel himself at ease to work on it. A celebrated Russian Sanskritist once remarked to me that when we have succeeded in making a thing unintelligent, mysterious and dead, then only we say "look, now it is true and genuine Indian; it looks antique." Happily however there are some in the generation of scholars who have perceived this defect and it is hoped that they will do better than their teachers in interpreting Indian thought and culture.

But I do not know of any European philosopher (*i. e.*, who has studied European philosophy thoroughly and whose chief interest is philosophy) who commands an adequate knowledge of Sanskrit to make a deep study of Indian philosophy in the original.

My contention is that most of the elements of contemporary European thought are found anticipated in Indian philosophy. I do not maintain for a moment that Indian systems of thought are identical with modern ones or *vice versa*, but I wish to maintain that the important elements are all there in more or less varying modifications. Much of what passes as modern philosophical discoveries are like old wines in new bottles. I also wish to maintain that a study of modern thoughts in their old garbs as they appear in Indian philosophy is likely to have highly suggestive value for the health and vigour of new philosophical achievements. It may open new channels for the progress of philosophy and the extension of world-culture. I could not within the limited space of a short paper expect to prove my contention in its details. I have therefore taken



as an example the most important Italian thinker Croce, whose doctrines, may, at all ordinary appearance, seem to be far removed from any known systems of Indian thought, and have tried to compare him with some schools of Buddhism and have tried to show that in spite of differences, some of the fundamental positions of Croce are the same as that of Buddhism. The same similarity with other schools of Indian thought could very easily be shown of Gentile, Varisco etc., of modern times, or to Rosmini, Gioberty, Galuppi, Thomas Aquinas, Campanalla, Bruno and many others, as well as of other German, French, English and American thinkers.

I wish humbly to point out to the learned philosophers of this great assembly that time has come when we can strengthen and rejuvenate philosophical investigation by initiating a new branch of studies called "Comparative Philosophy." I do not ask my kind audience to accept any of my conclusions, but I shall consider myself very happy and my tedious and long journey to this remote country successful if even one of those whose chief interest is philosophy should take to the study of Indian philosophy in original and try to form his own conclusions from the first-hand data that he finds after a systematic and thorough study of the original texts.

## I

### CROCE AND BUDDHISM

One central fact that emerges from a careful study of different systems of Indian Philosophy is that most of these are filled with a deep conviction of the spirituality of man and the universe. The maturer philosophical documents of early India may be said to have begun at least as early as 700 B.C. and tracing its history up to the beginning of the 18th century, there has never been a period when the philosophical talent of India has been unproductive. Systems of thought running through so many centuries and passing through changing fields of social and religious developments, would naturally have something in their modes of conception and expression which might be considered as merely contingent and local; there are also many points in which they so often differ, and try to refute each other; but there is at least one principle which most of them materially accept, *viz.* that the highest truth is the spirituality of the self and the universe has either the same essence as the self or resembles it in a remarkable degree or is dependent on it in such a way that all its changes are motivated by an inherent purpose of gradually bringing about through different stages of success and failure the ultimate self-realisation of the freedom and spirituality of man. The conception of this spirituality, however, varies more or less in

one or other of these systems. Thus according to the Jains the self in its pure state is possessed of infinite perception (*ananta-darsana*), infinite bliss (*ananta-sukha*) and infinite power (*ananta-viryya*); according to the Vedanta the pure soul as the highest reality is the identity of pure consciousness (*cit*), being (*sat*) and bliss (*ananda*); according to Samkhya and Yoga the self is nothing but the self-shining entity of pure intelligence. Even those who deny the existence of a permanent self such as the idealistic Buddhists, do not deny the spirituality of man and the universe as they are both in some sense considered mental products. But though these Buddhists did not believe in a self as a permanent entity, yet there were the thoughts, emotions and acts of will and these were fused together in a way which gave the illusory impression of an unchangeable indivisible entity, a person, and his whole worldly career had but one supreme ideal before him, *viz.* the realisation of the true nature of this person as the point of unity of thoughts, emotions and acts of will (1). But the central conception of Buddhism does not consist in its abstract denial of a permanent metaphysical entity either in the inner or in the outer world, but in its conception of all phenomena as streams (*Santana*) of appearances (*dharma*). What we call inner or outer was but a result of abstraction, as it is based upon a false bias in the existence of a metaphysical entity "the soul" with which the phenomena generally regarded as "internal" are conceived to have an intimate relation. But no such distinction of inner and outer is possible. Whether it be a sensuous colour such as a green or a red patch, a rectangular, triangular or curved space which limits it or thoughts, ideas, emotions, an act of will or whatever else it might be, it is nothing but a phenomenon—an appearance. Buddhism never discusses properly the ultimate nature of these appearances. They are what they appear,

(1) The Vatsīputriya and the Sammitiya schools of Buddhism however believed that there was a *pudgala* (individual) which existed more or less as a permanent entity undergoing rebirth though its existence at any particular moment in relation to the elements of the inner psychos was conceived as being of the same kind as fire to the logs of wood which produced it. Compare Th. Stcherbatsky's "The Central Conception of Buddhism," p. 71 and his "Soul Theory," p. 830. Also De La Vallée Poussin's article on the Sammitiyas in the Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics.

they are but the appearances of certain characteristics or dharmas. Beyond them there were nothing else as entities in which these characteristics inhered. The distinction of Buddhism from other phases of Hindu thought consists in this its anti-metaphysical character. It does not like Kant consider that there is a permanent datum which abides as an unknowable reality which we cannot reach, but the existence of which we believe to be the ground of all that appears to us. All discussion as to what may be the ultimate nature of reality beyond the appearances, Buddha considers to be irrelevant (*avyakata*). There is therefore no distinction here between a world of reality and a world of appearance, as a noumenal and phenomenal world. There is in Buddhism therefore no Absolute or God as the ground of all existence. It did not also like Bradley, consider the reality to be the totality. A careful reader may, indeed, find much similarity in the application of the dialectic of the great Buddhist philosopher Nagarjuna and that of Bradley in showing the contradictions in all the phenomena or the appearances when they were taken in a detached manner from off the entire setting in which they appear. But their purposes and ultimate conclusions seem to be entirely different. What Bradley wanted to achieve by the application of his dialectic was to prove that the appearances in themselves were self-contradictory and therefore false and from that to deduce that all these contradictions vanished in an unaccountable manner in the totality—the Absolute—which alone is reality. Thus he says—

"Reality is above thought and above every partial aspect of being, but it includes them all. Each of these completes itself by uniting with the rest and so makes the perfection of the whole. Now anything that in any sense "is" qualifies the absolute reality and so is real. But on the other hand, because everything, to complete itself and satisfy its own claims must pass beyond itself, nothing in the end is real except the absolute" (1).

Nagarjuna however employs his severe philosophical dialectic which is even sharper and more acute than that of Bradley to destroy all useless metaphysical enquiries into the ultimate nature of the appearances, to undermine the popular faith in the existence of ultimate metaphysical entity or entities underlying the stream of appearances. The appearances are as he said *nishvabhava*, i.e.,

devoid of any further intrinsic nature which is truer and more real. Buddhism thus, though in one sense anti-metaphysical, is not anti-philosophical. Its philosophy consists in formulating a concept or a view which would explain the passing changes and cycles of phenomena. Its theory of the twelve links of causation, the theory of the dharmas, the theory of *pratityasamutpada* as causation in which one group is seen to follow another in a series, are not attempts to go beneath the changing series of appearances in search of an abiding reality, but to conceive the entire process of all phenomena in one sweep of rationalisation from experience. The doctrine of *pratityasamutpada* or dependent origination is like a formula which summarises the facts of experience and not an attempt at a deduction of the phenomena from a fixed principle. There is a changing series of phenomena around us, and Buddhism accepts it as such, and seeks to hold them all in a dynamical concept of change. It does not seek to explain this change by a reference to the unchangeable but by history. At any particular moment there are numerous sets of appearances called internal and external which for that moment form the entire phenomenal appearance of the world. These are followed at each successive moment by numerous other sets of appearances. The phenomena at any particular moment are determined by their previous history and their position in their own series. Buddhism does not try to discover what each phenomenon is in itself, but to hold it before our view as an appearance, the essential feature of which consists in having a "before" and "after". Its philosophy is identical with its history. The phenomena are happening and passing and the main point of interest with Buddhism was to find out "what being, what else is", "what happening, what else is". The phenomena are happening in a series and we see that there being certain phenomena there become some others. Each phenomenon is what it is in consequence of its previous history, i.e., its place in relation to the series of other phenomena which preceded it. What are called Skandhas are but the psychological states such as the sense data, feelings, conceptual knowledge, volitions and synthetic mental states and consciousness. All these states rise depending one upon the other and determine the history of a man's personality. When a man says that he perceives the self, he only deludes himself, for he only perceives one or more of these. There is no abiding person, but

(1) Bradley's "Appearance and Reality" (1908) p. 555.



only a history of the successively changing appearances of mental states. The Buddhists in common with other Hindus believed in rebirth, though they did not believe in any permanent entity which remained constant from birth to birth. What we have from birth to birth is just a projection of what we have in this life, a history of the successive appearances of mental states. Death is only a moment in the series. But it is not a break, for even after it the history of the series which had come up to the moment of death continues and new psychical states arise determining new states of existence. At most, death is only a moment which is followed by considerable change in the nature of the history; each birth is like the beginning of a new epoch of history, but the beginning of an epoch is not the beginning of history. The history continues from beginningless time and each birth and death brings a new page of it. The individual himself is identical with history. What is called "*Bhavacakra*" "wheel of life" or the twelve *nidanas* are but different more or less remarkable consecutive stages in this history in a triad of three lives. The individual appearances are, when taken by themselves, unconnected, their connection is in their history which is the same as the law of causation. The interconnected life of these appearances is but another name for the "laws of causation" (*pratityasamutpada*)—the connected origination of some appearances in relation to other appearances. It is this combined (*samskrtatva*) and interconnected mode of existence of all appearances, i.e., their truth as history that is understood by *pratityasamutpada*.\* The earlier Buddhist literature, the *suttas* almost exclusively use this term *pratityasamutpada* to the "wheel of life" spoken above, probably because the "wheel of life" was an epitome of all other appearances and their history. It is therefore that the *abhidhammas* deal with *pratityasamutpada* as being equivalent to *samskrtadharmas* and apply it to all interconnected phenomena that reveal their truth in history.† According to Buddhism the being of an event or an appearance has no further concept to define it than that it has been determined by something else or it is determining something else.‡ The concept of truth or philosophy is therefore identical with the concept of history, namely that of determining and that

of being determined. It is these two important characteristics, its anti-metaphysical character and its conception of history as the true concept of philosophy that differentiates Buddhism from all other systems of Indian thought.

But it is these important features of Buddhism that lead us to think of its similarity with some modern systems of thought and notably with the system of thought associated with the eminent name of Benedetto Croce, as distinguished from the anti-metaphysical lines of thought of the Comtian school according to which thought has to pass from mythology and theology to the positivistic stage. The positivist method is empirical but neither immanent nor transcendent. Croce's method as well as that of Buddhism differs from that of positivism in this that it is not empirical and from many systems of Absolutistic philosophy in this that it is not transcendent. Croce's method and that of Buddhism agrees in being immanent. It is this immanence that distinguishes it from the empirical methods of science. Both Croce and Buddhism seem to agree in taking the history of reality as it appears in and through the interconnected phenomena. But how far this seeming agreement is correct and if it is so, in what sense it is so, deserves careful elucidation.

Before enquiring into Croce's treatment of the point in question it is necessary to remember that Croce did not present so much a final philosophy as a well-conceived view of philosophy. As a matter of fact there cannot be according to Croce any final philosophy, for philosophy according to him is the concept which uniting with it universality, expressiveness and concreteness is also ever changing. There is no philosophy which can be called as the philosophy or the philosophy par excellence. It is merely the universalising in a concrete manner the materials created by intuition, that is called philosophy and as such with every new epoch, with every new man or rather with every new moment there is a *concept*, a philosophy which has its special uniqueness. A philosophic idea dawns in the mind of a man at a particular point of time and space and under certain definite circumstances and conditions without which it could not have been what it was. The philosophy of Kant could not have been what it was at the time of Julius Caesar or Pericles, for it presupposes the knowledge of various branches of natural science such as could not have been attained at that time or of various

\* Yasomitra on *Abhidharmakosha*, II, 46.

† *Abhidharmakosha*, III, 25.

‡ *Nyayamanjari*, p. 447.

branches of philosophy which had an important bearing on his own philosophy such as that of David Hume, and these again presupposed many other things which happened before David Hume and these others and so on. Thus Croce says:

"Kant truly lives again in our own day in a different name. He is the philosopher of our own time in whom is continued philosophic thought which once took among others, the Scots-German name of Kant. And the philosopher of our day, whether he will it or no, cannot abandon the historical conditions in which he lives or so acts as to make that not to have happened which happened before his time. Those events are in his bones, in his flesh and blood and it is impossible to drive them out!"\*

The problem of philosophy with any person depends largely on the history of philosophical problems and their solutions before his time. Philosophy changes with the change of history and since history changes at every moment, philosophy at every moment is new. Even in communication or translation philosophy changes, as it involves the solving of new problems that presented themselves in our souls. The new philosophic proposition is made possible only by the old; the old lives eternally in the new that follows it and in the new that will follow that again and make old that other which is new.

The idea of history according to Croce is the concept and its character of unity in distinction that determines the representative or intuitive material that enters into it. We cannot think of history as a whole without distinguishing it at the same time into the history of doing, the history of knowing, the history of aesthetic production, philosophic thought and so on. Again none of these distinctions can be thought of except by placing it in relation with the others or with the whole and thinking it in complete history. The intimate logical unity and distinction which is the soul of Croce's "true concept" is as much the soul of history as well as of philosophy. Every historical proposition qualifies the real in one of its aspects and distinguishes it from the point of view of others. Philosophy and history are the one single form of the spirit, not mutually conditioning each other but identical. Thus Croce says:

The *a priori* synthesis, which is the reality of the individual judgment and of the definition, is also the reality of philosophy and of history. It is the formula of thought which by constituting itself qualifies intuition and constitutes

history. History does not precede philosophy nor philosophy history; both are born at one birth" (1)

One may try to distinguish philosophy from history by asserting that in the former a special emphasis is accorded to the concept or system whereas in the latter narrative is specially prominent. But every narrative includes the concept and every concept throws light on the facts. So though history and philosophy may ordinarily be differentiated, yet if the meaning of a historical and a philosophical proposition is fathomed to the bottom their intrinsic unity is indubitable.

What all this comes to is that according to Croce the true functions and modes of operation of philosophy and history consist in the conceptualisation or the establishing of a relation of distinction in unity among the materials of intuition and hence they are identical. But when I spoke of history and philosophy being identical in Buddhism it was apparently in an altogether different sense, yet they may not be so different. In it, I first traced the conception of history of any particular event or thought or action as its determination by all that has gone before. The event or thought in question is in one sense distinct from all that has gone before and all that is to come after in this that it has been determined by the "before" series and it will in its turn determine the "after" series. This is its *karakatva* and its essence. Apart from its concept it has no further conceivable meaning. The idea of universality or unity in distinction in the form in which it appears in Croce is an European product and no one would venture to say that exactly this idea occurred in India about two thousand years ago in Buddhism. But if we examine the situation critically, we may almost unhesitatingly say that there is as much material agreement as could be expected. At each particular moment there are all sorts of appearances, elements, or entities, sensuous and mental, and it is depending on this that other groups of sensuous and mental entities make their appearance at the second moment. None of the sensuous appearance can be conceived without a reference to a review of them as being united with and dependent upon other preceding sensuous mental appearances; yet these entities are all distinct from one another. These sensuous-mental materials are unique and inexpressible (*nirvikalpa*) in themselves and so far as their

\* *Logie*, p. 312.

(1) *Logie*, p. 325.



givenness is concerned, they have in some sense an independent character, but if they are to be interpreted they must be conceptualised. This conceptualisation (*savikalpa*) is derived from the mind and as such does not belong to them in their character as the merely "given". Conceptualisation unites the intuition of the moment with what had gone before and this according to Buddhism did not form any part of the intuition.\* On this point there seems to be a difference between Croce's intuition and this intuition of *nirvikalpa pratyaksha* of Buddhism. For Croce's intuition is a concrete something standing independently by itself. In some cases it may be in the case of civilised men impregnated with concepts. It certainly includes perception but it is not limited to it, as imagination has an equal right to be treated as intuition. The perception of pen or paper before me is certainly intuition, but is also the image that I may now have of a different pen or paper I had when I was in England is also intuition. Intuition can happen not only of the so-called sensations spatially and temporally arranged, but also of mental things, such as an emotion of pain, an effort of will. Its another characteristic is that it naturally objectifies itself in expression. Thus Croce says:

"How can we have an intuition of the contour of a region, for example, of the island of Sicily if we are not able to draw it as it is in all its meanderings? Every one can experience the internal illumination which follows upon his success in formulating to himself his impressions and sentiments, but only so far as he is able to formulate them. Sentiments or impressions then, pass, by means of words from the obscure region of the soul into the clarity of the contemplative spirit"†

"Intuitive, knowledge is expressive knowledge independent and autonomous in respect to intellectual function; indifferent to discrimination posterior and empirical to reality and unreality, to formations and perceptions of space and time, even when posterior; intuition of representation is distinguished as form from what is felt and suffered from the flux or wave of sensation, or from psychic material."\*\*

Concept according to Croce is knowledge of relations of things and those things are intuitions; and concepts would not be possible without intuitions just as intuitions would not be possible without the material of impressions. This river, this lake, this brook would be examples of intuitions, but what they are in general (not this or that particular water) would be one single constant concept.

In Buddhism the datum of intuition has indeed an unique form but this is indeterminate and inexpressible. It assumes an expressible form only when it is conceptualised. Yet the datum of intuition is not mere sensations in the European acceptance of the term, it has an unique form corresponding to the object (*svalakshana*) and it is this that constitutes the sensuous datum of the reality in intuition.\* It is true no doubt that this primary intuitive material when fused with concept may also be considered as being intuited as if it were, yet it cannot be considered as the cognitive object (*drśya iva avasiyate tathapi nadrśya eva*). It is the primary part of unique intuition that forms the determinant of the conceptual and though inexpressible in itself, it becomes expressible by the conceptual process that it induces. The unique intuition is always individual whereas the concept is general and universal. It applies to the pen and paper now before me as well as to those that are in a different time and place. It has no unique and individual character.† So long as we limit ourselves to the unique character of the individual we are in intuition, when we are in the general we are in the concept. So far as the simple result is concerned Croce seems to be at one with Buddhism; what constitutes the difference is this that Croce does not only include the intuitive material but also the form, but yet he refers the "general" to the concept. Buddhism also admits that the intuition of the individual has its own unique objective form. It is the same individual intuitive form which on one hand appears as the "determined" (*vyaya-sthāpya*)—the mental, and on the other hand the determinant, the physical. But Buddhism in considering the character of the intuition of the individual can describe it only as unique (*svalakshana*) whereas Croce regards it as expressive. Here it seems to me that Croce is at a disadvantage, for how can an intuitive datum be expressive without reference to the "general" which according to him is the province of the concept. This in a way he admits for he says:

"But, think what one may of these instances, and admitting further that one may maintain that the greater part of the intuitions of civilised man are impregnated with concepts, there yet remains to be observed something more important and conclusive".\*\*

But the answer that he gives that those

\* *Nyayabindutika*, p. 11.

† *Croce's Aesthetic I*....

\*\* *Ibid.*

\* *Nyayabindutika*, p. 16.

† *Nyayabindutika*, p. 7.

\*\* *Aesthetic I*.

concepts which have become mingled and fused with unique intuitions have lost all their autonomy and independence and have now become simple elements of intuition. Thus Croce says:

"Those concepts which are found mingled and fused with intuitions are no longer concepts, in so far as they are really mingled and fused, for they have lost all independence and autonomy. They have been concepts but they have now become simple elements of intuition".\*

But the fact that the concepts have been fused with intuitions, does not according to Buddhism make them lose their conceptual character; Buddhism appreciates however the difference of these concepts from other ordinary concepts by calling them "induced concepts" (*balotpanna*).† Without the operation of these "induced concepts" the individual intuition in spite of its unique character, is for want of expressibility, definition and determination non-existent as if it were (*asatkalpam*).\*\* The dependent character of the concepts in such cases is also plainly admitted by Buddhism, for it says that here the concepts themselves are in the background and bring out the proper and unique character of the intuition *svavyaparam tiraskrtya pratyakshavyaparam adarsayati*.†† In all this, Buddhism seems to me to be in the right. This "putting themselves in the background" of the concepts seems also to be plainly admitted by Croce. Thus he says:

"The philosophical maxims placed in the mouth of a personage of tragedy or of comedy, perform there the functions not of concepts but of characteristics of such a personage; in the same way as the red in a painted figure does not there represent the red colour of the physicist but the characteristic element of the portrait."§

From this point I must pass on to Croce's distinction of concepts and pseudo-concepts or fictions. Concepts according to Croce have a truly universal character and they therefore apply even to the smallest fragment of representable life. The fictional concepts are different from these for their content is furnished by a group of representations or by single representations which are not ultra-representative. Taking examples of the fictional concepts of the first type as house, can we see that they are but convenient symbols of certain individuals however great their number may be. But a true concept

having a perfectly universal character, say for example, *quality, development or beauty* are such that we cannot conceive of any reality given representation which exhausts in itself any of these, *quality development or beauty*. True concepts are identical with logical thinking and pseudo-concepts are only made as fictions. True concepts being the outcome of logical activity are not only universal and expressive, but they are concrete also for though a concept transcends all and every intuition which it concerns, it is also immanent in the intuition. Concept thus is a form of knowledge as distinct from the intuition which is always singular and individual. Just as the works of great artists and poets are intuitions as much as the poorest intuitions of the humblest human being, so the discoveries of great philosophers are as much concepts as the simplest reasonings or the exercise of logical activity of ordinary men. Pseudo-concepts however are mere fictions invented for the practical need of classification or of enumeration and calculation and are dependent on the logical activity as resulting in pure concepts. Human knowledge has a two-fold form, as intuition and as concept; they may be distinguished as two distinct elements not in the relation of before and after but as inseparable in the unity of synthetic mental activity. The conception of the concept is not a lifeless doctrine but is the result of the continuous activity of the mind striving for grasping significance. The unity of intuitions and concepts is the synthesis *a priori* which is the fundamental logic of all philosophy. The logical activity of synthesis *a priori*, though it is dependent on intuition for its material, without which it will be barren and empty, is in itself autonomous and independent which is not derived from experience but is the condition of all experience. Thus Croce says:

"The concept is a logical *a priori* synthesis, and therefore a unity of subject and predicate, unity in distinction, a distinction in unity, an affirmation of the concept and a judgment of the fact, philosophy and history together. In pure and actual thinking, the two elements constitute an indivisible organism. We cannot affirm a fact without thinking it, we cannot think without affirming a fact. In logical thinking, the presentation without the concept is blind, it is a pure presentation unfurnished with logical light, it is not the subject of a judgment; the concept without the presentation is void."\*

Subject to the reservation already referred to, the similarity of the Buddhist doctrine

\* *Ibid.*

† *Nyayabindutika*, p. 19.

\*\* *Ibid.*

†† *Ibid.*, p. 20.

§ *Aesthetic I*

\* *Logica*, p. 293 (Carr's translated quotation)



with that of Croce, naturally strikes as deserving an enquiry. The difference between the *sva-lakshana* and *samanyalakshana* which are in some sense the equivalents of Croce's intuition and concepts, the individual and the universal has already been noticed. These two also represent two distinct moments, but not of time as 'before' and 'after' but in the same synthetic unity of thought. Thus Kirtti says:—Right knowledge consists in the similarity of the object with its knowledge. It is supposed that a knowledge must have the same characteristic as the object from which it arises; that which arises from blue is like blue. But it may be contended that the similarity of characteristics is identical with the knowledge itself and if this is so then the objectification (*pramanaphala*) and the awareness as right knowledge (*pramana*) becomes identical and how can one thing be both the producer (*sadhana*) and the produced (*sadhya*)? How would not this go against the view which defines right knowledge as consisting of similarity of characteristics (*sadrasya*). The answer to such a question is that the knowledge of objects arises out of similarity. If there is an awareness as blue (*nilanirbhasam vijñanam*), we say a blue object has been perceived. But the affirmation that "blue" has been perceived cannot be made by the visual organ through which knowledge is said to have arisen. When there is an intuition like the blue, the affirmation is determined that there has been the perception of the blue. There is nothing like the relation of the producer and the produced (*janya-janaka-bhava*) that aforesaid objection can be made that it could not take place in the very same thing. The relation could certainly be of the type of the determined and the determiner (*avasthapyavasthapakabhavena*). So the same entity could both be the awareness and the object pointed out by it (*pramanaphala*). The cause of determination is similarity of characteristics. It is the intuition as "blue awareness" which is the determiner of the affirmation of knowledge "blue has been perceived by virtue of the affirmative element proceeding out of it." This affirmation being of the nature of negation of opposites conforms the positive "blue awareness" as definite knowledge. This affirmative element however belongs to the 'induced concepts' associated with the primary intuitions.\* The above observations though expressed in a quaint antiquated style show that the 'intuition' in-

volving the primary object-characteristic, the object which is referred to by it and the affirmatory concept involving a negative and a positive aspect are all fused together in one moment as one identical entity or synthetic unity. The division of moments is one of abstraction and analysis. Reserving our remarks for the present regarding the relation of the "awareness" and the "object" pointed out by it, it may be said that what is given in one moment as one identical entity (*ekasmin vastuni*) is the affirmed awareness, involving rudimentary intuition and the induced concept arising out of it. Kirtti disapproves the idea that conceptual affirmation and objectification may proceed as the natural evolution and development of the intuitive element alone. Though the intuitive element represents the unique object-characteristic, yet it is devoid of the affirmatory character without which it remains unaffirmed, non-existent as it were. It is only by virtue of the concept integrated with it that the awareness is affirmed as intuition-concept and objectified. Thus without the intuition the concept is barren and void and without the concept the intuition is meaningless. The distinction of intuition and concept as appertaining to two different moments is one of abstraction, for the two are integrated together in one *a priori* synthesis. This synthesis it must be observed is not derived from posterior experience, but it is induced by virtue of the intuition out of its own law which is independent yet concordant with the intuition with which it is concerned.

But does Buddhism observe the distinction of concepts and pseudo-concepts or fictional concepts as Croce does, and if so in what way? For this I must turn to *Samanyadushanadikprasarita* of Pandita Asoka. The distinction that Croce points out that true concepts are omni-universal, whereas pseudo-concepts refer either to groups of representations or single representations (e. g., triangle, free motion) is not suggested by Buddhism. But Buddhism in its own way denies reality to the pseudo-concepts. The main point of Pandita Asoka's argument is that no such eternal class concepts can be intuited as standing apart from the momentary appearances. Among the distinct momentary entities unity is no doubt revealed but such an unity is always realised within the progressive series, but it never stands out abstractly isolated from it as an eternal class-concept. Universals certainly are manifested but there are no innumerable class-concepts having a dual or multiple existence side by

\* *Nyayabindutika*, p. 19

side with the concrete individuals. As an individual in a series points itself through the affirmative process involving an oscillation as it were negating the opposites and affiliating itself with the likes, the universal with which such a position is concerned is expressed or revealed. That an unity is felt in the distincts in their manifestation or appearance, no one denies, but the point is, that there is no justification for the view that this is felt on account of the induced influence of corresponding universals existing by themselves. Pandit Asoka in a long series of arguments refutes the reasons that may be adduced in favour of such a view. His own view is, as I have just mentioned, that the affirmation of each individual involves by that very fact, a negation of the opposites and the sense of an unification along with it; this is integral to the process of each and every affirmation and the result of this is manifested as universals or concepts which have therefore no separate existence apart from the positing process of the concrete individuals (1). Pandita Asoka thus does not make any distinction between concepts and the pseudo-concepts but considers all universal as proceeding out of the synthetic activity involved in the positing of an individual.

Croce rightly claims to have modified Hegel's theory of opposites by his theory of distincts in the conception of the dialectic and in spite of outstanding similarities of his views with that of Hegel, Croce should more properly be called a Vichian rather than a Hegelian (2). In the doctrine concerning the organism of the pure concept, it accepts the *dialectic* view or the unity of opposites, but denies its immediate validity for the distinctions of the concept, the unity of which is organized as the unity of distinctions in the theory of degrees of reality. The Buddhist dialectic as *a priori* synthesis of opposites and distincts is however somewhat different from the Hegelian dialectic. What we learn about it from the acute and able discussions of Ratnakirti in his *Apoḥasiddhi* is that each individual appearance implicitly involves by virtue of its own manifestations a world of negations of itself, what are opposed or distinct from it (*anyabhavavisishto vijativyavrtto'rtthoridhik*) (3). It acknowledges the difference

between opposites (*vijati*) and distinct (*anya*) but it neither like Croce indulges in a quadruple division of the forms of the spirit, nor lays any stress on the theory of distincts as having a special significance. Any particular appearance is identical with the negations involved in it which differentiate it from all other intuitions, but only implicitly; and it is the particular concept that works in a concerted way with it that reveals one or other of these negations as occasion arises. The intuition is something different from the concept *vikalpa*. But there is such a concordance between the two that what is implicit in the intuition is made explicit by the concept, such that in all our ordinary perceptions the intuition and the concept become fused together in such a way that though all our ordinary perceptions are complexes of intuitions and concept, they appear as indivisible intuitions, and hardly lead us to suspect their mixed nature. But without the explicating movement of the concept the intuitions held in their own implicitude could hardly have any expressible form. The negation involved in any particular intuition is reflected or manifested by the concept which always appears in an *a priori* synthesis with the intuition. Thus Jayanta in the course of stating the Buddhist position says that the elements of negation are reflected in the conceptual movement (*vikalpapratibimbaka*), and that they are all but forms of knowledge (*jñanākarmatṛakameva*). They as well as the universals, opposites and distincts which the conceptual activity manifests arise as the result of the previous history of the preceding members of the series of appearances which in that peculiar form of *vasana* (involving memory, reminiscences, mental history, cultural and historical situation of the mind) determine the intuition and the nature of the conceptual activity concerned with it (*vicitravasanaśbedopahitarupabhedam*) (1). But as the perceiver, perception, intuition, cooperative concerted action of the concept take place at one moment of time in one act of synthetic activity, all these stages abstracted by analysis become all fused together in one intuitive appearance.

Such a view in philosophy naturally leads to a non-formalist logic and this is recognised by Croce who came to know of the distinctions of *svārthanumāna* and *parārthanumāna* from H. Jacobi's paper "Die indische Logik" in the *Nachrichten v. d. Königl. Gesellschaft*.

(1) Six Buddhist Nyaya Tracts, p. 99

(2) See Croce's *What is Living and What is Dead of the Philosophy of Hegel*

(3) *Apoḥasiddhi*, p. 18

(1) *Nyāyamañjari*, p. 308



d. Wissenschaft zu Gottingen, though he had hardly any opportunity of knowing the acuteness, subtlety and depth of thought found in most systems of Indian Logic which explains his uninformed belief that Indian Logic was much inferior to that of Greece as regards the wealth and depth of concepts. He speaks of the antiverbalist character of Buddhist Logic. Thus says Croce:

"Indian Logic (by which he can only mean the non-Hindu Logic—Buddhist Logic in particular—excepting the treatise of Bhasarvajna) studies the naturalistic syllogism in *itself*, as internal thought, distinguishing it from the syllogism *from others* that is to say, from the more or less usual but always extrinsic and accidental forms of communication and dispute. It has not even a suspicion of the extravagant idea (which still vitiates our treatises) of a truth which is merely syllogistic and formalist and which may be false in fact. It takes no account of the judgment or rather it considers what is called judgment, and what is really proposition, as a verbal clothing of knowledge: it does not make the verbal distinctions of subject, copula and predicate; it does not admit classes of categorical and hypothetical, of affirmative and negative judgments. All these are extraneous to logic, whose object is the constant knowledge considered in itself". (1)

Syllogism in Buddhism consists of the rise of cognitions of some reality comparable to intuitions, proceeding out of identity, causal relation or a perception of absence. A mere formal syllogism without having any reference to any particular intuition has no place in Buddhism. The final reference is always to the concrete individual. The difference between perception and inference consists only in the mode of the application of the concept of *a priori* synthesis. Thus when the concrete individual is suggested merely by virtue of the application of the concept of identity and causality, we call it inference (*anumana*), and when the concrete individual is presented by the fusion of an immediate and implicit datum of perception with the concepts. It is on account of this non-formalist view of Logic that the Buddhists preferred to accept the *antarvyapti* doctrine (i.e. the view that the relation of concomitance holds directly in a general way between two concepts) to the ordinary *bahirvyapti* view of other schools of Indian logic (involving enumeration of a specific instance where such concomitance has been observed).

I shall now pass on to the last and most important aspect of the general agreement of Croce's philosophy with that of the Yogacara

school of Buddhism—the absolute spiritualism of everything. According to Croce there are two ultimate types of spiritual creation—knowledge and as will or activity. The first has two forms relating to individual intuition and concepts which are universal in the character and which though independent are autonomous in themselves have the intuition as their materials. The other type, the activity has also two forms, that relating to the individual good or economical and that relating to the universal good or utilitarian and here also as in intuition and concept, the two are inter-related to each other. But these two ultimate types are not parallel but one is bound always with the other. Thus Croce says in his *Philosophy of the Practical*:—

"From the aesthetic apprehension of reality, from philosophical reflection upon it, from historical reconstruction, which is its result, is obtained the knowledge of the actual situation, on which alone is formed and can be formed the volitional and practical synthesis, the new action. And this new action is in its turn the material of the new aesthetic figuration of the new philosophical reflection of the new historical reconstruction. In short, knowledge and will, theory and practice are not two parallels, but two lines such that the head of the one is joined to the tail of the other..... They constitute therefore the circle of reality and of life...." (1).

Every form which reality assumes or can assume for us has its ground within mind. There cannot be a reality which is not mind. Reality being thus identical with mind, it is only its forms that we may distinguish. Thus Croce says:—

"If being is conceived as external to the human spirit, and knowledge as separable from its object so much so that the object could be without being known, it is evident that the existence of the object becomes a position or something placed for the spirit, given to the spirit, extraneous to it, which the spirit would never appropriate to itself unless it were courageously to swallow the bitter mouthful with an irrational act of faith. But all the philosophy which we are now developing demonstrates that there is nothing external to the spirit, and therefore there are no positions opposed to it. These very conceptions of something external, mechanical, natural, have shown themselves to be conceptions not of external positions but of positions of the spirit itself, which creates the so-called external, because it suits it to do so, as it suits it to annul this creation, when it is no longer of use. On the other hand it has never been possible to discover in the circle of the spirit that mysterious and unqualifiable faculty called faith, which is said to be an intuition that intuites the universals or a thinking of the universal without the logical process of thought."\*

(1) *Logic* IV, 4

(1) *Philosophy of the Practical* II. 3

(2) *Logic*, pp. 172, 173

Nature thus is not a concept of something real but it is the hypostasis of a manner of elaborating reality not philosophical but practical. Its concept thus is only a function of the spirit.

All reality, whether it be intuitions, concepts or activity are therefore but creations of the spirit which follows its own law in all its theoretic and practical activity. But apart from these creations there is nothing in the spirit which one may be trying to get at. The spirit is identical with its endless process of unfolding—the *a priori* synthesis. Thus Croce says in one place—"The *a priori* synthesis belongs to all the forms of the spirit; indeed the spirit considered universally is nothing but *a priori synthesis*. The view of Yogacara Buddhism is largely akin to the general position of Croce as indicated by his above views though its divisions of the modes of operations of the spirit are different. It holds that two different modes of operation are found in our understanding, one is called the *pravicayabuddhi* or the conceptual mode and the other is called the *vikalpalakshana-grahabhinivesapratishthapika buddhi*, or the function of the spirit by which intuitive materials are supplied for the application of the conceptual activity. The first mode always seeks to take things in either of the following four ways that they are either this or the other, either both or not both, either are or are not, either eternal or non-eternal. The second mode consists of that habit of the mind by virtue of which it constructs diversities and arranges them (created in their turn by its own constructive activity—*parikalpa*) in a logical order of diverse relations of subject and predicate, causal and other relations. He who knows the nature of these two categories of the mind knows that there is no external world of matter, and that they are all experienced only in the mind. There is no water but it is the sense-construction of smoothness that constructs the water as an external substance; it is the sense-construction of activity or energy that constructs the external substance of fire; it is the sense-construction of movement that constructs the so-called external substance of air. In reality there is nothing which is produced or destroyed. It is only our constructive imagination that builds up things as perceived with all their relations, and

ourselves as perceivers\* Though all these forms are but creations of the mind there is no further entity of mind which is to be sought beyond these creations. Nor will it pay any research to enquire into the intrinsic substance of these creations apart from their appearance in a series. All creations are thus spiritual without there being anything abiding as the permanent spirit, which may be known beyond their creations. This view of Buddhism must be distinguished from the Vedantic idealism particularly in such works as *Vedantasiddhantamuktavali* of Prakasananda or the like, where though all perceptible reality is said to be of the nature of concept yet there is one truth the spirit of which remains as the unchangeable ground of all. † For in Buddhism there was no way of ascertaining the nature of the spirit, for it did not exist as an abiding reality apart from these passing creations. The conditions which led to the rise of any appearance are determined by the result or the history of the preceding series. This view of Buddhism which has already been mentioned must however be distinguished from somewhat similar views of Yoga as elaborated by Vyasa and Bhikshu. There the past and the future exist in the present as the latent and true potential. There history is present existence and universal history is to reality what to each individual his own particular history is. For according to Yoga though every existence is momentary, nothing is lost, but everything that is past is conserved in the present and abides in it. Philosophy of any particular event or state is its history. But in Buddhism as I have already explained, this is true in a somewhat different sense. There is nothing here that abides, but the cause of the rise of any appearance is its place in the history of true series, and there is no other philosophy of its own except the reference to the history of its rise.

The main points where I have compared or contrasted Croce with Buddhism are all fundamental with both of them. These are:—(1) antimetaphysical character, (2) ideality of philosophy and history, (3) intuition and concept, (4) anti-verbalist character of logic, (5) spiritual nature of all phenomena.

\* *Lankavatara-sutra*, p. 85 and also Dasgupta's "A History of Indian Philosophy," Vol. I, p. 148.

† *Puncit*. Benares, 1889.



## RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S VISIT TO CHINA

By L. K. ELMHIRST, M.A. (CANTAB), B.SC. (CORNELL), DIRECTOR, DEPARTMENT  
OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION, VISVA-BHARATI.

IT often seems unfortunate that the best minds of different races so seldom come into intimate touch. The soldier, the bagman, the creedmonger and the diplomat travel abroad and meet only those whom they have come to rule, to convert or to exploit, whilst the searchers after truth or beauty or peace or knowledge are generally too poor to set out in person and build those bridges of understanding upon which alone friendship and inter-racial co-operation can be based. Men who are large only in pocket or power scour the globe in ever-increasing numbers without disinterested motive and on their return home delude the public with the half-truths of their own one-sided experience.

For once it has been possible for meetings between seekers after truth, beauty, peace and knowledge, belonging to different countries, to take place, and though it would be foolish at this time to prophesy the outcome, seed has been sown which is likely to produce a significant harvest.

The meeting of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and his three Indian companions with men of culture and ideal in China has been invariably regarded by our hosts as the recementing of old bonds, and to a European onlooker it has been full of interest. It is doubtful if any one in India to-day realises the veneration and respect with which China regards the source of that inspiration that has meant so much to her Buddhism, and since a thousand years is neither here nor there in the Chinese mind, the visitors of to-day are received as the immediate brothers and descendants of the Indian monks, scholars and sages of yesterday.

There are Parsi merchants in Hong-Kong, Sikh policemen in Shanghai, and Hankow and Sindhis in Peking; but there is neither an Indian army nor an Indian navy in China, neither Indian diplomats nor an Indian Legation in Peking. Locked away in the memory of the whole Chinese people, whether peasant or scholar, established in its temples, carved upon its rocks and embedded in the shrines of its own heart, seems to lie the vivid touch of an ancient friendship, of an ancient service rendered and of an ancient

inspiration which affected every aspect of their life. India lives in the mind of China to-day. "Indo-laidé," from India, is the remark one constantly heard as we passed through the streets, and the words are full of a meaning, which, however sentimental, however tinged with the associations of time-worn ceremony and convention is apparently very real.

"India has always been a kind of fairy land in our minds," said the old Civil Governor in Nanking, "and we had come to look on India as a kind of magic source, a distant Paradise out of which, great stream of artistic, devotional and religious inspiration flowed continuously to China until the thread of direct contact was broken so many years ago. We now know for certain that India still lives and can still inspire."

Do not think, then, that when you have read Dr. Tagore's speeches, when you have seen the presents that have been showered upon him, when you have been informed, possibly by Reuter, of a certain opposition which, enlightened as to the facts on which it had been misinformed, made its apology and retired from the scene, do not think that you have heard half or nearly half the story.

There are men in China who are still convinced that civilisation must have a moral basis, and that mere material prosperity is prone to lead a nation to destruction if it lacks that moral balance which alone can give it poise and harmony. They have been struggling in the dark, mocked by those who could continually point to the advantages of an unharnessed materialism, finding entry from without at the hands of the West and who urge self-preservation by the adoption of their enemies' own weapons. To such men the voice of Tagore has come, not as that of sage, prophet, reformer, or even of poet, but as the voice of a friend.

Our progress, like that of the sower, has been marked by a sprinkling of the seed of friendship in all kinds of corners and in different types of soil. These cannot but bear fruit in the future.

As you know our visit has coincided with an event in the political field which,

though apparently insignificant to the minds of the West, is of vast psychological importance in the East. Japan, through her victories in war, her alliances in peace time, and her rapid material advance, had come to be regarded and to regard herself as one of the Great Powers, as one of that group where Orient and Occident were not of account, but only navies, armies and diplomatic alliances. The earthquake and her recent rebuff from America have turned her eyes on to herself and her own critical situation surrounded by unfriendly glances on every side. In desperation she is looking round for friends and neighbours nearer home, in the East itself.

Meanwhile China is an unknown quantity. She has her own group of bureaucrats, she has trained and has had trained for her an army of young men, who put their whole faith in "isms" of one kind or another that can in a moment be plastered thickly across the face of her immense land, who believe in the panacea of scientific progress of communism, socialism, industrialism, or republicanism, as the case may be. But the people is an agricultural people and the general state of the country prevents China being fully exploited for the moment, either from outside by the diplomat and legation supported merchants and bankers, or from within by her own academic idealists of one kind or another.

Meanwhile from day to day the still small voice of Russia is heard like conscience, bruised and stifled, but not yet silenced, a voice which scorns diplomacy, which calls facts facts and does not trouble much to conceal them, especially when they concern the underground workings of imperialists, and national dividend hunters.

Into this field our poet has come, summoning Asia to use her moral judgment, to stand for the true human relationship of mutual reverence and respect, to go to the root of the life of the people and to create and rediscover in the realm of beauty and of truth and not to forget her own treasures of past experience in a world of profit-making, of utilitarian ugliness and of material power.

His speeches have not yet been translated into Chinese and the message of his words has so far reached only a mere handful. But his very presence has had its effect;—his apparent delight in all that is beautiful around him, his interest in everything that

is living, in students and their life, in the girls and the problems of the women, in Chinese drama, music and painting, in the Renaissance movements of all kinds and in the revolutionary spirit that is everywhere abroad, in literature and poetry, in historical criticism as well as in modern experiments in education. "At last," say the Chinese, "here is a foreigner who has come to appreciate and not to mock or to exploit a visitor to whom we are delighted to act as host and for whom no hospitality is good enough, the heir of a great civilisation and the representative of a great historical tradition."

No less significant perhaps has been the work of his three Indian companions. Their visit has been in some respects not unlike a Cook's tour,—they have travelled from one place to another seeing monuments and ancient temples and have collected the traditions of the Indian visitors of a 1000 years ago, as well as photographs and pictures of all kinds. But in their very appreciation of the best in the ancient relationship of China and India, as well as of Chinese history itself, and in their study of modern effort in drama, painting, archaeology and scholarship they have cemented friendships of all kinds and laid the foundations for future collaboration and for the exchange of ideas and ideals in every field of mutual service.

Short and rapid, then, though our journey has been, this visit has had the favour of one of those poetic gestures of impatience which it has been the joy of our founder-president to fling in the face of the world, never caring much at the moment whether they were seen or noticed by the world at large.

The future of the world already lies in the hands of Asia. Russia, China and India will have to decide what that future is to be. The old ideal of exploiting imperialism is struggling for breath upon its death-bed. Disregarding the warning of the catastrophe of five years ago, it has set its face once more upon the same road to destruction. Are we, the nations of East and West, to be swept a second time into this maelstrom of selfish aggrandisement and thereby to build our own tombs? Or, meeting in friendship, based on a mutual understanding and appreciation, can we rescue humanity and give to the world a new lease of life?

Tokyo.  
June 8, 1924.

# THE MYTH OF WHITE SUPERIORITY

BY DR. TARAKNATH DAS, PH. D.

**D**URING the session of the American Philosophical Society held in Philadelphia, U.S. A. anthropologists debated the question "Are the various races of man potentially equal?" for the whole afternoon of April 25, 1924. The theory that the Nordics have a superiority over other white races was dismissed without much discussion. This is a blow to the pseudo-scientists who are talking of Nordic superiority to restrict immigration from Southern Europe to America. The debate was narrowed down to the question of the white races having innate superiority over black and other races. Dr. H. U. Hall, curator of general ethnology of the museum of University of Pennsylvania, and others contended that there is innate superiority of the whites over other people. The majority of the speakers contended that there was no real evidence of white superiority.

When the subject was thrown open to general discussion, one speaker from the floor asked if there was not evidence on every side of the supremacy of the whites, in the great civilizations built up by the white races as against the barrenness of achievement by the Africans.

"But a few thousand years ago," replied Dr. Franz Boas, "the Egyptians might have said the same thing of the whites. Looking at the backwardness of the white races, they might have said, 'They are shiftless, superstitious, mentally inferior and nothing can ever be made of them.'"

He added that the human family was a very old one, that civilization was a very new thing and that it was a mistake to judge the potentialities of different races by their standing at the present time.

In his paper Dr. Boas argued that no scientific method had been found of measuring the fundamental capacity of different races, as distinct from the mental and moral development due to custom, history, economic and social environment.

"Claimants for the superiority of the white race," he continued, "point out its position in the modern world. From this they conclude that the white race is the only one that could or can ever achieve eminence, and that this is due to its hereditary qualities. In order to prove the weakness of this argument we need only consider the conclusions

that a Maya Indian at the time of the height of the development of his civilization might have drawn from a comparison of his culture with conditions in North-western Europe. The Nordic was then an uncouth barbarian without arts and without knowledge to be compared to those of the Maya. Would not the Maya be justified like our modern race enthusiasts in calling the Nordic an inferior race that could never achieve eminence?"

Dr. Alexander Goldenweiser, of the New School for Social Research, also insisted that there was no real evidence of fundamental white superiority. He said that a similar prejudice existed against the Japanese until their victory over Russia caused a general recognition of the fact that there was no necessary inferiority to the white race.

## Says Skulls Prove Nothing.

Dr. Goldenweiser said that if a long series of white skulls were compared with black it was found that the bulk of them had the same brain capacity, although a few whites had a very large brain capacity and a few of the blacks a very small one. He said, this did not mean much because the white of large brain capacity were not necessarily above the average on that account.

"If you take the brains of a thousand ordinary undistinguished individuals and then a thousand scientists, artists, and men of eminence, you will find no distinguishable difference between the two series in size and weight."

He argued that modern white civilization had gained a marked superiority in one direction, the application of scientific knowledge to mechanical appliances, in the past two centuries.—*The New York Times*, April 26, 1924.

Thus from the standpoint of anthropology, the claim of "white men" as superior persons cannot be maintained. Because of the political ascendancy of the European nations, they regard themselves superior to other people over whom they rule. If the people of India and the rest of Asia can assert themselves politically and achieve marked distinction in the scientific world, "the myth of white superiority" is bound to disappear, and the so-called superior Anglo-Saxons will even court the goodwill of the people of India.



## OPIUM AS A MORAL STIMULANT

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, PH. D., LECTURER IN POLITICAL SCIENCE,  
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THAT opium is a gigantic problem in world-politics can hardly be gainsaid. And the peculiar significance of the problem is that India is the single largest producer of the poison.

America is now engaged in a deadly war against opium; but it finds itself checkmated by some of the most shrewd and unscrupulous international ring of smugglers who put profit above human welfare, who prefer to coin money out of misery, suffering and the wastage of human life. America has also discovered that it will never be able to exterminate the evil so long as one-half of the entire output of the drug is raised in India under English control. The simple reason is that the overflow of the Indian production must necessarily filter back into Europe and America.

If the scourge of opium is to go, there should be intelligent public opinion based upon authentic information. Miss La Motte's new book, *The Ethics of Opium*, is a splendid contribution to the public education on the subject.\* She knows of the things she writes inside out. She has shown how the rulers of India, more than any one else, are mainly responsible for the drug menace to America and to the world.

While all the civilized government of the world are zealous in protecting their people against opium, the English bureaucrats in India are exerting every effort to extend the drug vice in Hindustan. They can have only one object in view: revenue, even at the cost of physical and moral ruin of the Indian people.

Great Britain has passed a most stringent anti-narcotic legislation for the protection of the British; but the India Office in London has become an ardent devotee of opium in India. How long will the world tolerate two standards as to the use of opium?

Only last year the India Office issued a new edition of *The Truth about Indian Opium* which is in fact a summary of the findings of the packed Royal Commission of 1895. In

this infamous pamphlet the "virtues" of opium are extolled much as an English or Scotch brewer might praise the "virtues" of poisoned whisky. It is intimated that opium is able to cure almost any human ailment—bowel complaints, malaria, sugar in diabetes or what not. The compiler of the pamphlet has even the effrontery to say right out that to prevent the sale of opium in India "would be sheer inhumanity!" Can you beat that?

It is not the alleged physical or moral "benefit" which induces the Government to consider opium as a "legitimate trade", but the consideration of money profit. Opium is—as indicated in the recent Inchcape report—a very "important source of revenue." Ever keen for a rupee, the Government manufactures opium as a cold-blooded money-getter to swell its revenue. There, in a nutshell, lies the whole "ethics" of the vile opium trade.

The bureaucrats in India, who are such "epicurean ascetics", have put forth the theory that opium does not affect the Asians as it does the Europeans. But the pity of it is that no reputable medical authority in the world will believe it for a minute. Moreover, we find that in Japan, its government has strictly prohibited not only the use, but also the sale and distribution of prepared opium by a very heavy penalty. As in Japan, so in the Philippine islands. When the United States took possession of the Philippines, it found an opium trade there in full swing, introduced by the Spaniards. And the American rulers of the islands, obviously lacking the fine medical knowledge of the omniscient Indian bureaucrats, at once closed the opium dens and put down the opium traffic. Now the question is this: If the Japanese and the Filipinos, who are not denied by our bureaucrats to be Asiatics, can worry along without opium as a "treasured household remedy", why not the Indians?

India is known in Europe and America as a land of devastating famines. And yet 200,000 acres of the richest land of India is used for raising poppies. 200,000 acres of the best land! Just think of it! These fertile

\* *The Ethics of Opium*. By Ellen N. La Motte. The Century Co. New York City. \$1. 75.

acres would produce, at a rough estimate ten million fifty-pound sacks of flour to give life and strength to millions of India's people who go to bed hungry every night. Our best land is to produce not wheat or rice, but poppy. We are to be fed not with bread, but with poison. The excuse doubtless is that we need opium as a moral stimulant even more than our life. That is quite apparent. Therefore the case of the continued use of the narcotics is proved absolutely.

The English imperialists are always professing high and noble aims; but they are not, in their efforts to "make" a pretty penny, so possessed of high and noble contemplations that they cannot stoop to narcotic ways. No, indeed. To accomplish noble imperial ends, mean narcotic ways must be employed occasionally. In fact, often.

Miss La Motte does not hesitate to come out squarely into the open and point out the nation most guilty of the opium crime, which is now tainting the whole world. "The part played by Great Britain," she says, "is very great."

Throughout the whole fabric of this 'indefensible business runs British influence' direct and indirect. The British Empire controls one fifth of the world and one fourth of its inhabitants. Such power means equal responsibility, and through her

encouragement of the opium trade, Great Britain has assumed a heavy responsibility through the example she has set to other countries."

Here the writer has let fly a telling bullet. It means that soon or late, England, the largest opium-dealer, will be brought before the bar of an international court and made to explain its share of the guilt in the nefarious traffic. England cannot go on forever defying the decent public opinion of the world.

An Inter-national Opium Conference will be held this year in Europe to limit the production and manufacture of opium in all countries to strictly medical and scientific needs. The public sentiment in America is aroused to a white heat over this mighty moral issue. Millions of American people will sign monster petitions during the coming summer to be presented at the Conference. America will also send its delegates to this international gathering. Shouldn't India do likewise? American and Indian public opinion brought to bear in this way can hardly be set aside by an impartial international tribunal.

*The Ethics of Opium* by Ellen N. La Motte is an arsenal of accurate information in terse, readable language. All unafraid of opium-facts without partisanship should read the volume from cover to cover.



The Kopai  
(Birbhum, Bengal)  
Woodcut by Manindrabhusan Gupta

# PHASES OF RELIGIOUS FAITH OF A BENGALI OF BRAHMAN BIRTH

By MR. SYAMACHARAN GANGULI, B. A., LATE PRINCIPAL, UTTARPARA COLLEGE.

I was born in a good Brahman family in the Hooghly district of Bengal, within a distance of only about ten miles from Calcutta. The beliefs of childhood come from the beliefs of older people among whom the child lives. The beliefs of early life change with growth in years. Beliefs in religious matters change however much less than beliefs in secular matters, and the consequence is that the great mass of mankind die in the religious beliefs they inherit from their parents. My early religious beliefs were the common beliefs of Bengali Hindu children. I believed the gods and goddesses of the Hindu mythology to be veritable realities. When at school, however, I learnt something of the Greek and Roman mythologies, my faith in Hindu polytheism came to be shaken. Before going from school to college I ceased to be a Hindu polytheist, and came to believe in one God. My monotheism was of the common type.

In India has prevailed a wide range of religious beliefs. Polytheism with idolatry has been the popular religion. But there have been also religious beliefs connected with systems of philosophy. Of these, four may here be specially mentioned. (1) The high monotheism of the Vedanta philosophy, which affiliates the human consciousness with Brahma (the Supreme Spirit), as in the formula *Tat tvam asi* (That thou art). (2) The Agnostic view of the Sankhya philosophy about the existence of God, as in the formula "Is'vá-siddheh," (of God, no proof). (3) Buddhism, which ignores God. (4) The atheistic Charvaka philosophy, which dogmatically denies the existence of God. I was not attracted towards Vedantic monotheism, of which I then knew almost nothing.

In the twenty-third year of my age, I came under the influence of Comte's writings, and this influence caused a radical change in the general current of my thoughts. There have been numerous speculations by great thinkers about matters that really lie beyond the reach of the human intellect, and these speculations have given rise to theories which have not been universally accepted. The speculations

have nevertheless been of great service to mankind. They have given scope to man's longing to dive into the secrets of nature, and have helped man to come at last to distinguishing the knowable from the unknowable, and ceasing to speculate about the unknowable. Comte's writings first taught me to mark out the knowable from the unknowable, and for this I feel greatly indebted to this great philosopher. I now saw that a First Cause as Creator and Sustainer of the Universe was inconceivable, and I recognised the validity of Comte's argument that to assume that at the back of the Universe which works in accordance with invariable laws, there is a Supreme Being, is to make this Supreme Being a "majestic inertia". The Universe working according to invariable laws cannot by any means be called a majestic inertia, and in my mind the Universe then took the place of God, and the origin of the Universe, I recognised as unknowable. I lost also my faith in the immortality of the soul as being a thing unknowable.

Comte's Religion of Humanity I did not, however, accept. It makes Humanity, *i.e.*, the human race, not only the object of our service but the object also of our supreme reverence as being the dominant influence over our whole life. The Religion of Humanity has won over some very clever adherents, from one of whom, the late Mr. Federic Harrison, I quote below two passages, and add my comments on them :—

(1) "Religion in its widest sense is the combination of *belief* in and *veneration* for the power which mankind regards as exercising the dominant influence over his whole life."\*

(2) "You yourself have power over many things here and there. Mankind has a vaster and a nobler power over you than all other things put together. And you can work with mankind and live with mankind in a way that you cannot live with inorganic beings."\*

My comments are these :—(1) Has mankind come to regard mankind as exercising the dominant influence over mankind's whole life,

\* *Religious Systems of the World*, 1908, pp. 741 and 743.



as exercising greater influence than the sun's heat and light, without which life would be extinct in the world?

(2) Has mankind a vaster and nobler power over mankind than all other things put together including solar heat and light?

Man has attributed human feelings to his God, but it has to be noted that these have been only the nobler human feelings, to the exclusion of the innoble ones, which along with the nobler ones are bound to be connoted by the term 'humanity'. To man's steady advance we are indeed indebted for the blessings of life we now enjoy, but the evil side of man's nature still remains, and is quite as patent as its noble side; and so it is not easy to understand how Comte and his adherents could make so light of the evil side. The holders of the doctrine of Human Depravity have had plenty of data to take their stand upon. The world's history is full of records of the crimes of man—fighting in battle-fields with its slaughter of thousands, massacre of peaceful inhabitants, raping of women of vanquished peoples, enslaving of fellow human beings, and looting and destroying of valuable property, together with such crimes as are recorded at the present day in every day's newspapers, from deliberate murders down to petty thefts. There are among men a class of people who are called "habitual criminals."

Man's affinity with the ape tribe was announced by Lamarck in his *Philosophie Zoologique* so long ago as the year 1809, and the same theme was dealt with by Huxley in his *Man's Place in Nature* in 1863 and by Darwin in his *Descent of Man* in 1871. Huxley in his *Man's Place in Nature* has the following passage:—

"Our reverence for the nobility of mankind will not be lessened by the knowledge that Man is, in substance and in structure, one with the brutes: for he alone possesses the marvellous endowment of intelligible and rational speech, whereby, in the secular period of his existence, he has slowly accumulated and organised the experience which is almost wholly lost with the cessation of every individual life in other animals; so that now he stands raised upon it as on a mountain-top, far above the level of his humble fellows, and transfigured from his grosser nature by reflecting here and there a ray from the infinite source of truth.\*"

Comte's generalisation of the human race as an organism has done the great good of impressing on men's minds the idea of human solidarity. This solidarity is now hardly a living reality, though it may become such in

the future. What organic union is there now between Frenchmen and Bantu subjects of France in French Equatorial Africa? Further, there have been disastrous conflicts among men down to the Great World War of 1914-1918. The United States of America has to its discredit its colour-prejudice against Negroes with its accompaniment of lynchings of them; and the New American Immigration Law wants to keep out of American soil Japanese and other Asiatics. All this is very far from a recognition of human solidarity.

Comte's ethics makes human welfare the sole object of human endeavour. But a wider sphere does really lie before man. About three hundred years before the birth of Christ, Emperor Asoka of India issued edicts in which "great stress is laid on the imperative duty of respecting the sanctity of animal life, and of treating all living creatures with kindness;\*"

and at the present day we have Veterinary Colleges, Veterinary Surgeons, and Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Looking after the welfare of animals which man is in close contact with and which are useful to him, comes then within the sphere of human duties. Animals that are harmful to him, he is free to destroy.

A word has to be said about Comte's famous Dictum of Live for Others (*Vivre pour Autrui*). The dictum has a glamour about it which charmed me greatly when I first came across it. It appeared to me to be a high moral injunction which it was almost impossible to carry out into practice. On reading Herbert Spencer's working out of his ethical theory on the basis of evolution, to which I feel vastly indebted, and his criticism of Comte's dictum, I settled down to the theory of a sound harmony between egoism and altruism.

Science does not teach us to make light of the Universe, of which this world of ours with all its contents is but a minute fragment. If the heavens cannot be said to declare the glory of a supposed Creator, was not Comte's assertion that they declare the glory of a Kepler and a Newton an undue exaltation of man and an undue depreciation of the Universe? Do not the heavens declare a glory of their own? The Universe, taking the place of God, should teach us men the humility that befits us, and should be taken by us to be our supreme guide and controller.

Long after my instruction from Comte's writings, I learnt that Spinoza's Pantheism

\* Huxley's *Man's Place in Nature*, Watt's & Co., London, 1921, p. 76.

\* Vincent Smith's *Asoka*, 1910, p. 25.

had taught that "the notion of the world (the universe or cosmos) is identical with the all-pervading notion of God", and I learnt also that Goethe had been a Pantheist. I now thought that I could call myself a Pantheist, and wondered that Pantheism which in a way reconciles religion and science, had not made sufficient way in the world. Pantheists have not been organised into a body, and it is not known what the number of Pantheists is now in the world. I have no objection to call myself a Pantheist although the words 'Panthesism' and 'Panthiest' are liable to be objected to... as keeping up the idea of *theos* (God). But the *theos* here signifies no personality. 'Monism' and 'Monist' are terms now current, but these terms are also objectionable as being not used exclusively in one sense each. 'Universism' and 'Universist,' or 'Kosmosism' and 'Kosmosist' may be proposed as terms noway objectionable. In Sanskrit, I would call myself a "vis̐vavādi" and my faith "vis̐vavāda."

I was glad to read in the *Review of Reviews* for March 1912 an article headed "The Modern View of Religion" which put the Universe in place of God. The article has the following passage:—

"Man must learn to cry when the fierce struggle within him goes on between the vaster and the narrower claims: 'Not my will, O Universe, but thine be done?'"

Why attribute willing to the Universe? Its willing can only be its working according to invariable laws.

In connection with Spinoza's Pantheism which merges the conception of God with the Universe, may be considered Herbert Spencer's reconciliation between Religion and Science. Spencer shows that the conception of God as something distinct from the phenomenal world can rightly be only the conception of the Power which we are impelled to infer as lying behind all phenomena, and of which it can only be said that it is different from the phenomena. Spencer thus identifies the conception of God with the Power from which flow all the phenomena. This abstract idea of Power, no believer in a Personal God is likely to accept as identical with his Personal God. The Universe or Kosmos, which consists of all phenomena *plus* the Power at their back, is identical with the all-pervading conception of God according to Spinoza, so far as I understand his theory. This view may be more acceptable to theists than Spencer's view. In Europe long-con-

tinued anthropomorphic conception of God found expression in Pope's well-known lines,

"All are but parts of a stupendous whole,  
Whose body nature is and God the soul."

There is a natural tendency in the human mind to exalt consciousness and to depreciate matter. All our knowledge comes from consciousness, and volition, which is an element of consciousness, is not cognizable in matter. In a living animal, consciousness and matter are found working together. The consciousness for its working stands in need of material food, and its working is liable to be greatly disordered by material substances that can cause intoxication. Matter is, therefore, not to be despised.

In this world of ours all the operations of nature are not beneficial to the living beings dwelling on it. Some are disastrous. Cyclones and typhoons, disastrous floods and volcanic eruptions cause great havoc among men and other animals. Another standing evil is the killing and eating of some animals by others. This is a wide-spread natural process, and man in the course of his evolution has only partially emerged out of it. Christianity and Muhammadanism do not show tenderness towards animal life, as does Buddhism, which enjoins "right livelihood bringing hurt or danger to no living thing."<sup>1</sup>

On moral grounds the use of alcoholic drinks has recently been prohibited in the United States of America. On the moral ground of nourishing humane feeling, may not meat-eating and fish-eating come to be prohibited in parts of Europe and America where humane feeling may rise as high as it has risen in parts of India? Already in Europe and America, the eating of meat and fish is decreasing appreciably, and vegetarianism is growing in favour. The usual vegetarian diet includes eggs, milk and milk products.

I append below notes on four special topics:—(1) Matter and Spirit. (2) Immortality of the Soul. (3) Transmigration. (4) First Cause.

(1) Matter and Spirit:—This world of ours is now believed, on scientific grounds, to have been at one time unfit for the existence of organic life and so of consciousness as we now see it in animals. How organic life first came into existence still remains an unsolved problem, though from what Prof. Schäfer said at the Conference of the British Association for the Advancement of Science held at Dundee a few years ago,

\* Rhys David's Paper on Buddhism in *Religious Systems of the World*, 1908, p. 147.

science appears to be on the way to solve it. Between the vegetable world and the animal world there is no clear line of demarcation. Sir J. C. Bose has recently discovered even a nervous system in plants, and his *Response in the Living and the Non-living* distinctly points to non-living material substances possessing the rudiments of consciousness. An egg has long appeared to me to furnish good evidence of how the germs of consciousness may be associated, in a latent form, with a material substance. The semi-fluid substance within the shell of the egg can exhibit no sign whatever of consciousness. If the egg is kept sufficiently warm for a certain length of time, the semi-fluid substance develops into a conscious animal.

Theosophists recognise no distinction between matter and spirit. This view I am unable to understand, for between what is called matter and what is called spirit (by which I understand consciousness of an individual being) there is a clear line of separation.

(2) *Immortality of the Soul* :—Christians believe only man to possess souls, and the lower animals to possess none. Hindus believe all living beings and even plants to possess souls. If human beings have souls why the lower animals should have none is hardly an intelligible theory. Probably moral responsibility regarded as exclusively belonging to man lies at the root of the idea that man alone has soul.

Within the sphere of our experience we have no knowledge of soul, or, individual consciousness, except in association with body, particularly the nervous system of the body. Yet the belief is almost universal that when a man dies his soul, *i.e.*, his individual consciousness, exists independently of his body, now lifeless. The belief in the ability of consciousness to exist without any connection with a bodily organisation is not an intuitive idea. Were it such, it could not be cast aside by Comte, Herbert Spencer, Huxley and other modern thinkers, as it was cast aside by certain Stoic philosophers of old.—One can be only an Agnostic in respect of this belief, seeing that within human experience consciousness is always connected with a nervous system. How arose the belief is a question not easy of solution. A recent theory, which I first came across in some writing of Tylor's, offers a solution, which I hold to be quite

satisfactory. The theory makes dreams the basis of the belief. Men dream of living men whom they know and of dead men whom they had known and whom they dream of as living. Even among civilised people dreams have been believed to represent realities to some extent, at any rate. Among savages dreams would naturally be held to represent realities to a much wider extent, though from the fact of some dreams proving absolutely false, belief in the reality of all dreams could not possibly grow up. Savages would naturally come to believe that during sleep the soul, with a sort of body about it, is able to leave the body and go to different places, and associate with other people, living and dead, and return to the body at waking time.—I wonder that the dream theory was not hit upon earlier.

The doctrine of the immortality of the soul has produced in India and China the evil effect of creating belief in the necessity of offspring for making offerings to the spirits of the dead. The procreating of offspring by all sorts of people, healthy and diseased, has caused wide-spread physical degeneracy in India and China.

(3) *Transmigration* :—The transmigration theory is confined to Hindus and Buddhists, who regard it as an axiomatic truth. It offers an explanation of the distribution of good fortune and evil fortune in the present life, making the former the fruit of good actions and the latter the fruit of bad actions in the preceding life. The theory is a plausible one, but has the fatal defect of being an unverifiable hypothesis. Transmigration is believed by Hindus to be a divine ordination, and by Buddhists to be a natural one according to the Law of *Karma*.

(4) *First Cause*.—A First Cause, *i.e.*, a cause which is itself uncaused, is really inconceivable. Yet millions of human beings have held the belief that a Supreme Being whose origin is unknowable has created and has been ruling the Universe. This belief accounts for the origin of the Universe. The belief has been easier for the human mind than to remain satisfied with the belief that the origin of the Universe is unknowable. To hold that the origin of the Universe is unknowable is to hold an impregnable logical position. The idea of God as Creator and Ruler of the Universe is a hypothesis after all, and a hypothesis which is quite unverifiable.



# THE MODERNIST VIEW OF THE BIBLE

BY REV. JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND, M.A., D.D.

THE wide-spread Modernist Movement, which is rising among the Christian churches of every country, is based principally upon the new and larger view of the Bible which modern biblical scholarship has given to the world; of course, therefore, it cannot be understood without a clear understanding of that view.

In few directions has scholarship made more important advance during the last fifty or seventy-five years than in connection with the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. The work of the great biblical scholars of the past two generations can no more be ignored than can the work of the great scholars in any other department of human knowledge. To cling to old views of the Bible which are now discredited is as unwise and as fatuous as to cling to the old views of chemistry and geology, in the great new light which has come to those sciences.

What is the "Modernist" view of the Bible? Or, in other words, what is the Bible in the Light of Modern Knowledge?

The answers that need to be made to this question are several, but all are necessary in order to cover the ground with any completeness.

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I. The Bible is one of the great Sacred Books of mankind. It does not stand alone; it belongs to a family. There are many religions in the world. Most of those which are highly developed have sacred books. Sacred books do not come into the world arbitrarily—they come naturally; there are laws that govern their origin and growth. Just as he who would know one science must know other sciences, so he who would know one sacred book must know others. The best books that are being written on the Bible to-day are being written in the light of knowledge of other sacred volumes besides our own. It is marvelous how much new light this method of comparative study throws upon the subjects of religion, revelation, and God.

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II. Properly speaking, the Bible is not a book; it is a Literature. It is a collection of sixty-six different, and, for the most part,

wholly independent and unrelated books, bound together. And their being bound together, no more makes them one book than the binding together of sixty-six books of your library or mine would make them one. They were written in three different languages, in half a dozen or more different countries, and some of the books quite a thousand years later than others. They were written by writers of as widely different characteristics and qualifications for writing as we can well imagine,—kings, peasants, courtiers, keepers of cattle and sheep, scribes and learned men, men without learning, men with widely differing views on many subjects, men differing greatly in moral character and piety. These sixty-six books differ, too, in the widest degree in their subjects, aims, purposes, style, literary quality, moral quality, religious quality. Some are histories, some are partly historical and partly legendary; some are poetry; some are predictions of the future, some are sermons, some are collections of the proverbial wisdom of their time; some are biographical; some are romances (as Ruth and Esther) some are letters or epistles. This shows what I mean when I say that the Bible is not a book but a literature.

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III. Every book and every fragment of a book which enters into this literature came into being naturally—from human causes, which in nearly all cases we can trace as clearly as we can trace the causes which produced Homer's "Iliad," or Xenophon's "Memorabilia of Socrates," or Cicero's "Orations against Catiline," or Thomas Paine's "Crisis," or Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin." We have been accustomed to think of the books of the Bible as dropping, so to speak, from God out of heaven; as coming into existence for reasons that God knew, but not such reasons as have operated in the production of any other books. But all this is a mistake. There never were books in the world whose origin could be more clearly traced to natural and human causes than the books of the Old and New Testament. Scholarship has brought to light these causes.

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IV. A surprisingly large number of the books of the Bible are anonymous as to authorship; and not only anonymous but composites—that is, books not composed by any one author, but compilations, books which show the hand of more than one writer, and often of more than one age, and which grew by successive editings and successive additions. Today in our western world a man writes a book and sends it out over his own name. As a result nobody feels at liberty to change it or add to it without due announcement of the fact. But with the Hebrews and other Oriental peoples it was different. Most ancient writers seem not to have put their names to their writings. Ideas were common property, and writers felt at liberty to add to books or change them, to an extent that our notions of literary ethics would not justify at all. As a result, we know the names of only a few of the writers of the Bible, and a large number of the books show that they have come from more sources than one. Thus the Pentateuch (of Five Books of Moses, so-called) we find was centuries in coming into existence. Many of the prophetic books show additions by later hands. The book of Isaiah comes from at least two different writers, living more than a hundred and fifty years apart; and the Book of Zechariah contains matter from three different prophets. The book of Psalms is the national hymn-book of the Jewish people, which was more than five hundred years in growing. It contains five distinct collections of hymns, which were formed at different times, in some cases probably a century or more apart; but at last the five were brought together to form the book as we now have it. Nor do many, if any, of the hymns come from David. Few were written within two or three centuries of David. Some were written as late as the second century B. C. Thus we see that the history of Israel for more than half a thousand years was rich with spiritual singers. The Book of Proverbs bears the name of Solomon. It may have begun in a small way with him, but certainly it was several centuries in coming to be what we now have, namely, a collection of the aphoristic wisdom of the Jewish people. In the New Testament, the gospels came into existence by a process of growth, and show layer after layer of added material. The Book of Acts and the Apocalypse (or the Book of Revelation) both reveal embedded documents, and more than one revision and addition.

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V. The books of the Bible are not chronologically arranged; I mean, they do not stand in their places in the order of their composition. This is important to be borne in mind; otherwise we shall be confused when trying to trace the order of events in Jewish History, and the development of the Jewish religion and civilization. Genesis, the first book of the Old Testament, is one of the later Old Testament books. So with the books which immediately follow Genesis—that is, Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers. They are all late in date. The prophetic books stand well on toward the end of the Old Testament. Naturally, therefore, we think of them as late in origin. A few of them are, but some of them are the very oldest books of the Bible. In the New Testament, the gospels stand first. But they were not written until after the epistles of Paul. And one of the gospels (that connected with the name of John) bears evidence of being one of the latest of the New Testament writings, not having come into existence probably until well on into the second century. Now, of course, from books all jumbled together like this, as regards their age, it was impossible to obtain any correct conception of the historical sequence and progress of the religion with which they deal until we could get the jumble straightened out, and could discover the relative dates of the books. At last, however, thanks to the patient and persistent labor of the scholars of the past seventy years, we have found out, approximately at least, the dates of most of the writings of the Old Testament and the New. As a result, we are now able to trace with much clearness and with substantial certainty the progress of the Israelitish people both in civilization and in religion, from their low condition as portrayed in the Books of Joshua and Judges, when they had just arrived in Palestine, a band of only recently liberated slaves from Egypt, on and up through the various stages of their development, until they reached their final maturity.

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VI. The Bible is not a book of theology. It is a book, or rather a literature, of religion and life. Men have been forever going to the Bible for texts to prove something, to support some doctrine, as if the volume were a theological treatise. They could not have made a greater mistake. Above almost all books or literatures in the world the Bible is a record of experience and life. This is what gives it its permanent interest and its value.

It is full of the thoughts of real men; the deeds of real men; the hopes and fears of real men; the burdens and discouragements and problems of real men. It shows the young man in his actual life; the old man in his; the poor man in his; the king in his. On its pages are found the smile of joy, the tear of sadness; the mother with her children, the shepherd with his sheep, the fisherman with his boats and his nets; the farmer sowing his seed and reaping his grain, the woman drawing water at the well.

This is why the Bible lives as it could not possibly live if it were merely a book of theology, or of texts to prove doctrines. This is why it finds human hearts, and will continue to find them forever. This is the secret of its undying interest and power.

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VII. This brings me to the most important fact of all to be stated about the Bible—and a fact to which all that has been said only leads up. The Bible is the record of all great and marvelous evolution—the evolution, through a period of a thousand years, of the civilization and especially the religion, of the Hebrew people. The world has no other record of a religious evolution so important as this. The Hebrew people did not begin their career high up, but low down. Their early conception of God was crude. Their moral ideas were imperfect. Many of them were idolaters. Intellectually, they stood upon a plane not so high as that occupied by some of the peoples around them. Morally they were probably a little above their heathen neighbors, but not much. From this low condition they rose, slowly, painfully, with many relapses, up and up through struggles, through vicissitudes, through the hardships of war, the hardships of peace, the hardships of oppression, through the bitter experience of reaping the harvests of their own mistakes and sins—up and up to the condition which we see at the time of the great prophets, and later at the time of the birth of Christianity. The Bible is the literature of this marvelous evolution. It reflects, as it could not but reflect if it was to be a true record, the thought of the people in all stages of their development. Do we not see how much more intelligible the Bible becomes in the light of this thought? More important still, do we not see from what a crushing load the Bible is relieved by this thought?

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It cannot be overlooked that thus far in its history the Bible has been a book exerting both a good and an evil influence among

men. Doubtless its influence for good has been far the greater; yet there is no evading the fact it has been used as an arsenal of defense for many of the worst evils that have ever cursed the world. It has been estimated that the single Scripture text, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," has caused the death of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of innocent human beings. Such books as Joshua, the Judges, and Chronicles, full of the records of cruel and inhuman wars, have been responsible in no small degree for keeping alive that terrible war-spirit which has wrought such havoc in Christendom during nearly every century since Christianity began. The Bible was long used as a bulwark of slavery. Polygamy has always appeared to the Bible for support. Were not Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David, Solomon, polygamists? Yet, these men are represented as special favorites of God. Tyrannizers over women have gone to the Bible for texts wherewith to justify their tyranny. So have wine-drinkers for texts to defend their use of wine. The Bible teaching that the insane are possessed of devils has caused these poor unfortunates in many past centuries to be treated in the most inhuman ways. Inquisitions, persecutions, and oppressions of all kinds have made their constant appeal to the Bible in support of their crimes against Humanity. The Bible has been used as perhaps the most effective of all fetters to bind the human mind. There is hardly a science that has not had its progress blocked seriously by texts from the Bible. These are all facts which have their place in history, and to which we cannot close our eyes.

Why has it been possible thus to turn the Bible into an instrument of evil in so many ways? The explanation lies primarily in the false belief regarding the Bible which has been in everybody's mind for so many centuries,—the belief that it is all and in every part the inspired and perfect word of God, and therefore an authority binding upon all men for all time. If men could only have known, as we know now, as biblical scholarship has made absolutely clear and certain, to us, that the Bible has been a growth, an evolution, that it is the literary record of the moral and religious development of the people of Israel for a thousand years and that it reflects every stage of that development, from lowest to highest, they would have been saved from making the awful mistake of supposing it all of equal value and authority, and all equally the infallible word of God: and



this means that they would have been saved from committing the great wrong against civilization and religion of clinging to outgrown teachings in its pages which ought to have been laid aside, and using them to hinder human progress and perpetuate human wrong.

The biblical scholarship of today teaches us to go for religious instruction and authority not to *all* the Bible, and not to this, that and the other part *indiscriminately*, but only to the *highest and best*; not to those parts which represent the *beginning of the evolution*, when the religion and ethics of the Hebrew people were *lowest*, but to those parts which represent the *culmination of the evolution*, when moral and religious ideas in Israel had risen to their *highest and purest*.

Is the question asked: Where is to be found the culmination of this evolution? The answer, clear as the light, is: It is to be found in the highest prophetic utterances and the noblest psalms of the Old Testament, and especially in the life and teachings of Jesus in the New Testament. Here is eternal "word of God"; here is permanent "Holy Scripture"; here is religious "authority" which we must believe can never pass away, because it goes down to the foundations of man's moral and religious nature, to the very deepest depths of the divine in the human soul.

When men come generally to see this, as more and more they will come to see it, then, but not before, will the evil influence of the Bible pass away, and the book we honor and love will enter upon a career of unmixed benefit to mankind.

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I have now set forth briefly what I conceive to be the "modern" view of the Bible as distinguished from the "medieval." That sooner or later this view will find general acceptance among intelligent and free minds, I believe is as certain as any future thing. Of course, it will have a hard and long battle to fight. Dogmatism is against it. The teachings and the prejudices of centuries are against it. It will win only among minds that dare to think. But among such it will win. Truth and reason are on its side. Ethical and spiritual religion welcome it. Already it is accepted by the most competent and

reliable Biblical scholarship; and it is only a question of time when intelligent and thoughtful men generally will follow where scholarship and reason lead.

Does any fear that this view will take away from the Bible some of its value? On the contrary, it leaves undisturbed absolutely every truth that the Bible ever contained, every moral precept, every spiritual principle, every inspiring word, every noble thought about God or man or duty or life, everything that has power to feed the soul's hunger, every word of comfort, of hope or trust, every call to courage, everything that is calculated to lift man up nearer to God, or bring God nearer to man, or draw men nearer to each other as brothers, or make life more divine.

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But if the new view keeps all that is valuable in the Bible, it also does more. It opens the way to vast treasures beside. It teaches that God is larger than the religious faith and larger than the sacred book of the Christian or the Jew. He is the God of all mankind. Inspiration is not confined to a single people of the ancient world. It is wide as humanity. God's spirit moves in the hearts and consciences of men in all ages and all lands. Revelation is not confined to a single volume. The Bible contains revelation, precious revelation of God's truth. But there is other precious revelation also—in the starry heavens, in the blossoming earth, in history, in art, in science, in the mother's love to her child, in the child's answering love as it looks up into the mother's eyes, in all the experiences of the deep heart of man; yes, and in the other great sacred books of the world outside our own, which have been bread of life to so many millions of the human race; and in the great seers, thinkers, poets, teachers of the deep things, of the spirit whom God sends to every age—the Platos, the Dantes, the Savonarolas, the Luthers, the Miltons, the Wesleys, the Channings, the Brownings, the Whittiers, the Emersons of the world. Through all these prophet-souls God speaks his word—his word which cannot be bound, his word which cannot be shut up in any one book, his word which is as large as all truth, and which will endure forever.

## THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PHILOSOPHY AT NAPLES.

THE International Congress of Philosophy had its fifth session at Naples in May.

It was practically the first sitting of the Congress after the war. In 1921 there was a Congress of Philosophy in Paris, but that was restricted to the allied nations only and had not a truly international character. It was originally organised by an international committee most of the members of which had fallen off in course of the last ten years, during which there were no sittings of the Congress owing to the war and its economical and social effects. The University of Naples, which was founded exactly seven hundred years ago by King Fredrich of German origin, was celebrating its seventh centenary and nothing could have been more appropriately festive for the occasion than a sitting of the International Congress of Philosophy in the halls of the University. The chief organisers of the Congress, Professors Aliotta and Della Valle and others had indeed a very busy time in making this world-congress a success. There are people who do not believe in philosophical or literary congresses; but all depends upon what they are expecting to have from them. Philosophical or literary enterprises of almost every description grow in solitude and fill the whole world with their delicate aroma without any limitations of time. No one could expect that any Congress would be a fit place for philosophical meditation or literary emotion, but there is one thing they can do, namely, they can help the establishment of cordial relations among kindred spirits in distant lands who might have met one another through the medium of a printed page, but could not expect to meet together exchanging friendship and courtesy. In these days of international strife and jealousy, the establishment of friendly relations among representative men in learning in each country goes a great way in bringing about mutual understanding and cordiality. It cannot also be denied that the various streams of thought rushing forth from various countries give a great cultural outlook of a universal character, stimulate philosophical thinking and, through the mutual exchange of views and philosophical convictions and beliefs, strengthen faith in the truth and reality of philosophical investigations. And from this point of

view, the Naples Congress was a great success. This philosophical Congress was, however, not the only Congress that took place on this occasion, for it was accompanied by a congress of sciences, a congress of Eugenics, a congress of Ophthalmology, a congress of Gynaecology and a Students' congress: but these were limited only to Italy and were not of an international character.

The philosophical congress was preceded by the seventh centenary of the University of Naples, the most important event of which was the reception of the king of Italy by the University and his admission to the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy and of Letters. The conferring of the degree on the king of Italy was performed by Paterna Ballizzi, and the following words were written on the parchment paper bearing the signature and seal of the Rector, and was tied with a tri-colored silk-thread to a white card:—"At the seventh centenary of the foundation of the University of Napoli, the Academical Senate of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, admiring the vast culture of His Majesty the King Victor Emmanuel III and, in particular, appreciation of his numismatic learning, admit him unanimously to the honorary Doctorate in Philosophy and Letters. Napoli, 3 May, 1924."

This ceremony took place on Saturday the 3rd May. From the 5th began the sittings of the International Congress of Philosophy and they lasted till the 9th May.

The first day's proceedings began with an address of reception on behalf of Italy to the invited delegates from the different countries of the world. As it appeared in *Gazzettino Universitario*, delegates were invited from France, England, Scotland, Ireland, South Africa, Greece, Paraguay, Argentina, Czechoslovakia, Chile, Denmark, Yugoslavia, Lithuania, Norway, Holland, Peru, Polonia, Portugal, United States of America, Sweden, Switzerland, Hungary, Malta, Germany and India. In addition to these there was of course a large number of Italian delegates from the various Universities. Then the representatives of the various countries were asked one by one to speak in reply. Professor S. N. Dasgupta, the only Indian representative (excluding an Indian student, Mr. Apparsundaran from Leeds,

who later on read a paper on Indian education in one of the sessions of the section of Pedagogy, was the sixth speaker, the first, second, third, fourth and fifth speakers being from France, Germany, England, Switzerland and the United States of America. The first appearance of an Indian professor in his Indian dress of Achkan and Pugri, in the International Congress was greeted with extraordinary cheerfulness and hilarity by the crowd of students and also by the audience in general.

Professor Dasgupta spoke briefly on the strange geographical similarity of India with Italy and also on the similarity of cultural career of the two countries. Speaking briefly on the part that Ancient India played in philosophy, he expressed his satisfaction that it was in Italy that India had first been invited to take her rightful place in the International philosophical deliberations. He also described some of the special features of the Naples Congress and wished it a hearty success. Many others speakers followed and after that the whole meeting dispersed and rejoined again at the Basilica St. Domenico Maggoire where Padre A. Gomelli, the Rector of the Catholic University of Milan, gave a long and interesting speech on the philosophical contributions of Thomas Aquinas and their influence on European thought at the 650th anniversary of his death, which was being celebrated there on that day.

The sittings of the Congress were divided into two distinct classes in the mornings and the afternoons. The most important lectures were reserved for the morning and the great University hall was reserved for the purpose. Others were divided into ten sections,—Metaphysics, Aesthetics, Ethics, Philosophy of Religion, Philosophy of Right and Law, Philosophy of Science, Psychology, Pedagogy, Sociology and History of Philosophy, and for these ten different rooms were allotted in the afternoon. The gathering in these sections was therefore small, as the people were divided and also because people had always a number of social and sight-seeing engagements in the afternoons. Professor A. Aliotta was the President of the Executive Committee and Prof. Guido della Valle, the General Secretary of the Congress Committee, but no fixed presidents were selected either for the morning or for the afternoon meetings of the different sections. These were elected at each separate sitting from among those who were present there.

It may not be of any great interest for the

readers of this Journal to follow the contents of the various papers that were read on the different branches on European philosophy. The only person to speak on Indian philosophy, with the exception of Professor Dasgupta, was Professor Helmuth von Glasenapp of Berlin, who spoke on the philosophy of the Jains and its relations to the Metaphysics of other Indian systems of thought. Dr. Glasenapp, who occasionally contributes to this paper, is wellknown to Sanskritists by his two publications on Jainism, his book on Hinduism and his book on system of Madhva, a system which has hardly been touched either in India or in Europe in modern times. He is a very keen scholar of Sanskrit and is one of the leading figures of the new generation of Sanskritists of Europe. He dealt with some of the fundamental doctrines of Jaina thought, such as the distinctions of soul and non-soul, the doctrine of karma, etc. On the morning of the 8th May, Professor Dasgupta read his long and interesting paper on Croce and Buddhism, and it is interesting to note that the great Italian philosopher Croce, who for some reasons or other had kept himself aloof throughout the proceedings of the Congress, came to attend this lecture and took the chair only for Dr. Dasgupta's lecture. Croce, in spite of the criticisms that Professor Dasgupta made about his system of thought, was immensely pleased with the paper and from the attention that Professor Dasgupta received from the large number of Italian and German papers, it appears that his lecture was a great success and it served to rouse a genuine interest and respect for India and her philosophy. A summary of Prof. Dasgupta's paper is given below, the full text of which is published elsewhere. At the close of the Congress, Professor Dasgupta was invited to visit the University of Padua, where he received a very warm and enthusiastic reception from the members of the University of Padua.

AN ABSTRACT OF PROFESSOR S. N. DASGUPTA'S  
LECTURE AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF  
PHILOSOPHY HELD AT NAPLES, MAY 1924.

The main points of the lecture of Professor Dasgupta of the University of Calcutta, India, is that much of what passes as modern discoveries in philosophical thought in Europe is found anticipated long ago in ancient systems of Indian philosophy, which hardly any European philosopher has up till now mastered on account of lack of intimate acquaintance with Sanskrit, the language in which most of these philosophical systems are written.



He maintained that if Indian philosophy is properly studied in the original by persons whose chief interest is philosophy, it is bound to stimulate new lines of thinking and give rise to a new branch of study called "Comparative Philosophy". He proceeded then to prove his point by taking the system of Croce, which to all appearance seems to be very far removed from Buddhistic thought. In his long lecture, full of close analysis and acute application of philosophical dialectic, he showed that Croce's system may be said to reveal five fundamental positions:—*viz.* (1) anti-metaphysical character of philosophy, (2) anti-verbalist character of logic, (3) difference between intuition and concept, (4) identity of philosophy

and history, and (5) spiritual nature of all phenomena, and that all these are also fundamental positions of Buddhism as formulated by Dharmakīrti, Ratnakīrti, Pāṇḍita Asoka and others. He further showed that in the points in which there were differences between Croce and Buddhism, Buddhism was in the right. Croce, who did not take any part in any other deliberation of the Congress, was himself in the chair. He did not give any reply to Professor Dasgupta's criticisms and from what he said it was evident that he was exceedingly pleased with Professor Dasgupta's paper. Professor Dasgupta's paper had a great stimulating effect in rousing a great interest in Indian philosophical thought.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

### ENGLISH.

THE ETHICS OF FEMINISM: A STUDY OF THE REVOLT OF WOMAN. By A. R. Wadia, B. A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-law. Professor of Philosophy, University of Mysore. London. George Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d. net.

A stray glance through some opening sentences made us suspect that the writer has espoused a reactionary cause which has no chance of acceptance in these progressive times. But the more we read into the book, the more were we disabused of the notion. His conception of family life, based as it is on all that is best and purest in Indian life and tradition, is yet quite enlightened enough to suit advanced minds in all countries, and there is nothing distinctly or exclusively oriental about it. The book is written in a charming style, and is intensely interesting from start to finish. Though it offers a vigorous criticism of the theories of some of the leading Feminist writers, it does so not in an illiberal spirit, but from a thoroughly rational and humanistic and ethical standpoint. The author's wide culture, sound liberalism, and moral earnestness is evident in every page and we entirely agree with all his main conclusions, and we believe the better mind of the West, irrespective of sex, will also find little cause to differ from them.

The central theme of the author is suggested by the following sentence: "Truly a woman's lot is hard, and there is an element of truth in the radical feminists' complaint that sex is a terrible handicap in the life of a woman." Nature made woman pre-eminently for one function—motherhood—most exacting in its nature, and consuming vast quantities of physical and psychical energy, to which there is nothing corresponding in the physical and mental life of man. Revolt against this unequal dispensation of nature is not only useless and puerile, but it leads ultimately to gross immorality and intense selfishness, as the author has no difficulty to prove, and immediately to that form of abnormality which may be called asexuality, that is to say, absence of any craving for love or attachment which makes domestic and conjugal life the grove of happiness.

If the reader is proposed to go thus far with the author, the rest is easy to follow, for he admits that marriage is not meant for all, that genius will have its way, that both the sexes require to be educated, each in its own way, and the curriculum for woman's education which he chalks out with reference to the standard prevalent in Germany and other countries is sufficiently ample and spacious and practical for the great majority of women. For exceptional women he recognises that no such rule can be laid down, but for the mass

of woman home-life and not professional or industrial life, must be the goal, and this is also essential in the interest of the perpetuation of the species without which there can be no family or society.

The introduction of female labour in the mills and factories is responsible for the desolation of homes, which is the tribute of the modern world to the Moloch of industrialism. Professional women are not so objectionable, but motherhood is an exacting vocation, and till the age of 45, a woman should, in the author's opinion, devote her best energies to her children and home, otherwise they will grow aliens to her tender love and care. After her children are grown-up she may, according to the author, step forth into the wider world and contribute her quota of social service. A woman should have a legal right, as in France, to a substantial proportion of her husband's income, the service that she renders at home being fully equivalent to that rendered by her husband outside.

'The Evolution of Marriage,' 'The Ethics of Divorce,' 'The Eugenic Marriage,' 'Motherhood,' 'The Claims of Children,' 'The Future of Children,' 'The Feminist Revolt,' 'The Basic Ideas of Feminism,' 'The Passing Away of Old Ideas,'—these are some of the chapter-headings and all the chapters are full of interesting and instructive matter.

"There is one point in which the East, and especially India, easily scores, and that is in the purity of its students. Students in the West are freely allowed to sow their wild oats...students in the East have yet remained as a class true in the main to the old vedic ideal of *Brahmachari*...with such an ideal of a *Brahmachari*, and with a proper system of education, there are yet infinite possibilities for good in the youth of India, both male and female." These are inspiring words, and we believe they are true.

"Woman's life revolves round her sexual function. It constitutes the beginning and the culmination of her existence. It is her very mission in life. She cannot rebel against it, she cannot annihilate it without ceasing to be woman...without children [an average healthy woman] feels a void in her life which neither love for her husband nor any sort of social service ever completely fills up...A wife who refuses to bear children and only seeks to satisfy her sensuality is at bottom a courtesan."

The author recognises that feminism "is a movement which in its saner aspects is most needed for the welfare of humanity. The history of the past was built on the ignorance, exclusion and even exploitation of woman. The history of the future must be built on her enlightenment and freedom, so as to ensure the maximum amount of co-operation between the sexes on the basis of love...The woman of the past was the slave of man, she commanded respect and obedience as mother, and sometimes her beauty exacted the blind idolatry of man. But her sex was looked down upon with contempt. The woman of the future will be a highly self-conscious being, alive to a sense of her dignity and the importance of her function. We have only to guard against her extreme individualism, which may degenerate into an unhealthy sexuality or general looseness of sexual life."

An insensate craving to acquire man's outlook,

man's freedom, man's ambitions and man's power will make the woman hybrid without the strength of man and without the power and tenderness of woman. An artificial annihilation of their different functions can but lead to a disastrous racial suicide. "The institution of marriage has lost its old sanctity among feminists, and in countries like the United States, where divorces are as cheap as water, it has already become a farce."

In the chapter on 'Womanhood in the East' the author says that though the times have changed since the days of man-made laws and male assumptions of superiority, still India moves very slowly in the right direction, and one of the drawbacks, in the author's opinion, is the excessive veneration for the mother, which, however noble a trait in itself, is responsible for the unprogressiveness of Hindu society. "The bitterest critic of Indian institutions will yet have to give a meed of praise to the devotion of a Hindu woman to her husband and her house...the love of a Hindu couple is one of the happiest traits of a Hindu household." But "female education is the bedrock of all reform in India, and until it comes India must plod along, an old wornout country, vainly expecting the world to bend its knee in silent homage before her mighty civilization, and yet without any zest to assert her position in the present comity of nations."

Though "the ideal of *Sati* was once a living ideal, and where *willingly* lived up to, it marked the supreme divinity of Hindu wifehood," nothing can be more inhuman, more miserable and heartrending than the plight of a Hindu girl-widow, and "there are two directions especially in which feminism must work and must conquer, i.e., it must bring about the cessation of infant marriages, and of the pernicious injunction which restricts all widows from remarrying." Similarly, a fatal facility of divorce and seclusion of women are the two great evils among Moslem women.

Himself, we believe, a Parsi, the author's observations on Parsi women are particularly instructive. "The present prosperity and status of the Parsee community," he says, "are due mainly to English education, but this education has not been by any means unmixed with evil. It has bred a false sense of superiority, not without a tinge of the snobbishness of the English upper classes and Anglo-Indians. It has bred luxurious habits, which have undermined the physique of rising generation. It has bred a distaste for clean, household duties, and an exaggerated emphasis on costly dress, clubs and gymkhanas, a superficial veneer of respectability, shallow skindeep enthusiasms, and above all, that useless parasitic type of women—that used to be so common in Europe, and is not unknown even yet—ever pursuing rich youngmen, keen on spending money recklessly, without any high domestic ideals or high social ideals, all of whose actions are governed by a passionate desire to rivet admiring glances or to fish for compliments. Of course, the number of such people is still very limited, but an evil example is always a danger. ...This unhealthy influence of the butterfly species of humanity has already percolated to the upper strata of Hindu society in Bombay...The middle classes are impelled to ape the idle rich. The sense of adaptation to the needs of the day and a revival of old ideals may yet serve to put a check to a movement which is usually honoured with the

name of progress, but which in reality is only progress in the direction of the tail."

Woman's employment in industries affects the foundations of morality, and swells the number of "amateur" prostitutes. "Women complain of the infinite dullness and monotony of domestic occupation. Yet how infinitely more dull and monotonous is the dreary work generally performed by women employed in industries!...The poverty of the employed and the avarice of the employer between them produce mutilated spectres of womanhood; loss of beauty, loss of health, loss of chastity, involuntary motherhood, these are the items that overweigh all the pompous theorisings of feminists. Real poverty and helplessness may make some sort of occupation an absolute necessity. Cases of this type deserve our commiseration, and point to a defect in the organization of society which makes unhealthy work on the part of women a necessity under any circumstances. The efforts of social reformers and feminists may well be directed towards curing these defects...But whatever justification there may be for these victims of poverty, there is none whatsoever for those young women who wilfully take employment so that they may not be absolutely 'dependent' on their parents; and none whatever for those parents, unfortunately not a few, who wilfully encourage their daughters in their foolishness...The need of frequent rest for women, especially during their [monthly] periods of illness and several weeks before and after confinement, is imperative and cannot be denied without grave consequences to their health. The disastrous effects of industrial conditions on their health have passed the stage of mere academic discussion..." It is horrible if true that "the first entry into modern industrial life is often gained by paying the tribute of Babylon to a vicious manager or proprietor, and the evil once begun hardly ends before health and youth are alike prematurely lost." "Money is needed to produce better home conditions, but feminists have worked at the wrong end by trying to increase the income of the family by making the woman work. The same end could be attained by causing an increase in the wages of man and guaranteeing through law that an adequate portion of that goes to the *mater-familias* instead of to the public house or the gambling house."

We shall take leave of this extremely entertaining and instructive book with two more extracts, one pointing out the difference which the conservative section of Indians are apt to forget, between an Indian and a European marriage and the other giving the author's own definition of a true love marriage.

"If mere contentment is the measure of happiness, there is no doubt that the percentage of happy marriages in the East would be any day greater than in the West. But the comparison would be unfair, as in the East women are deliberately kept so excluded and ignorant that their happiness consists in blindly yielding to the caprices of their husbands. Divine discontent is a stranger to them, and happiness of a sort is always open to them. But conditions are different in the West. Women are far too educated, too refined, too experienced to let their individuality be utterly merged in the pompous arrogance of a husband, a rake, a scamp, or an idiot though he be. The assertion of the woman's individuality and her right to love, rather than the compulsion to obey, often cause a rift in the lute of marriage, pro-

ducing discordant notes which may ultimately lead to divorce proceedings. Education has opened out to them vast vistas of their possible worth: the range of their happiness has hopelessly out-distanced the smug self-complacency of an Eastern woman. But this very growth has made marriage a much more difficult problem than it was ever before."

"True love is an inner sympathy, a mutual admiration, a sense of blossoming in each other, a sense of void that one has without the other, an unending communion of souls. It is this love that never suffers from satiety, for every day reveals some freshness in the beloved object, and with the growth of days there is the growth of love, for time makes mutual presence a necessity greater than ever. This love is not sensual, yet it is not without sensuality. Only in its case the sensuality is a symbol of their drawing near each other, and means of forging new chains of love in the shape of offspring. It is the love of Dante for Beatrice, of Sir Rama, of Satyavan and Savitri, of the Brownings. The essential characteristic of such a love is that it grows. It cannot possibly come full-fledged at one stroke. Time is the very essence of it."

THE FUTURISM OF YOUNG ASIA: *By Benoy Kumar Sarkar: Markert and Petters, Leipzig.*

This is a collection of essays contributed by the author to various magazines of the East and the West, including the *Modern Review*, on the relations between the Orient and the Occident. They cover a wide range of subjects, and the treatment, naturally, is not equal in every part. Some of the articles are scrappy and only skim the surface of the subject dealt with, whereas others display the author's cosmopolitan culture and ripe scholarship. In the more general aspects of comparative culture-study the author is easily first among Indian writers. His sweeping generalizations, covering wide periods of time and vast continents, give us a startlingly new outlook on things, and his vigorous, telling and combative style with the perfect self-assurance and *nonchalance* so characteristic of him, make him a forceful writer with whom you may not always agree but who is sure to arrest your attention and provoke you to think.

The present collection of essays is a challenge of the East to the West, and the author's intimate and first-hand knowledge of China enables him to write with authority on the present state of affairs in the celestial Republic. But in regard to the political condition of China, India, the near and the Far East, and also international politics the author's account is brought down to only as late as 1920-21, and so rapid is the transformation that the entire East is undergoing that in many respects his comments and observations are already out of date, and require modification. One of the main lessons which Mr. Sarkar preaches in a hundred different ways in this book is that there is no such fundamental difference between the East and the West as is implied by Kipling's notorious lines, "The East is East and the West is West. And never the twain shall meet." In the words of our author, "Humanity is...essentially one,—in spite of physical and physiognomic diversities, and in spite of deep, historic race-prejudices. The effort to understand the nature of God or the relations between Man and the Divinity is the least part of a man's real religion. The *elan vital* of human



life has always and everywhere consisted in the desire to live and in the power to flourish by responding to the thousand and one stimuli of the universe and by utilizing the innumerable world forces." The East, in short, is not less materialist than the West and the West is not less spiritualistic than the East; this is the author's emphatic verdict on the subject.

The author compares the performance of modern India in science and literature with those of the West and is of opinion that young India need not be ashamed of her share in world culture. Though the author seems to us to be too optimistic, his obvious object being to infuse self-confidence and enthusiasm in the minds of our young men, he admits that in higher philosophic speculation, in history (archaeology impregnated with a bias, an interpretation, a standpoint, a philosophy, a 'criticism of life'), political science, currency, finance, railway, land tenure, prices, statistics, which are all as yet unreal terms in the consciousness of young India, much remains to be done.

The volume is replete with good things and from 400 closely printed quarto pages it is not possible, within the limits of a magazine review, to make a representative selection, but the following extract will serve as a sample.

"Greater India is a unit of enlarged experience and thought-compelling discoveries. The first discovery of India abroad is that not every man among the independent nations is every day discovering the laws of gravitation, radio-activity or relativity. Its second discovery is that not every woman among the free peoples is a Madame Curie, a Hellen Keller, or an Ellen Key.

"Not the least noteworthy among great India's discoveries in the course of its diversified development are the facts that the Governments of the 'great powers' are run in responsible positions by persons whose capacity for administration, intellectual and moral, is entirely mediocre, not less so than is that of thousands of present-day Indians who might be invited to occupy the same offices, and that consequently the kind of men who organize the cabinets or manipulate the war machines or are sent out to take charge of the embassy in foreign lands or to rule subject nations are even now plentiful in each and every province of India.

"Greater India has also discovered through its intimate camaraderie and social intercourse among foreign races that the intrigues, jealousies, meannesses, and animosities which form the daily routine of public life in the independent world—not only as between country and country but also as between denomination and denomination, party and party, and individual and individual—are nowhere less deep and less dehumanizing than are any such conflicts as prevail in India to-day or may have prevailed in the past.

"In other words, Greater India has accomplished only one thing. Its experiences and discoveries in the realm of human values have established the equality of Indian men and women with the men and women of the leading races. The life-processes and self-realizations of greater India have demonstrated that India's sons and daughters are capable of solving the same problems in industry, in arts, in science, in politics, as are the men and women in Europe, America, Japan.

"The moral of this self-consciousness is obvious.

'Declare yourself to be a power,' says greater India to India at home, 'and you are already a power. Force yourself in the notice of mankind, and mankind will take note of you. Seek the recognition of world-powers as one of their peers, and they will tend to meet you half way.' The one thing that India needs today is the final great doze of dehypnotization."

Towards that final consummation the author's book, by virtue of the vigorous onslaught of his challenge, is a most important contribution. Every sentence in it is like a knockdown blow, and it tells, owing to the intimate first-hand knowledge which lies behind it. But this very fact makes it also a book of the times, without much that is of comparatively permanent value.

RISE OF THE CHRISTIAN POWER IN INDIA: VOL. III.  
By Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (Retd.) R. Chatterjee.  
91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

In this volume the administration of the Marquess of Wellesley is brought to a conclusion. According to Major Basu, "he was the greatest follower of Machiavelli whom England ever sent out to India." The history of the second Marhatta War is given in full from official despatches, and how Gaekwar, and Scindhia and Holkar were drawn off from the great Marhatta confederacy one after another and its back was broken, may be gleaned from these pages. Holkar refused to succumb to the seductive wiles of the Governor-General and at one time the fortunes of the British power were at a low ebb, for though not a great statesman, Jasowant Rao Holkar was a great general. Bharatpur gave him an asylum and this led to the well-known siege of that fortress by Lord Lake which was taken, after many failures by the Sepoy army, the European soldiers of the Company being too thoroughly demoralised to repeat the attempt. In the words of H. H. Wilson (Mill's History, 3rd Ed. Vol. vi., p. 426)—"The Europeans, however, of His Majesty's 75th and 76th who were at the head of the column, refused to advance.... The entreaties and expostulations of their officers failing to produce any effect, two regiments of native infantry, the 12th and the 15th were summoned to the front, and gallantly advanced to the storm." In Major Basu's opinion, Holkar must, in a sense, be looked upon as the saviour of India inasmuch as it was his opposition that prevented the dream of Dalhousie to colour the whole map of India red from being realized. Truly did Sir Philip Francis declare from his place in Parliament in 1804: "Ever since I have known anything of Indian affairs, I have found the prevailing disease of our Governments there has been a rage for making war." Again, "we first had commerce, commerce produced factories, factories produced garrisons, garrisons produced armies, armies produced conquests, and conquests had brought us into our present situation."

"Duplicity, hypocrisy, intrigue, fraud, and lying" in the words of Major Basu, were the weapons, offensive and defensive, of the Marquess of Wellesley and the following extract from his lordship's letter to the Moghul Emperor of Delhi will serve as a good instance in point: "Your Majesty is fully apprized of the sentiments of respect and attachment which the British Government has invariably entertained towards your royal person and family. The injuries and indignities to which your Majesty and your illustrious family have been exposed

since the time when your Majesty unhappily transferred the protection of your person to the power of the Marhatta State, have been a subject of unceasing concern to the Honourable Company and to the British administration in India", &c. &c. The tragic sequel of this exaggerated devotion to the House of the Moghuls may be read in Kaye and Malletson's History of the Sepoy Mutiny, where it will be seen how the last surviving scions of that great historic dynasty were ferreted out of Humayun's tomb and cruelly done to death.

It is quite true, as Major Basu says, that England did not spend a farthing for the conquest of the Indian Empire. According to Seeley, this is the universal law of Empire-making. It is further true that the victories of England over the Indian princes were due as much to superior weapons, skill and organisation as to fraud, treachery, corruption, bribery and the violation of the most solemn treaties. These are however weapons well recognised in Hindu manuals of political science and are there treated as legitimate weapons of warfare. It is not Machiavellian diplomacy to which the Indian princes were averse: they were outmanœuvred by the white foreigners at the game. It seems to us that pity, humanity, sincerity, and softer virtues generally, were too deep-rooted in the Oriental mind to be obliterated altogether, in the way in which they had been effaced from the hearts of their European rivals who had come to India to play the game of war with remorseless vindictiveness. Again and again in going through these pages, we have been struck by the occasional display of childish simplicity in situations calling for the greatest statesmanship, of helpless disorganization of the powerlessness to combine against a common enemy, of the failure to profit by a victory or learn from a defeat, of underestimating the enemy's strength and overestimating one's own, of the want of any preconceived policy or continuity of action, on the part of the great Indian powers who were contending with the East India Company for supremacy. The British, on the other hand, through success and defeat, never lost their main objective; well-disciplined, well-organised, ever ready to find out the weak point in the adversary and take advantage of it, cool and collected, looking far ahead, following a continuous policy of aggression and consolidation through all the temporary vicissitudes of the hour, and the mutual jealousies and personal rivalries of the Company's high officials, they established their claim to take the first place among the competing powers, and easily came on top of the rest. There is nothing surprising in this and the perfidy of the English Governors-General cannot alone have contributed to this result. As the author says in his footnote at page 178, "that the British could bribe natives of the country to betray their own Indian rulers, shows national degeneracy and lack of patriotism."

In bringing this short review to a close, we have only to add, what we have already said in reviewing the earlier volumes, that the author's monumental industry in ransacking state despatches, official correspondence and the like in order to piece together a continuous history of the early British period from original sources which are usually suppressed by contemporary Imperialist historians from interested motives, deserves thorough appreciation at the hands of all true historians whose motto should be, "Fiat Justitia Ruat cælum."

Por.

THE WRITTEN STATEMENT AND ORAL EVIDENCE OF S. N. HAJI, B.A. (OXON.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW, MANAGER, SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION CO., LTD., RA'GOONS, BEFORE THE INDIAN MERCANTILE MARINE COMMITTEE, 1924. *Indian Shipping Series. Pamphlet No. 7. Delhi.*

Starting from the position that an Indian mercantile marine is essential to the economic self-sufficiency of this very important constituent of the British Empire, Mr. Haji proceeds to enumerate the causes that have hitherto stood in the way of the growth of such a marine. These are:—(1) British shipping monopoly, adopting deferred rebates and discriminations and deadly rate-wars; (2) Hostile attitude of British mercantile insurance companies working in India; and (3) Government apathy—even Government mails and stores being carried in British ships. He strongly urges the reservation of Indian coastal trade for Indian shipping. Such reservation is practised by all civilised countries of modern times and had been adopted by England herself by her Navigation Acts, without which the growth of English merchant marine would, in the opinion of the most competent authorities, have been seriously hampered.

The author's oral evidence is quite outspoken and impartial. He takes his stand on the unquestionable capacity of Indians to build up a mercantile marine of their own, given proper opportunities. All attempts of the European members of the Committee—directly or indirectly interested in the maintenance of the *status quo* to dislodge him from this position ended in failure. He points out that the question of shipbuilding in India should not be confused with that of Indian shipping. India may not build a single ship for a long time to come and yet she may have a large mercantile marine of her own.

ECONOMICUS.

AN INTERPRETATION OF ANCIENT HINDU MEDICINE: By Chandra Chakrabarty. Published by Ravi Chandra Chakrabarty, 58, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

The author is well known as a writer on diverse subjects, such as Medicine, Education, Social Policy, Politics, Health, Food, etc., and in the present volume of 625 pages, he has made an attempt to place before the medical profession and the general reader carefully selected materials for a comparative study of the ancient Hindu and Greek systems of medicine in the light of modern knowledge. His contention that the ancient Greek Schools of Medicine were indebted to the Hindu system deserves careful consideration and the proofs adduced in its favour are not without foundation. The subject-matter of the book deals with the different departments of Medicine, such as Anatomy, Physiology, Pathology, Diagnosis and clinical studies of diseases, Therapeutics, Surgery, Dietetics and Hygiene. These have been dealt with from the point of view of comparative study and the author has liberally quoted original Sanskrit texts in support of his views. He has successfully shown that not an inconsiderable part of our present-day knowledge of the structure and functions of the human body and of the nature and methods of treatment of surgical diseases were known to the ancient physicians of India. Such knowledge, to our regret, has, to a large extent, passed away from among the present-day practitioners of the Ayurvedic Medicine for want of study and practice, and this, more than anything else, has brought discredit on the Hindu System of Medicine which

is looked down upon and often made the subject of ridicule by the votaries of Modern Medicine. It is satisfactory to note that signs of revival of the *Indigenous System* are visible and the educated Indian public is interesting itself in stimulating a systematic study of the Hindu Medicine in all its different branches on a scientific basis and the Government is trying to create facilities for the same.

The study of a book like the one under review is bound to create a feeling of reverence and admiration in the mind of the Indian reader for the great Teachers of Medicine of ancient India who could arrive at so much truth by the simple process of study, observation and intuition without the aid of modern scientific resources at their command. He is indeed a foolish man who thinks that the ancient Indian System of Medicine will or can ever replace the Modern Western System, but there is much in the Old System which could with great advantage be assimilated in the New, and in our humble opinion, it is then the duty of every Indian doctor to help in this work of assimilation.

The author has done a service to his country by writing this useful book.

VEGETABLE DRUGS OF INDIA: *By Deva Prasad Sanyal, L.M. & S. (Cal.) Price Rs. 3-8.*

This is a nicely-got-up handy volume of about 400 pages devoted to the important subject of vegetable drugs of India and written by Dr. Deva Prasad Sanyal. The book will be welcomed by all who are interested in the more extended study and use of indigenous drugs in the practice of the Western System of Medicine in India. The labours of Roeburg, Voight, O'Shaughnessy, Moodeen Sheriff, Kanny Lall Dey, U. C. Dutt, Sir George Watt, Warden, Dymock, Hooper, Waring, Basu and Kirtikar among others, are well known in the field of research on Indian vegetable drugs but their work is not readily available to the busy practitioner for purposes of easy reference. The author has, therefore, done well in attempting to compile in a condensed form the results of the labours of some of the previous workers on the subject, supplemented by useful information collected from standard books of Hindu Medicine. There is no doubt that the demand for a wider use of indigenous drugs in the Allopathic system of treatment is growing, and this is to be welcomed in the interest of both economy and efficiency. Many of the vegetable drugs used in the Western pharmacopœias grow abundantly in India and these are equal, if not superior, in potency to the drugs imported from Europe and America. Some of them have already been introduced into the British Pharmacopœia but their number is small and most of them are of comparatively minor importance in regard to their therapeutic value. It is much to be regretted that a systematic examination of indigenous drugs in their chemical, pharmacological and clinical aspects on strict scientific lines has not made much progress in India, and this accounts for the natural hesitation on the part of the practitioners of the Western System of Medicine, to use such drugs as substitutes for imported drugs of tried value. The experimental work is, however, being carried on systematically in some of the laboratories in India, and among these, the Pharmacological Laboratory of the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine deserves special mention. As this work advances, the use of indigenous drugs will come into greater favour with

the Medical Profession of India and a book of this kind is sure to be in demand in the near future.

We regret to note that in the case of some of the drugs such as *Nerium Odorum* (*Karabi*), *Thevetia Nerifolia* (*Kolke-Phul*), *Hollarhena Antidysenterica* (*Kurchi*), *Terminalia Arjuna* (*Arjun*), *Boehaarvia Repens* (*Punarnava*), etc., the information supplied is not up-to-date. A good deal of research work has been done with reference to these drugs during recent years and all this should have found a place in the book. Then again, the vernacular names of some of the indigenous drugs given in the book are not correct. We hope the learned author will see these defects removed in the next edition of the book.

We have no hesitation to commend this book to the acceptance of the Medical Profession.

CHUNI LAL BOSE.

"SCIENTIFIC AND OTHER PAPERS" OF RAI BAHADUR CHUNILAL BOSE, C.I.E., I.S.O., M.B., F.C.S., RASAYANA-CHARYA. Vol. I. *Edited by J. P. Bose, M.B., F.C.S., Mitra Research Scholar, Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine.* Crown 8 vo., pp. 523. Forward Press. Rs. 5.

It is with pleasure that we find the old papers of Rai Chunilal Bose Bahadur presented in book form. The book contains a sketch of the brilliant career of the author by his son Dr. J. P. Bose, eleven chemical and pharmacological papers, three medical papers, twelve medico-legal essays, two articles on industrial chemistry and eleven illustrations. Dr. Chunilal Bose's name is a household word in Bengal in connection with his many-sided public activities and his medical and chemical researches. His contributions to these subjects have won him a reputation of which his countrymen are justly proud.

The discussion of some local events, such as the Bhawanipore Food Poisoning, a Formaline Poisoning, etc., offers additional interest, and appeals to the lay reader. No page of the book is so technically stiff as not to be understood by the laity. For instance, the papers on cocaine and matches ought to be of the greatest service to the general reader, as well as the one on paper-making. One only wishes that the article on the manufacture of matches was more up-to-date.

Of particular interest to the toxicologist are his descriptions of several little known indigenous poisons, as for example, the bitter luffa and *Nerium odorum*. In connection with the latter, it may be interesting to recall the account narrated in Xenophon's *Anabasis* of the wholesale poisoning of the Greek army by partaking of honey derived from *Oleander*, a species of *Nerium*.

The toxic properties of *Karabin*, the active principle of *Oleander* discovered by Dr. Bose, rouses the curiosity of the pharmacist and the chemist, but he is disappointed to find that no effort was made to determine its exact chemical composition. Much of the pharmacological work of Dr. Bose does not rise above the level of Dymock, Warden and Hooper.

The public owe a debt of gratitude to the author for the prompt action he took a few years ago in exposing the adulteration of mustard oil by pakra oil. The results of his investigations are related in his book and form interesting reading.

The value of the book is enhanced by a paper on a snake-bite case where the snake was definitely proved to be a full-grown cobra, and the statistics



about suicide in the city are interesting in view of the methods of self-destruction mentioned in it, and a change in the mode of killing oneself with the advance of time. In this connection the discussion about the sale of poisons is of great value, and this article was instrumental in the passing of an act restricting the free sale of poisons in Bengal.

The book is elegantly bound, and the type is clear and bold, a fact which is always welcome to old readers or weak-eyed men. The language is elegant and entertaining.

G. B.

# URDU.

RASSOL-E-ARABI: By Mr. Gurdut Singh Dava, Barrister-at-Law. Pp. 124. Price Re. 1-4. Publisher: Dar-ul-Messanifin, Azamgarh (U. P.)

This exceedingly charming "Life of the Arabian Prophet" by a Sikh gentleman deserves to be very widely read by both Muslims and Non-Muslims. Apart from the literary merits of the work, which are not insignificant, the author (who is, by the way, also the editor of the London journal, the *Hind*) has done a substantial service to the cause of Indian unity by publishing this very sympathetic and loving study of the ever lovable Prophet.

QAUM PAREST, Pp. 192. Price Re. 1; MUHABBAT KA INTIQAM, Pp. 205. Price Re. 1; KUNJ AAFIAT, Pp. 74, Price 6 as. By 'Suddarshan.' Publisher: Ram Kutya Book Depot, Lahore.

All the three works are from the pen of that excellent Hindu writer of Urdu, 'Suddarshan.' The first of these is a drama adopted from some Bengali work of D. L. Roy, depicting the heroism of Rajasthan. The second is also a drama, based on the pre-Ramayan history of Gujarat. The third is a novel, extolling the fidelity of the modern Indian wife, and contrasting it with the ever-changing and mammon-worshipping attentions of her "refined" English sister. Decent and readable language, interesting plots, and fine ideas are the prominent features of the three stories. A commendable vein of patriotism runs throughout.

MUKHTASAR TARIKH AQWAM KAYESTH WA PARBUH WA THAKUR. Part I, pp. 112 plus 24 (in English). Price As. 12. Part II, pp. 224. Price Re. 1-4. By Mr. Gopi Nath Singh. Publisher: Mr. Gopi Nath, Mohalla Qammgoyan, Bareilly (U. P.)

A compendium of ancient and modern history of the Kayesth and the allied castes. Part I deals with the Hindu and Muslim periods; and Part II gives the history of the present-day Kayesth notables. On the whole, the book is valuable. Undue and unwarranted praise of the British Government has marred the beauty of the narrative. Very poor quality of paper and printing is also a regrettable feature of the book and has made its reading a difficult task.

A. M.

# TAMIL.

KOVALAN-KANNAKI: By H. Ramasamy Iyer, Head Tamil Pandit, Municipal High School, Palani. Pp. 124. Price 10 annas.

We have in this work an instance of mere pedantry failing to achieve anything great. The author is mistaken in thinking that his terse style will make the readers great scholars. He has spoiled the beauty of the thrilling Jaina story of

Kannaki by his feeble attempt to give the plot a Hindu colouring. It is further revolting to find the Hindu God to be the guide of goldsmith in all his wicked ways. It is also strange that every one of the characters should use the same monotonous style of language throughout the play.

EEMAN: By B. Daudshah, Madras. 2p. 42.

This is another useful publication of the learned author. The fundamentals of Islam are given in this work in such a clear style as to be easily understood even by the followers of other faiths. The author betrays his ignorance of Saivism when he says that Islam alone appeals to the reason of its votaries and proves to their satisfaction the existence of God and his pathihood or lordship and that of Unitarian, Christianity and Brahmo Samaj when he claims the interpretation of heaven and hell as mere states of the soul gradually improving for the better as that of Islam alone.

FUNNY STORIES FOR YOUNG AND OLD: By N. Ramahadra Dikshithar, B. A. Edward-Elliot Road, Mylapore, Madras. Pp. 27. Price 4 as.

The stories are very interesting though they are written in anglicised Tamil.

MADHAVAN.

# TELUGU.

THE BUDDHA IN TELUGU: By M. Sitarama-rao, B.A., L.T. Printed at the India Printing Works, Madras, Price Rs. 0-8-0, pp. 86.

This book narrates the life-story of Buddha. It is written in simple lucid style and would go a long way in influencing the thought, character and aspirations of the Telugu childrer for whom it is specially intended. He has made a judicious selection of stories concerning Buddha's life and his method of teaching for the purpose of conveying religious and ethical lessons for the bairns.

B. RAMA CHANDRA RAO.

# GUJARATI.

ASHRAM-HARINI: By Professor Havila M. Bhatt, M.A. Published by Ramaniyaram G. Tripathi, Bombay. Paper cover, pp. 89. Price 12 as. (1923).

A very entertaining novel clothed in the garb of a Puran is written in Marathi by Prof. V. M. Joshi, M.A., and Prof. Bhatt has rendered it into Gujarati in an equally entertaining way. The translation does not read like a translation but like an original. The subject-matter of the work is the question of widow remarriage, which agitates our society and has been skilfully and humanely handled from various points of view. It should be well received.

ANE MUSLIM.

This is a small book in the Urdu language but printed in Gujarati script, and published by Ismail Ahmad of Kholvad, near Surat being a collection of verses on Muhammadan and Khulafat questions

SHAMANI-ITAM: By Muni Dharma Vijay. Printed at the Shri Vajra Press, Bhavnagar. Paper cover. Pp. 29. Unpriced (1923).

This is a *chhaya-natak*, the Sanskrit text of which is published in original. There are two poems, Nemi Jiv Stavanam, and Rang Sagar Nemifig. also published, which being old poems, written by Jayavant Suri and Soma Sundar Suri respectively

are likely to be of use to those interested in the subject.

HRIDAYA-DHWANI, NAD 3-4: *By Govind H. Patel. Printed at the Pratap Vijay Press, Baroda. Thick Card Board. Pp. 79. Price 8 as. (1923).*

We have noticed the former parts of this book. The present part describes in verse two imaginary incidents: Of Urvashi being enamoured of Arjun and his rejection of her love and her (consequent) curse, and of Hamir, a descendant of the Maharana of Chitore being given the hand in marriage of a widowed daughter of Maldev, the Suba of the Muhammadan king, and his forgiving the innocent victim of her father's machinations. Both are presented in the heroic verse.

GANDHI-SIKSHAN, PART I: *By Nagendas Amulalrai, printed at the Karnatak Press, Bombay. Thick card board. Pp. 70. Price 5 as. (1923). With a coloured portrait of Gandhiji.*

As its name implies, this book is concerned with the teachings of Gandhi. The compiler has collected passages from his writings bearing on Satyagraha, and presented them in a connected form, which of course is very effective.

KEKARABA-NEPURA BANI: *Published by Ramanik Kishanlal Mehta. Printed at the Vasant Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 60. Price 8 as. (1923).*

This is a supplement to the *Kekarav* (collection of Thakore Sur Singhji's poems) published by the late Marikshankar Bhatt. It contains some unpublished poems of the Prince, of varying poetical values, and is preceded by a foreword written by

Kavi Nanalal, where he vigorously and one-sidedly attacks the pioneer of Gujarati verse modelled on English lines.

K. M. J.

#### MALAYALAM.

SAHITYAMANJARI PART IV: *A Collection of Songs and Poems by Vallathol. Published with a Tippani by Sahityasiromani K. M. Kutti Krishna Marar. Printed at the Vidya-Vinodini Press, Trichur. (Cochin State). Price Re. 1.*

Writings of Vallathol are widely read and appreciated. Especially his songs in the old Dravidian metres are really remarkable for their lyrical excellence. His style too is not without its own characteristic quality. The book under review has in it ten songs composed in three Dravidian metres, and three poems written in different Sanskrit metres. A large share of the credit is due to Vallathol for his effort to revive the old *Manjari*, *Keka* and *Kakali* style of songs. His song on My Guru, the last song in the present book, directly appeals to the heart of the reader. It is to be hoped that through Vallathol's effort more beautiful songs of the old Dravidian School will be revived. As a poet and a patriot, Vallathol is rightly called, by the admirers of Rabindranath, the *Tugore* of Malabar.

THARUNABHARATHAM: *By P. P. Sarma. with a preface by C. N. A. Ramaiya Sastri, M.A. Published by the Young Men's Hindu Union, Suchindram (S. Travancore). Price 2 as.*

A fairly good translation from English of Dr. Subrahmanya Iyer's book "Young India."

P. ANUJAN ACHAN.

## TWO POEMS

By J. J. VAKIL, B.A., (OXON.)

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE, VISVA-BHARATI.

O'er Faery seas your face was bent  
As o'er still waters leans a rose:  
And then the bands of flesh were rent,  
Our spirits freed like birds arose.

And o'er a spirit-sea we flew  
To lands dim-ridged of quietude,  
And lip to lip our beings drew  
To one, in throbbing solitude.

The Moon sheds magic o'er the sea  
In silver leaves that dance for glee,  
The troubled waters run to love,  
The pale stars burn above.

The enchantment of dim ages beams  
On me, O love, thro' your dark eyes,  
Love floods my heart like ocean streams,  
His waves within me rise.

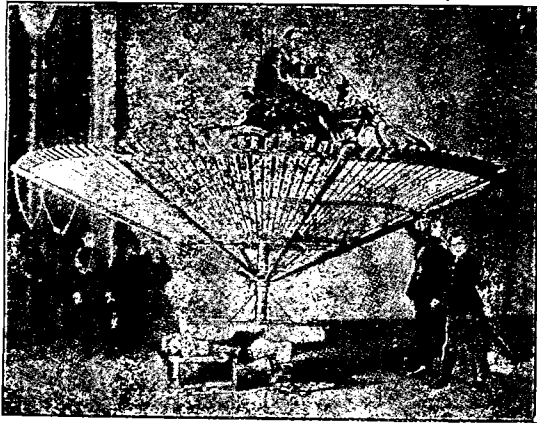
We will be mute beneath the spell,  
—For soon his messenger departs—  
The whispers of the wind will tell  
The secret of our hearts.

Our love will hold between its hands  
The wonder of the Moon's white lands  
And ocean's depth, and star-strewn skies  
And Truth that never dies.

## GLEANINGS

### Supports a Motorcycle Race on His Chest

The legendary feats of old-time strong men are made more plausible by this astonishing performance verified by photography. Sigmund Breitbart, a Polish Samson, is shown supporting on his chest

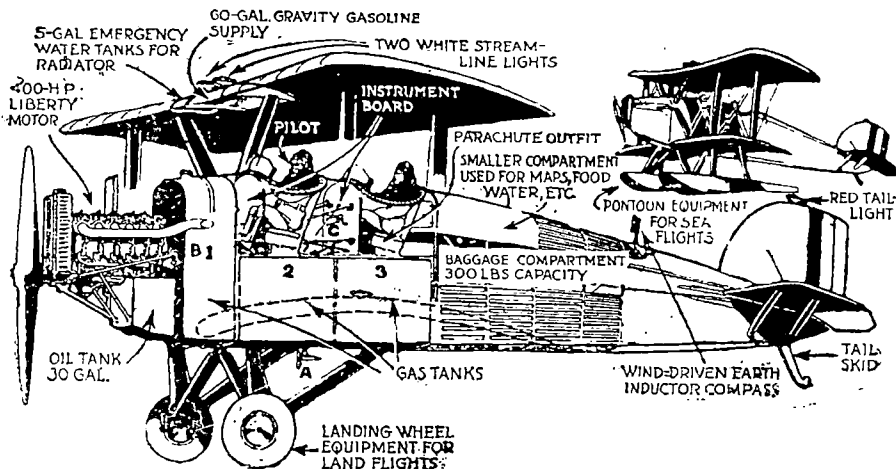


Sigmund supporting a motor-cycle on his Chest

and knees a motorcycle track 30 feet in diameter, on which two motorcyclists are racing. The total weight supported by his powerful body is 3500 pounds—a ton and three-quarters.

### World Fliers Ready for Any Emergency

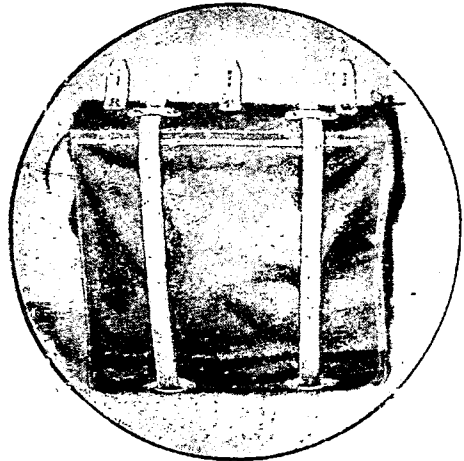
Soaring out over the long stretches of the Pacific, skimming over the endless deserts of Persia, or the



Study of an Airplane.

jungles of India, or coming down with motor trouble among the fies of summer ice off the coast of Greenland, the United States Army aviators who are flying around the world in four specially designed planes have at least one substantial source of comfort for any emergency—that is a fully equipped toolkit.

When the great world flight was planned, the matter of a proper toolkit was considered carefully with the result that the kit carried by the modern Magellans is one of the most complete and compact ever assembled.



The Flight-Mechanic's Tool-Bag

Packed in a cloth container measuring 17½ by 16 by six inches, are merely all the necessities for repairing plane or motor. It is amazing how much can be placed in so little space. Besides wrenches,

files, screw-drivers, safety wire turnbuckles and extra spark plugs, are accessories like thermos bottles, collapsible water bucket, block and tackle, field glasses, paint brushes, hand ax, blowtorch, signal pistol, quart measure for oil, soldering iron, manifold connections, and copper tubing.

The crossing of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans presents the greatest difficulties of the flight. And the chance of forced repair work in midocean offers the most thrilling possibilities.



It will be remembered that Commander Towers of the United States Navy, during the transatlantic flight in 1919, was forced down near the Azores. After a remarkable repair job, he pulled into port on his own motor power, but "taxi-ing" on the water, since the waves prevented taking off again.

The four Army world cruiser airplanes are built high out of the water and the pontoons are tested to withstand ordinary gales and seas. A mechanic probably can make minor motor repairs on the ocean with the seas running.

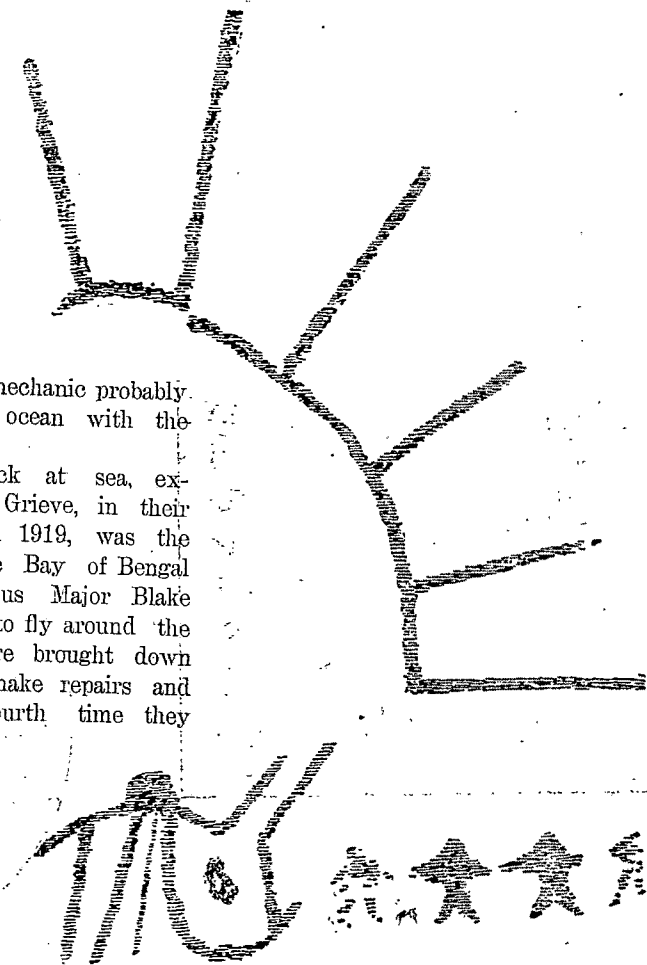
The most thrilling airplane wreck at sea, excepting the mishap of Hawker and Grieve, in their attempt to cross the Atlantic early in 1919, was the Macmillan and Malins disaster in the Bay of Bengal in August, 1922, during the famous Major Blake expedition which started from England to fly around the world. Three times when they were brought down by motor trouble, they were able to make repairs and to take off from the water. But the fourth time they were unable to get off. The rains began, water soaked the wings and fuselage, and the sea and wind rose.

The plane was overturned and sank slowly for four days, while the desperate airmen clung to the pontoons. Finally, they were picked up by a launch just in time to save their lives.

This was the first striking instance of an attempt by aviators to perform difficult repair work at sea.

### Some Carvings of the Stone Age.

"The name of the people (the Asuras) who began to manufacture metal weapons and used them side by side with stone implements still survives in the traditions of the Hos, Mundas and other so-called aborigines of Chota-Nagpur, who credit them with almost superhuman powers. This is not surprising when one notes the evidences of their industry scattered all over the country-side;—the ancient copper-mines, the slag from their small furnaces, and the huge gold-grinding and washing stones. Then again, unlike the present owners of the soil they built houses of brick. The bright red tiles of the floors may be turned up two or three feet from



Nos. 1 and 2

the surface, surrounded by large quantities of broken pottery.

"Burials were carried out in large half-baked urns covered by stone slabs. The urns still contain human bones, charred and broken before interment, also bronze ornaments, quartz beads, and here and there a clay figure similar to those found among the neolithic remains of Europe. Thin pottery discs were used by the living in games of chance, or, as they are found in or near the urns they may represent coins for the dead to pay their way in the next world.

"So far, among all these relics of past life, there was little to show that men could draw and paint in the manner of their European contemporaries except the lumps of red oxide and the palettes apparently used for grinding them down. But in 1910 the rocky hills near Naharpali—a few miles East of where the Railway crosses the Mand River—

supplied the missing link in the chain of evidence. The site—which overlooks the small village of Singanpur—is reached by a very rough jungle track over the fallen boulders with which the sides of the hills are strewn, and is roughly 500 feet above the level of the plain. There are two large caves 20 to 30 feet deep and 15 feet wide at the mouth narrowing to mere water-holes at the inner end, in which little was found except a few agate flakes; but there are several small caves and rock-shelters which have numbers of small paintings in and around them.

of their depth and there are many fallen boulders near.

"A hint of antiquity is given by Fig. 1, where the break in the continuity of the quadrant is the result of a barely visible slip in the rock face. The second theory may be true also. The Patna Museum authorities have examined the caves. In the Curator's own words—"The animal is woolly, with two legs." They also report the discovery of palaeolithic implements.

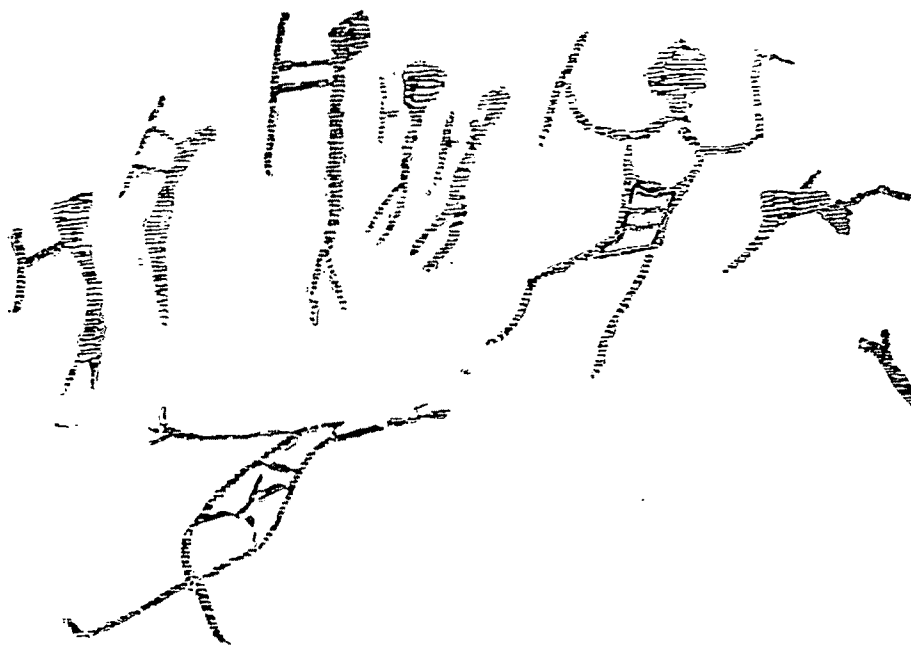
"As might be expected many of the paintings deal with hunting scenes. Fig. 3 is the most com-



No. 3

"The precipitous face of the cliff also has a large number of drawings on it, in positions which indicate either that long centuries have passed since they were drawn or that the artists were as agile as apes. The first theory has much to recommend it, as the rock-shelters look as if they have lost much

of these, and is full of life, even if crude. It commences at the bottom with one dead man and several brave fellows starting out gaily with clubs or bows. They wind up the cliff-side some fifteen feet to the actual scene of an encounter with a bison and a wild boar, an encounter not without its



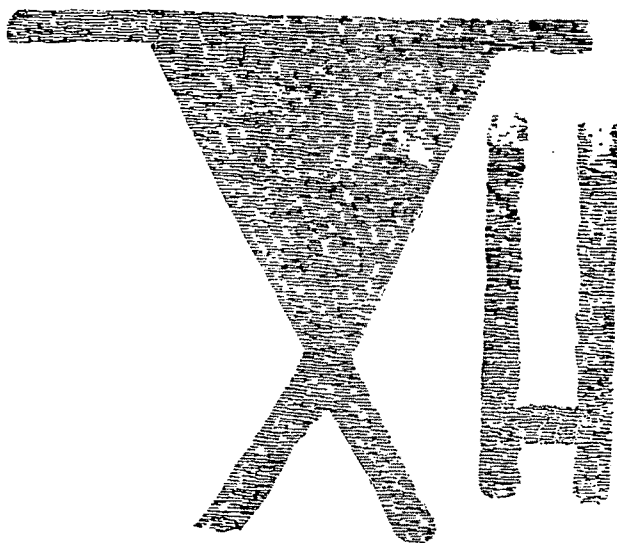
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No. 8



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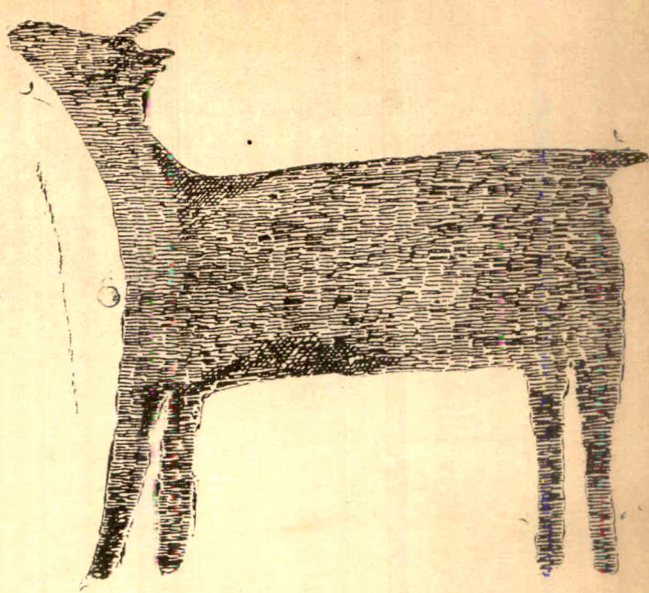




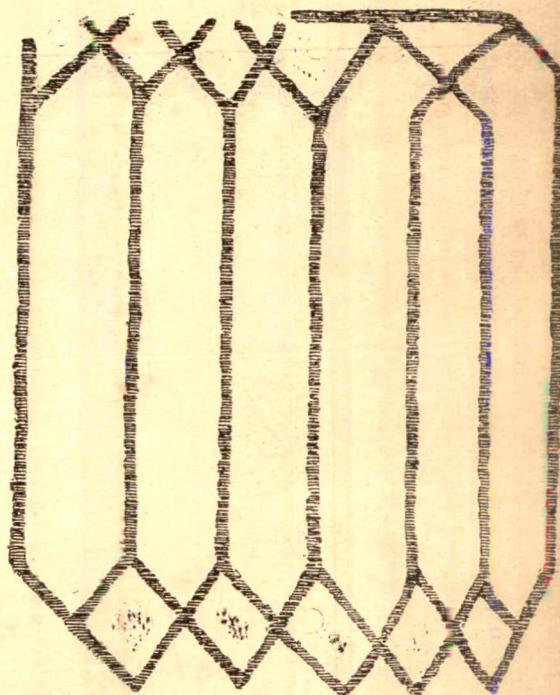
No. 4



No. 7 and 7A



No. 5



No. 10

casualties. Other hunts were going on some fifty feet higher up the cliff. The coralling of elephants (Fig. 4) was obtained with the help of a fifteen foot bamboo ladder. Other animals the hunters seem to have been familiar with were the sambhur (Fig. 5),

the iguana or lizard (Fig. 6), and the dog or wolf (Fig. 7).

Fig. 8 seems to represent a collection of skins. To go back to Fig. 2 it is evident that dancing was not unknown in those days, conducted by the chief



medicine-man. Figs. 7 (A) and 9 are very similar to marks found in all parts of the world made when script was in its infancy, and which seem to have had a very definite significance.

"Primitive as these drawings are, they are at least as comprehensible to the average man as those of our modern cubists and futurists, and much better worth going to see."

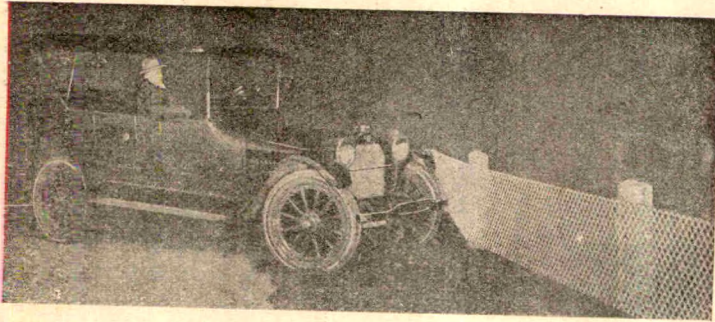
—*The Bengal Nagpur Railway Magazine.*

### Elastic Roadside Fence Invented to Protect Cars from Disaster

Should your car, swerving from the road at 45 miles an hour, strike this fence at the edge of an embankment, you would be halted unhurt, its inventors claim. The picture above shows the result of such an encounter in a test near Bridgeport Conn.

Placed at dangerous turns, on bridges, and bridge approaches and along mountain roads, such fencing, it is asserted, would save scores of lives each year. Forty per cent of highway accidents are said to happen on such roads.

The fencing is of specially woven wire, rugged and elastic, elongating like a rubber band when struck. It stretches until the wires forming the meshes touch each other, so that it halts the car without sudden, destructive impact or injury to a car's occupants.



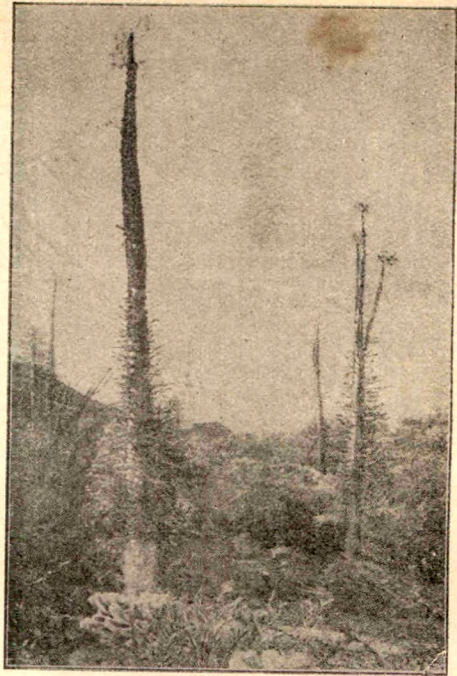
Elastic Road Side-Fence—Motor Protector

The recoil pushes the car back several feet if it is traveling moderately fast. At higher speeds, the fence conforms somewhat to the lines of the car.

### Leafless, Branchless Tree

During a recent exploring expedition into the desert mountains of Sonora, Mexico, Dr. D. T. MacDougal, of the Carnegie Institution's Laboratory of Plant Physiology, Tucson, Ariz., discovered the strange leafless and branchless tree shown above. He believes the members of his party were the first white men to see this remarkable evergreen.

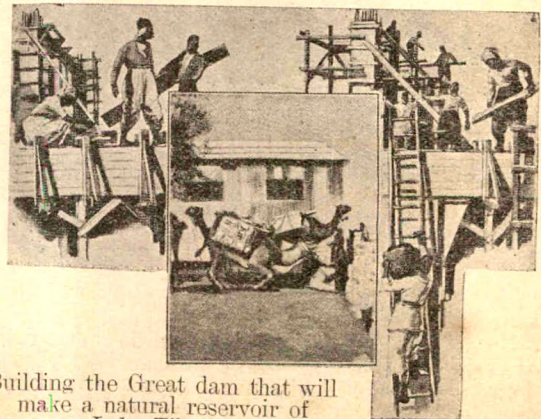
The trunk, resembling an almost bare column, is of soft, pithy growth. The only features resembling limbs are the slender spines that bristle from the trunk.



Leafless-Branchless Tree

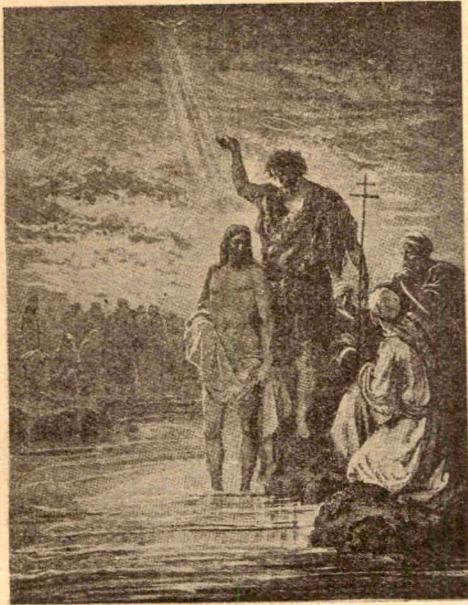
### Waters of the Jordan to Restore Palestine

Seemingly in striking accordance with the prophecies of the Old Testament, modern science has invaded the Holy Land, harnessing for electric power the sacred river Jordan where Christ was baptized. Engineers are impounding the waters of the Sea of Galilee where the Apostle Peter cast his nets draining the fever-breeding swamp lands for agriculture, and spreading a web of transmis-



Building the Great dam that will make a natural reservoir of Lake Tiberias





The Baptism of Jesus by John the Baptist in the River Jordan. Engraving by Gustave Dore

sion lines over Palestine from Dan to Beersheba and from the Mediterranean to the eastern edge of the Jordan valley.

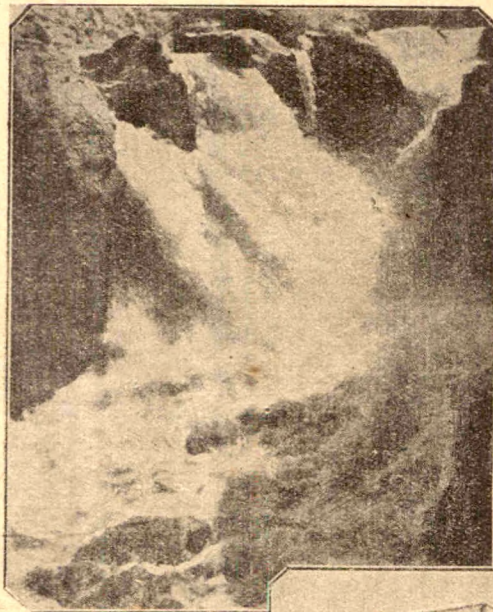
Recently the first electric power station of the enterprise—an oil-burning plant developing 1000 kilowatts—was finished and put in operation at Jaffa (Joppa) on the Mediterranean shore. Similar plants are nearing completion at Haifa and in the holy city of Jerusalem. These three plants, soon to be connected, will supply electric current for municipal industrial, agricultural and domestic purposes. Incidentally they will provide the power to operate an electric railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem, the first step toward the ultimate electrification of all the Palestine transportation lines.

These oil-driven plants, however will, be merely a temporary expedient, pending the completion of the vast hydroelectric and irrigation project now being constructed in the valley of the Jordan. When the work of harnessing the Jordan is completed—in less than four years—the fuel-burning plants will become auxiliary emergency units in an electric system that will make half a million horsepower available—a \$5,000,000 undertaking. The ultimate development will require about 20 times this expenditure. The Duke of Sutherland in debate before the British House of Lords not long ago called it "the most substantial contribution so far made by Judaism to the restoration of prosperity to Palestine."

The effect of the completion of the Jordan valley project is bound to be far-reaching and revolutionary. Civilization has not advanced appreciably in Palestine since Biblical days. So far as the native population is concerned no use has been made of the gifts of science, except in a few isolated farming operations. Ox-drawn wooden plows and primitive water-wheels for irrigation are the machinery of agriculture. The inhabitants make their journeys on donkeys exactly as Joseph, Mary, and the infant Christ accomplished the flight into Egypt. Water for domestic purposes still is carried in hide sacks from streams and old wells. Oil lamps illuminate the homes. Long ago the forests disappeared from the country, and the rich soil was washed away from the high ground. Neglect has caused the once fertile valleys to become swampy and malarial.

But now, with electricity available, the swamps drained, and the valleys watered, the results of the neglect of centuries are likely to be repaired virtually overnight. Indeed, it is expected that the inhabitants of the Holy Land will make far wider proportionate use of the devices of modern invention—especially electrical—than do the people of America and Europe. For engineers say it will be possible to supply electricity throughout Palestine so cheaply that it can be used in every home for cooking and heating purposes, for which only wealthy persons are able to employ it in other countries. Further, the eager interest with which

the native population greeted the recent introduction of a small quantity of modern agricultural and construction machinery seems to give evidence that the Jewish and Arab inhabitants both will embrace the opportunity to better their condition of life through the use of modern methods.



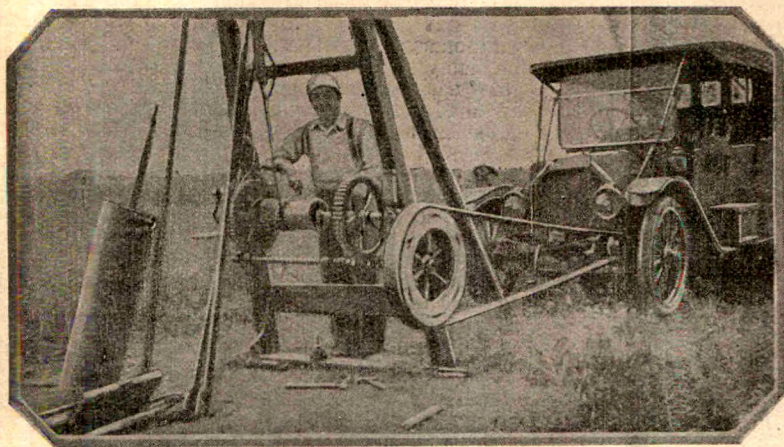
Above: The Jarmuk waterfall, one of the sources of power to be harnessed. Right: The first of Palestine's Power stations at Jaffa



"How My Car Serves Me"

For eight years



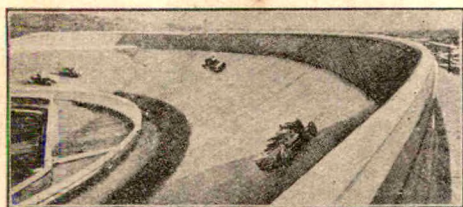


Mr. Schofield using his Overland car to operate a well-digging outfit

J. M. Schofield Stockton of Calif has run a pump and well-digging tools with his Overland. On the way to and from jobs it pulls a four-wheel trailer loaded with from 2500 to 3500 pounds of digging tools and casing, and does it at from 15 to 20 miles an hour.

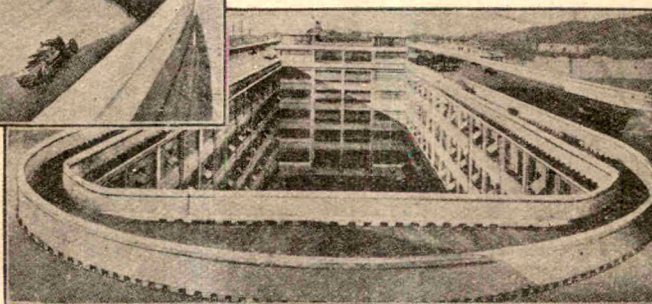
To raise the derrick, attach guy ropes to the front of the car and back it up the proper distance. The crankshaft is extended to the front of the radiator, and use a pair of bevel gears and a short shaft to run the belt pulley between the chassis and the front wheel. The belt then is run to the derrick pulley.

A friction plate is used in hoisting tools, pumping sand, drilling, and lifting full augers for emptying.



If the belt gets loose, place a jack against the front axle and push the car back until the belt is tight enough. When you are through for the day, throw off the belt and go home. When the car is not serving as a stationary engine, loosen the boxes and pull the bevel gears apart. The belt pulley does not interfere in the least with turning the front wheel.

A car can be used to drive any belt-driven

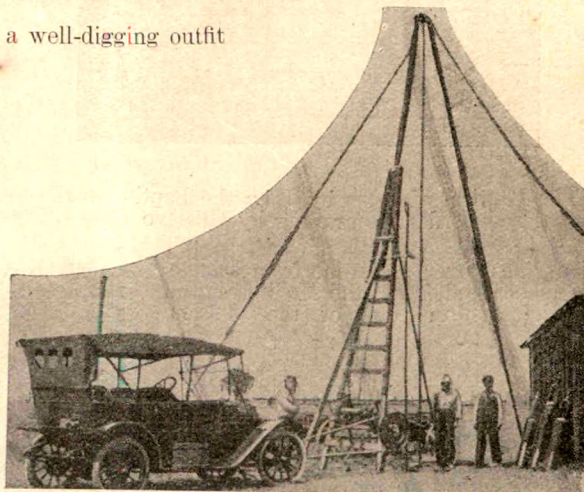


Three-quarter-mile speedway on the roof of an automobile factory at Turin. Above, one of the highbanked turns

machine that does not require more than 27 horse-power.

### Motor Speedway on Factory Roof

High above surrounding roofs of Turin, Italy has been constructed the most remarkable motor speedway in the world—a three-quarter-mile track, 70 feet wide, with steep banked turns around which high-powered cars, stripped to their skeletons, dash every day at the greatest speed their roaring engines can produce.



The Engine raising the derrick

The track is used for testing the cars of a well-known Italian automobile manufacturing company. Each chassis, when assembled, is taken to the roof by elevator and driven around the track at top speed until the staff engineer conducting the test is satisfied with its performance.

The track is of armored concrete with a top dressing of asphalt. It consists of two long stretches and banked turns. Concrete walls five and ten feet high act as safeguards.

## THE OLD OLD STORY

BY SANTA CHATTERJEE

( 15 )

CHARU and Abinash, round whom Suprakash had built up his life, were people of absolutely opposite temperaments. As a result of this, had some one been able to dissect the mind of Suprakash, he would have discovered all sorts of contradictory qualities placed side by side in it.

One would take Suprakash as a fashionable person in any social gathering. He used to dress in the best of style and material, take care of his hair to assure its excellence and see that his shoes were shined properly before he put them on. So far about his dress. There were other symptoms of his stylishness, and artistic temperament. He played on the flute, read poetry, sang, and even wrote poems on occasions. His room always harboured the latest and best literature and his furniture and decorations were never below mark.

But his stylishness could never enslave him. What he built up over a long period, he would break down at a moment's impulse.

What are known as shyness and humility, occupied regions of his heart which could be located with difficulty. When he was asked to do a hard job, he would at first say, "I can't do it." But it always so turned out at the end that he saved the situation though his protests outrang all others'. His heart was soft as a woman's, but over it was an armour-like hardness which was dangerous. When he received hard blows on that armour, he was more hurt than the hitter. So, when he indulged in injustice, it was he who suffered the most.

It was the evening after they had been to Gopesh Babu's. Karuna was wandering all over the house, crying "Ronu, Ronu!" She wanted to measure him for a shirt. But Ronu was nowhere to be found. A search was made for him in the mango grove, in other groves and round about the tank. At last Karuna went to look for him to the front of the house where the road lay stretched before her and was wondering whether it would be lonely enough for her to go out. She saw two people seated on an ant-hill under a tamarind tree at a distance. An

unkempt mass of hair, a chestnut-coloured coat torn in the sleeve, a coloured sar used as a *dhotie*\* and muddy feet proclaimed one of them to be Ronu. But it took her time to recognise the tall and handsome young man against whom Ronu was leaning comfortably while entwining his neck with a dirty arm in order to concentrate well upon the conversation which was going on. Karuna crossed the threshold to discover who it was. She went forward, a little at a time, because she could not see his face and had gone a fair distance when suddenly Ronu saw her. He at once jumped up and tugged at his companion's shawl, saying, "good gracious! I had forgotten all about that measurement!"

Karuna saw that Ronu's friend was Suprakash. She was going back into the house, finding things unsuited to a proper chastisement of her brother. Ronu gained heart at this and dragged Suprakash to his sister and said, "Didn't you say Suprakash Babu had not gone mad to play the flute in the middle of the night? Now ask him who it was."

Her slight acquaintance with Suprakash and the familiar touch which Ronu added to the conversation increased Karuna's shyness threefold. She turned red to the root of her hair and in trying to administer a silent rebuke to Ronu she glanced up right into Suprakash's eyes. His face bore the reflexion of her bashfulness. Bashfulness is a thing which grows to endless proportion when one allows it to do so, but often a life's accumulation disappears in a single moment. Suprakash struck at his own shyness himself and said, "That is true in every sense of the statement. It is certainly I who play the flute at the dead of night, and who wouldn't call one who disturbs the sleep of others at such hours mad!"

Ronu exclaimed, "Didi, you don't know how beautifully he plays! Wouldn't you like to hear?"

Karuna had regained her presence of mind. She said, "Why not come to our place for a while? If you would kindly play for

\* *Dhotie* is a cloth worn by men and is generally white and lightly bordered.



us, we could spend the evening happily. There are no better things than giving pleasure to others."

Suprakash answered, "Yes, but if the giver has nothing to give, there is hardly anything to beat the temptation to give in troublesomeness."

Ronu said, "Oh, what nonsense you are talking! Let us go in." He dragged Suprakash upstairs.

Suprakash had never been so shy to play the flute. One of his hobbies was to teach or force to listen to songs or instrumental music anybody who displayed the slightest taste for such things. The soul of man finds liberation in music. Be it sorrow or joy, whenever Suprakash felt a burden in his heart, and if he found no other way of unburdening it, he looked for new ways by opening his heart in melodious torrents. His hobby of awakening the spirit of music in men verged on intoxication. He would get hold of the village lads and teach them the latest tunes whenever and wherever he found an opportunity. He could not realise the cause of his hesitation to-day in the face of what would be called a golden opportunity.

He liked very much the words of entreaty which Karuna addressed to him, he was not free from the desire to make her listen to his flow of melody; but why was he possessed by this ludicrous shyness! He wanted, very keenly so, to give his best music and engage his deepest emotions to play to this girl, but strange to say, this unmanly shyness was increasing as fast as his desire to do so.

At last his shyness fled before the urpoetical onslaughts of Ronu. The flutes were with Ronu. He dragged Suprakash into the room, almost threw him into a chair and thrust the flutes into his fingers. Then he pulled his hands with the flutes up to his mouth and shrieked, "Here, Ohhordi, come over at once. Suprakash Babu is going to play on the flute. You needn't waste your time now after getting wrong answers to your sums."

Aruna ran in from the next room. Karuna said, "Shame Ronu! You will never have any sense; you can see that he is unwilling to play now and you would not give him peace by jumping all over him with your dirty clothes, hands and feet."

Ronu felt ashamed and left Suprakash. Aruna stood expectantly in the absence of any ready-made novelties. At last Suprakash had to wipe his flutes, smile and say, "No, it's no use waiting for further coaxing.

I would hardly be able to playing anything to justify the preliminary row. You have paid a higher price than is fair; so I should not bargain any more."

It is not the proper thing to go to somebody's house after first acquaintance and start playing the flute, but, being by nature shy and retiring, Suprakash behaved with more than ordinary forwardness by force.

Ronu started dancing when he began playing and said, "See that!" victoriously. "Can you believe me now? Didn't you say, he couldn't." Ronu made it quite clear that it was solely due to him that Suprakash could play with such ability.

Music was the temptation on which Aruna laid the greatest stress. She said, "You must be a very good singer. Do sing something." Suprakash had to sing. Not one, nor two, but a good six or seven to cater for the three. Songs followed songs, conversation was at a lull and daylight faded into dusk under this veil of music. The darkness crept in slowly and shyly, like a lightfooted young girl, fearing, as it were, to break into their intoxication, and spread over everything her veil of shade. Ronu's boyish heart was gradually becoming unable to disentangle the music it heard from the soft chanting of the Spirit of Sleep—everything was mixing up in his trance. Finding no response from him for a long time, the three elders looked in his direction and found him curled up and fast asleep with the two flutes held close to his heart.

Karuna pushed him and gave him some inaudible sermons in order to send him to the next room, but her sermons could not proceed far enough through the joy-crowded ways of dreamland. Aruna came to the rescue saying, "As if he would listen to noiseless talk! Here, Ronu get up!" She violently tugged her sleeping brother out of his dreams and dragged him to the next room.

Suprakash laughed and said, "This proves that I can at least put people to sleep by my singing. Any one else would hardly feel glad at this discovery; but I cannot expect anything better. Once when I was a little boy I got 7 out of 100 in mathematics in a school examination. I was crying. So my brother said, 'why are you crying? Haven't you got 7 marks?' Since that time I have found my true claims. Dada taught me at least one truth. That getting in itself is the boon, its shape and size are mere ornamental details."



Karuna put a solid cover on top of his self-satisfied outburst by saying, "Music is like magic, one does not know where and how far one is carried on the wings of song."

Suprakash said, "Melody is the lonely back door of the mind's prison chamber. The great gate of worldly relations is for ever guarded by endless soldiery, and one can only give them the slip by following this route into the joys of other regions. The gate-keepers, when they hear stray notes of music, think they have tight hold over the prisoner."

Karuna said, "Really, had there been no music people would either go mad or turn into stones."

Suprakash said, "Just as the world the nursery and playground of a million beauties and emotions, the soul of man is also similarly occupied. At times it wants to break-down in a flood of tears, at times it grows restless to break into a furious dance like that of Siva;\* it yearns to catch fire or to overflow with joy and laughter; but while nature can weep to contentment in the rainy season and blossom forth joyously in spring, man cannot do so. If a man wanted to flood his dwelling with tears or break everything to bits or even dance about clapping for a couple of hours, nobody will forgive him. Madness in the creator is accepted with joined hands,† but madness in men is childishness. Here there is no mercy, no sympathy. But man must meet the demands of his heart or turn to stone! So where words or tears are taboo, man gets his own back through melody and rhythm."

Karuna did not know what to say. Her mind filled with admiration at this clear statement of her own feelings. Suprakash felt shy at her silence and said, "You must have got frightened at my lecture. The very first day some are falling asleep at my singing and others are getting frightened at my lecture. I think I better move."

Karuna said, "No, no, you mustn't go so soon, I am not a bit frightened. I was silent in the hope of hearing more. I was thinking of your niece who had told me a lot about yourself. She is a great admirer of yours."

Suprakash said, "Oh Satadal; the poor girl is truly miserable. Everything dear to her withered at her touch, so to speak." His voice was rich with untold pity and affection.

Karuna said, "How do people live when

they thus become deprived of everything?"

"That is why," said Suprakash, "I often throw down and break my dearest possessions. People call me mad, but I feel that at least nobody has been able to snatch away my dear things. I have been able to cheat, for once at least, the cruel one."

Tarinikanta entered from behind and said: "Karuna, I have thought and decided that it would not be proper for me to burden you with that debt. It is by no means a small sum!"

Karuna was startled and said hurriedly. "All right, that we shall see to later on. Suprakash Babu has come."

Tarinikanta said, "Oh Suprakash! Sit down. Have you given him refreshments?" Suprakash said, "I have come long ago. I shall go now."

That night, who knows at what hours the lonely melodies died down in Suprakash's room. In the second storey room the young teacher was also startling up in her sleep every now and then, who knows in response to what ethereal music.

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It was quite hot. Satadal was lying on the cool cement floor and was trying to read something in the faint light which was coming into the room through a couple of half open venetian blinds. The doors and windows were methodically shut up to keep the heat out. But the goddess of learning was not propitious. She could not very well accept worship offered in such imperfect environment. The letters were reflected on Satadal's retina, but they hardly carried things beyond that. Gradually they ceased to do even that little and her eyes closed in sleep.

Before the sleep could deepen it was disturbed by a terrific orchestration of motor horns, coolies' cries and all sorts of noise. She sat up rubbing her eyes and trying to distinguish the line that separated dreams from realities, when suddenly the old servant cried out: "Didimani, \* the Saheb has come, get up, get up."

Satadal came out and saw Abinash ascending the stairs, wiping his face with a handkerchief and followed by a servant carrying his bag.

Abinash came up and stood awhile with displeasure upon his countenance. Perhaps he was wondering whether he should ask

\* The Dance of Annihilation. † Respectfully.

\* Respectful but familiar way of addressing a lady.

after her health, but he did not somehow feel up to the job after the heat and dust of travelling in summer and could not soften down to the required tone for such conventionalities; moreover he never suffered from any pleasant exuberance at Satadal's sight. Finding her uncle before her, Satadal put the end of her sari round her neck and prostrated herself a few inches away from Abinash's booted feet. Abinash knew that one should not express unpleasant emotions when one meets some one after a long time, yet he could not keep his feelings dormant when she committed the blunder of receiving the modern with obsolete symbolism; he twisted his face further and said, "Oh what botheration! Somebody has come after long hours of roasting in the sun and you start knocking your head on the floor instead of getting a glass of water, or doing something sensible! I can't stand such foolishness."

Satadal ran upstairs to prepare Abinash's room herself. She told the servant to get ice, water and the rest of it, but neither she nor Abinash uttered any words of enquiry after each other's health, etc.

As soon as the sun had climbed down a little, Satadal sent the servant to call Abinash to the dining room where she had collected all sorts of fruits, ice-cream, ancient and modern drinks, etc. Abinash came and went straight to the table. They never exchanged many words, but he had returned home after a long absence and that had to be remembered. After much thought Satadal said, "Instead of twenty days, it has been nearly two months. I thought, maybe something was wrong."\*

Abinash cut her short and said, "That is nothing unusual."

Why unusual, was a question which could not be asked. No further efforts at conversation were made. Abinash finished his meal and went out after dressing up neatly in Dacca † made things.

His legs carried him straight to the neighbouring tenement. As usual, he did not send a message or make a row downstairs but went straight up. A maid-servant was washing plates and things under the tap. She looked up in astonishment, but resumed her work after drawing her sari a little more over her head.

\* This impersonal way of speaking signifies respectfulness (and also fear on the part of the speaker).

† Dacca is the centre of high-class cotton weaving.

Having come to the right floor, Abinash found that the patched up curtain which covered Tarini's doors had disappeared. Inside the room, he could see a broken bedstead with a pile of dirty and oily quilts mattresses, and coverless pillows dominating the scene like a representation of poverty and filth. The chair and the table were no longer there. Some one had constructed a dress-hanger from a bit of rope tied to some nails on the wall; and a couple or so of dirty saris, an oil stained shirt and some frocks with their lace trimmings half-torn were hung upon it. It surprised Abinash no end to find the room in this condition and he was slowly fuming up into a passion at finding no one there. He hesitated a moment, then went and stood on the doorstep. He found the room flooded with water and a jug upturned on the floor. A naked child of about eight months was splashing the water with its hands, lying face downwards and punctuating the orgy with occasional sobs, which expressed a feeling of want of some sort. At one corner was sleeping, maybe, the child's mother. The child put up one of its hands and laughed out at the sight of Abinash. Abinash felt ashamed of his own intrusion and walked out in annoyance. He cried angrily, "Aruna!"

The sleeping housewife woke up, pulled up her sari to cover her head more completely and moved further into the corner. Sailaja of the third floor came out at this shout and descended a step or two. She began to laugh to herself at finding Abinash there and said, "Here Khoka,\* say that Karuna mashi† has gone away for a change."

Khoka did not have to say anything. Abinash fumed and marched down the stairs, making much noise, and went home. Where has Karuna gone? When? When will she return? He could ask nothing. He was hit with Sailaja's laughter. All his anger fell on Karuna. If she has gone away, she ought to have informed him and not made a fool of him in that fashion. And what an intellectual was Satadal! Why didn't she let him know of this important thing! He forgot in his anger that he had not asked her any questions and that she was absent at the time of Karuna's departure.

On returning home Abinash threw all his papers on the table down on the floor,

\* Child (male).

† Aunt (maternal).

called the servant, slapped him and said, "If you cannot keep the papers in order whenever I am away for a few days, what earthly use is it to feed a lot of buffaloes like you?" It was forbidden to them to touch the Saheb's papers, but the poor fellow had to feel ashamed of his short-coming and go out with his head down. He had shaved the top of his head into a hollow square and put some butter there to keep the heat out. The Saheb got it all on his hand and as a result the servant was slapped again.

Fearing that he might commit more crimes, the servant left the vicinity at a good speed. Abinash began to walk about in the room with his brows knit and the chin thrust into his chest. He could not give a meaning to Karuna's sudden disappearance. She was not rich enough to indulge in change; then how did she go, and why? Abinash remembered the two thousand rupees he had given her. Could it be that Karuna in her indifference had totally overlooked the giver—himself? But, no, there was no reason to suspect Karuna of going out on pleasure trips with borrowed money. When she came to borrow the money, it was more or less clear that it was for Tarinikanta. There was hardly any doubts that the old man was in trouble for money and had approached Karuna for succour. Abinash also remembered how Karuna, being faced by the dominant question in Abinash's mind, had fled that night leaving the money behind and how after that, he could not obtain even a glimpse of her after days of entreaty. But these did not solve his present problem. It was absurd to think that some one would flee the country fearing his question. Men like him in wealth, qualifications and fame were not common; he was wanting to give his all and a girl was finding herself at sea to decide whether to take his offer or not: the whole thing was absurd and unheard of! Abinash felt very angry with Karuna. Was he such an unearthly sort of a fellow that there should be so much worrying when he was concerned in even the oldest thing in the world? He was neither a thief nor a murderer that a clerk's grand-daughter should hesitate so long to favour him. He wanted to use his old metaphor in which he compared woman to a leech; but how could he do so? Why should a girl cheat one of two thousand when she could easily get two lacs? He could not think of such a thing in relation to Karuna in spite of all his anger.

Karuna may be in love with some one else. That may be an answer. Abinash thought

that probably it was so. He wanted to get hold of that unknown man and bang his head against the wall. He must be a vagabond with no money. Women are great at judgment! How they managed to fall in love with all the lunatics, half-wits and beggars, beat Abinash. Maybe, it was for that wretch that Karuna had taken the money. Maybe, they are already married. His whole body burned with anger. He kicked a sandal-wood table which stood near by and turned it upside down. The flower vase which was upon it scattered into a thousand bits all over the room. Abinash gazed at these for some time, then said, "Impossible! Karuna cannot do such a thing. She is not the sort of girl who would fill up some wretch's pocket at my cost."

He left the room and went to Satadal. From the beginning he hated Karuna's love for Satadal, he could not bear this neglect to himself. But he went to Satadal for enlightenment and packed his anger away for the time being. As soon as he found her, he asked, "Do you know where Tarini Babu has gone to?"

Satadal said, "Karuna has got a better job somewhere and they have all gone there." Abinash said, "I am asking you where that somewhere is."

Satadal said, "That I don't know." Abinash asked, "Then what do you know?" Satadal hesitated a little and said, "A little while ago I got a letter from Chhotamama." Abinash said, "That means heaven for me, doesn't it? What's up? Is he going out again on a tour?"

Satadal said, "No, he is coming here in two or three days." Satadal was going to say something more when Abinash cut short and added, "Nothing could be better. Let us arrange with Fort William\* for a salute." He left the room at once after this.

Satadal might have been able to give Abinash some answer to his question, but Abinash never heard it.

At dinner time she again saw him. His temper had cooled down a lot. He said as he entered, "You know, we must have that southern room on the first floor for Khoka† (meaning Suprakash), it is the most airy room."

Satadal said, "But Chhotamama uses the roof—"

\* Calcutta's Fort.

† Boy baby. An affectionate way of referring to or addressing one's youngers.



Abinash got impatient and said, "Oh, do as I am telling you, it is useless to talk." Abinash said after some time, "Send the organ upstairs. The piano is here. That thing will be useful to Khoka." Satadal said, "All right, I shall do so." Abinash went on, "And have all his things brought out of the corner room and put in the southern room. Or he will think the corner room is still for him."

Satadal said, "I know all that."

Abinash added in a rather soft tone. "Yes, you know everything. How long does it take you to forget things? And the poor boy will suffer."

Satadal smiled and kept quiet. When she had to go to bed that night, at about eleven. Abinash called Satadal out and said, "Satadal, has Khoka written that he will come to-morrow? The fan in that room has gone wrong. If we do not get a man to repair it to-morrow, then?"

Satadal said, "No, no, you need not worry so much. Go to bed now. He will not be coming before two or three days."

(To be continued)

Translated from the Bengali  
by  
ASHOKE CHATTERJEE.

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Dr. Annie Besant a Great Worker.

*Stri-Dharma* writes:—

#### FIFTY YEARS OF PUBLIC SERVICE

Very few women have had the experience of serving humanity in the most prominent way in world politics and religion for fifty years at a stretch. Dr. Annie Besant is one of these exceptional women. The 25th of next month will mark the close of half a century of public work done by her. We women feel very proud that it was about our own sex—"The sex to which I have the honour to belong"—as she herself expresses it, that she first addressed a public meeting. On the 25th August, 1874, she gave her first public lecture, the subject being "The Political Status of Women." On the thirtieth of the same month appeared her first printed article. Fifty years of incessant toil on behalf of humanity are just being completed. We in India have been privileged to receive her unparalleled services for nearly the whole period, for in 1876 she vigorously pleaded for the better governance of India in her pamphlet "England, India and Afghanistan." From such early ties with Women and India it is quite fitting that she is to-day the President of the Women's Indian Association, amongst her other manifold offices. We are proud of our President. We rejoice in the news that comes of the vigilant fight for India's freedom which she is at present waging in England amongst her old friends of the Labour Party. She has done an untold amount for the advancement of education both of boys and girls in India. Thus it is exactly right that on her has fallen the honour of being the first Kamala Lecturer of the Calcutta University. The late Sir Ashutosh Mukerji donated Rs. 40,000 to the University in memory of his daughter Kamala who died last year. The endowment provides an honorarium of Rs. 1000 and a gold medal each year. The Senate has appointed Dr. Besant as the first Kamala Lecturer and she will deliver lectures on "Indian Ideals in Philo-

sophy, Education and Science." We suggest that we women should make special efforts to celebrate August 25, in honour of Mrs. Besant's work for womanhood and humanity and as an expression of our gratitude to her.

### Swarajists and Women.

We read in the same journal:—

In the June number [of the *Modern Review*] the Editor commented in his own Notes on the attitude of Mr. C. R. Das to the reforms connected with women which the latter had discussed with our Editor. Mr. Das made it clear that it was because of his general policy of obstruction that he would oppose any resolutions regarding women suffrage that might be brought up in the Legislative Council. The Editor of the *Review* agreed with us that such a policy would be entirely deplorable. A letter intended to be in defence of Mr. Das is printed in the June *Review*, but instead it is merely "irrelevant talk." However it has brought the subject well into the limelight and we are very glad to hear that either Mr. Das has changed his tactics (it is not impossible), or without consultation with the leader (for every individual of the Swarajya Party seems to act according to his own leadership,) one of the members of the Party, Mr. Hemanta Kumar Sarkar, has intimated publicly that he will move a Resolution in the Legislative Council for Bengal that women in Bengal be given the franchise on the same terms as men. That is indeed good news and we wish the Resolution complete success. It is just possible that the strong arguments which the *Stri-Dharma* Editor used to Mr. Das against his policy as it affected women and children may have influenced him to treat it as a subject for differential treatment like the Steel Resolution in the Legislative Assembly which the Swarajist Party supported, contrary to their obstructionist tactics. If only the Swarajist Party will support Mr. Sarkar's Resolution.

women suffrage will be won for Bengal. We earnestly request them to do so for the sake of justice, and for the honour of their women and their province.

## Women the World Over.

### JAPAN

More than 350 nuns, who assembled from all parts of Japan to attend the memorial service of the 750th anniversary of the Jodo Sect of Buddhism at the Chioin Temple in Kyoto, adopted a resolution at their special meeting demanding an equal right with priests in electing the highest committee of the sect. The resolution included a statement demanding the establishment of a higher educational organisation for nuns than that which they have now.

The special meeting was held in the Nuns' School in the Chioin Temple following the memorial service. The nuns attended the meeting in their black uniforms. The memorial service was attended by thousands of priests of the Jodo sect from all parts of the Empire.—*Stri-Dharma*.

### CANADA

The outstanding impression of Canada's women from east to west and back again, is their interest and pride in being good housewives.

Domestic help is hard to get, and costs anything from £1 a week and food for the hired girl to £3 a week for the housekeeper.

Yet the wife, who gets no salary and perhaps not much pin money, seems fairly content to do domestic work in the home and never makes her lack of domestic help an obstacle to offering hospitality to her own or her husband's friends. In fact, Canadian hospitality is extraordinarily lavish. Nothing is too much trouble, and the guest is not allowed to help much in the housework.

One person is every ten in Eastern Canada has a motor car, while in the west there are nearly as many of these vehicles, and when it comes to a question of choice between a cook or a motor car, it is nearly always the car that wins.

What is the secret of the Canadian woman's preference for a car rather than a "cook-general"? It is partly her unselfishness, for she knows a car will be a joy to the family generally, but the real secret is her labour-saving home and her helpful husband.

It is the husband's job to see to the furnace that heats the whole house in winter; he generally takes it upon himself to wash up after the evening meal—there is no afternoon tea—and also he often cooks the breakfast.

But the most praiseworthy attribute of the Canadian husband is the way in which he provides his wife with the latest labour-saving appliances.

The house is structurally work-saving to start with, but he makes it more so by fitting in shelves and books here and there to save steps, having it wired for electric power, and buying the latest little labour-saving gadgets.

One husband showed me with pride a machine that stoned cherries at an extraordinary speed.

I did not say that in England we should not trouble to stone our cherries, or to slice our tomatoes, in a maidless house, for I knew that the

Canadian housewife has generally undergone, what is known as the engaged girls' course in domestic science at an agricultural college, where the value of attractively served food is impressed upon her. Thus she will peel and slice oranges and peaches, and even cut carrots into flower-like shapes for the soup.

"Things that look good, taste better," is her slogan, and she will spare no trouble to serve food attractively even in the busiest farmhouse.

Many Canadian farmers' wives bake their own bread, not because they have to, but because they like to do it, and they enter for competitions in bread-baking and cake-making and give salad demonstrations, showing how to make the most delicious but by no means time-saving salads.—

*London Daily Mail quoted by Stri-Dharma.*

## The Employment of Water-Power.

### Industrial India says:—

Water uncontrolled may be man's master, and throughout the ages, therefore, he has sought to control it and make it his servant—conserving and directing it for the purpose of making fertile lands that would otherwise be barren; regulating its flow to render navigation possible; and, again taking advantage of its passage or fall from high to low levels, to obtain power for the driving of machinery and the saving of manual effort.

It was probably the necessity for obtaining plentiful supplies of flour, that first led to the employment of water-power. One of the earliest records of this power being used for grinding corn was a water-wheel at the time of Antipator of Thessalonica, in 85 B.C., although doubtless it was employed for the same purpose very much earlier.

The present great use of water-power would not have been possible without the aid of electricity. Previously such use was limited to those cases where the machinery to be driven could be installed close to the water, and it was therefore impracticable for more than a very small proportion of the power available in any country to be employed. The combination, however, of the turbine and electric generator, together with high tension transmission, has rendered practicable the building of very large plants using the full available power of great bodies of water. From such plants power can be distributed over long distances, enabling railways, factories, etc., to be supplied with energy, and towns to be lighted.

The development of electrical energy from water-power has now become a definite and distinct branch of engineering.

In spite of the enormous development within recent years, only a comparatively small use has yet been made of the world's available power. It was estimated a few years ago that the relation between applied and available power for certain countries was as follows:—

England	as 1 to 8
France	" 1 to 8
Spain	" 1 to 10
Italy	" 1 to 4
Canada	" 1 to 10
U.S.A.	" 1 to 4
Norway and Sweden	" 1 to 5

Since this estimate was made, many plants have

been installed, but there is still a vast amount of power available.

It does not necessarily follow, because there is water power available in any particular country, that it can be employed to produce energy more economically than other sources of power. Where the quantities of water are small, and there is not a great difference in level, and coal or oil, on the other hand, is plentiful and cheap, hydro-electric installations often cannot compete with steam or oil.

### Impressions of Kathiawar.

Mr. L. K. Elmhirst has contributed to *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* an interesting paper on impressions of Kathiawar which is full of insight. He begins by observing:—

Few countries in the world offer to the student such a wealth of variety of scene, people, and custom as India. No geographical boundaries can be set to these variations and the longer a man lives in touch with the village life of India the more ready he becomes to look upon each individual village as a little storehouse of human interest, as a museum of the past and as a unit which must be dealt with upon its own merits,—not lumped together with the others as the dwelling place of the "masses."

In one square mile, in one out of the way corner of Bengal, exist three distinct types of village, each with its own language inside the home, each with its own social customs and historical tradition; and so great is the variation, even between villagers of the same language and culture, that the wise student of village problems is rarely willing to generalise at all, and the reformer is still more careful to remove the shoes of his panacea for all ills, before treading upon the holy ground of the Indian village community.

Perhaps the greatest tragedy of modern India is that the eyes and minds of these to whom will come the responsibility of governing their own country are hermetically closed to the facts of their own native land. The history and life of India are locked in her villages and her places of pilgrimage and each village is a volume in itself. Text-book and class-room form a prison out of which, even though his home be in a village, the Indian boy rarely escapes. And yet travel can be so easy in India, camping such a delight, the hospitality of the village so lavish, that undiscovered mines of treasure lie within the grasp of teacher and student who will break down the prison bars and wander forth to learn.

Of the many charming glimpses of Kathiawar which we obtain from his paper, the following will serve as a specimen:—

In the Kathiawar country, no useful article is deprived of the privilege of serving as a thing of beauty as well. The farmer's shoe has its shapely turn of toe and heel with an artistic brass insertion; the four-legged wooden support, on which swings the baby's cloth hammock outside the cottage door, is carved with a pattern as significant as that on the wooden stand for the earthenware water-jars, or the wooden frame holding the family grindstone. What other place in India can boast of such brass-

bound treasure-chests, or carved babul carts, built to last a hundred years?

Kathiawar is an inexhaustible mine of that artistic expression which, whether conscious or not, tends to make life fuller, happier and so much more livable. Typical of their attitude is the determination and very successful effort of the founders of the orphanage in Jamnagar to introduce to the children the manufacture of beautiful articles, not so much because of their utility, as for their intrinsic artistic merit. Is it inevitable that this inspired creation should go the same way as the cottage industries and products of all those other countries which have turned from their rural life to the production and use of machine-made articles in the mass?

This is not intended as a tirade against the modern tendency in industry and city growth, but is rather a repetition of our one appeal, which the sight of such incomparable cities as Kathiawar can boast has only intensified, an appeal to build surely and soundly for the future upon a close co-operation of city and country-side, and to develop those industries which will stimulate and enrich the life of the country-side as well as that of the city, rather than ruthlessly break down the one in order to promote the temporary prosperity of the other.

### The Indian Visitors to China.

*The Visva-Bharati Bulletin* relating to Rabindranath Tagore's visit to China (pages 45, price annas two) contains résumés of his lectures in that country, the comments of the newspapers of that country and much other interesting and instructive matter. The compilation is very fair, as it gives an idea of the great enthusiasm as also the small opposition aroused by his views and by misconceptions regarding him. We quote below some passages from letters written by his companions (in translation).

In a short letter Nandalal Bose gives an account of the visit to the Emperor. A translation is given below.

"We went to see the palace by invitation from the Emperor. From the gate it took us nearly one hour to reach the main palace. The poet, Miss Green and a Chinese lady were carried in chairs while we followed on foot. The road is a long and winding one, going in and out of many courtyards and full of turns and twists.

"The poet made a present of Bengal *sankha* (conch-shell bangles) to the Queens and told them that the bangles were auspicious symbols of prosperity for women. Elmhirst gave the Emperor a set of the poet's works and I gave several art prints."

"The poet conveyed to them the greetings of India and gave them his blessings. He spoke of the ancient bond of friendship between China and India and said that he wanted to re-establish old relations again. He also said that he felt very much honoured by this invitation."

"The Emperor himself took us round the palace and showed us many things which have never been shown to anybody else. The Emperor gave



to the poet a very valuable stone image of Buddha."

While the poet was resting in Tsing Hua College, Kshitimohan Sen, Nandalal Bose and Kalidas Nag paid a visit to Lo-hiang which was the first centre of Buddhist activities in China, Kshitimohan Sen writes:—

"We left Peking by the morning train on the 1st May and spent the whole night in the train. Lo-hiang is about 400 miles west of Peking and the road is very bad. But thanks to the Chinese Government we travelled very comfortably. They have given us a private car fitted with dining room and bed room and kitchen. We have got a cook and a boy. Besides them a troop of military guards is also going with us. At every important station military officers are making enquiries. They have been instructed to do so by the Central Government.

#### INDIANS AS AMITABHAS.

"All these precautions are necessary because the roads are full of bandits. We are however comparatively safe, for being Indians we are held in great respect by everybody and great honour is shown to us as *Amitabhas*.

At 9 o'clock in the morning we crossed Hoang Ho the famous Yellow river. We reached Chen-Chow at 10-15, where the Military Commander came to meet us.

#### CHINESE HILLS.

"Leaving Chen-Chow we entered the hilly districts. The hills around here are mostly of earth and the Chinese live in neat little caves carved out of the hills. The caves run into one another and form veritable cave-villages.

#### THE WHITE HORSE MONASTERY.

"To-morrow we have got to visit 'Pei-mo-ssu', the White Horse Monastery. It is here that the first messengers from India preached Buddhism nearly 2,500 years ago." The party returned to Peking on the 7th May. Further news have not yet reached us. The above extracts are free translations from a letter from Kshitimohan Sen.

#### WESTERN INFLUENCES.

"The Chinese are a wonderful people. What the Chinese Republic is doing for each single university is simply amazing—just as if a giant is awakening from its slumber and is starting work with still sleepy eyes. Unfortunately, everything is being modelled on the American plan. Even the very dwelling houses are changing their appearance.

"China is vast and very great, specially in art. She is probably greatest in arts and crafts. But the canker of western influence has already entered: coloured print-almanacs imported from Japan and America are beginning to find a place by the side of the finest indigenous products of hand-painting; women are taking to American heels and men to European clothes and short cropped hair like British soldiers. In the imperial palace, side by side with an old carpet, wonderfully soft and beautiful, is spread an ugly modern rug with cheap designs of gaudy coloured wall-flowers.

"The palace is most wonderful. Huge rooms full of priceless treasures, open courtyards and wide corridors fantastically decorated, countless museums with rich collections of art—I felt stunned at their

very sight. When I think of it, I get a little depressed. Can such greatness be ever achieved by us? Then I console myself with the thought that let us become men again and then if such things are for us they will come and if not something else will happen.

The account of the poet's birth-day celebration in China is very interesting. He was given a Chinese name on the occasion. *Far Eastern Times* writes:—

"Dr. Hu Shih, who acted as master of ceremonies, explained from the stage how it all happened and translated for Mr. Liang Chi-chao who carried out the naming ceremony in historical view. He declared that Dr. Tagore's name meant sunlight and thunder and that by research he found that the original Indian name for China could be transiterated 'Thundering Morning' '*Chen-tan*.' If to this was added a part of the old Chinese name for India, '*Chu*' then Dr. Tagore's name and surname became

"CHU CHEN-TAN."

"The Thundering Morning of India," which made a deep and perpetual union between the two cultures, Indian and Chinese.

"Long applause greeted this linguistic *tour-de-force*. The audience was then entertained by two Indian disciples of Dr. Tagore's. Dr. Sen, who recited an ode in Sanskrit to the amazement of some of the audience who thought that 'you couldn't speak a dead language': and by Dr. Nag, who gave one of Dr. Tagore's poems in Bengalee.

"Chitra" was played as part of the birth-day celebrations. Nandalal Bose writes:—

"The staging of the Chitra was quite successful. I helped a little in the making up and other details. There was some trouble with their eyes, but after all they did look like the people of Manipur. The men and women looked very much alike; most probably Princess Chitra had really belonged to them."

### Buddhism and India.

With reference to the practical disappearance of Buddhism from India, Mr. Narayan Chandra Bannerjea writes in the *Mahabodhi*:—

But if outwardly Buddhism had died as a system, neither the ideals of the Buddha, nor his name has been forgotten in India. They live ever now, many of the tenets have been absorbed by the Hinduism of later day. They have been assimilated and live in the system of to-day. They live in our beliefs and in our actions. These remain an undercurrent not outwardly visible but still strong, still vigorous, with its influence felt on the cultural life of the people of the land.

As for the Master, India still bows in reverence to him. He occupies the best place in Indian hearts, even the Brahmin could not forget his duty to him. He reckons him as an *avatara*, an incarnation of the Supreme being. Enmity there was indeed, but that meant no lack of reverence, reve-

rence is still paid and such shall it ever continue, for ages yet to come.

### The Question of a New University at Poona.

We read in the *Progress of Education* :—

The Shiksha-Vichara-Mandal of Poona has during the past few months discussed in two or three of its meetings the different aspects of the question of a new university at Poona. As there was general agreement among the members, as regards the desirability and need of such a University it was felt advisable to secure for the furtherance of the idea the support of the educated public of Maharashtra, by placing before them a statement of the case for a new University. The Shiksha-Vichar-Mandal, therefore, earnestly requests those to whom this statement is addressed to signify their general agreement with the conclusions of the above statement viz. [1] it is desirable to have Universities at four new centres in the Bombay Presidency [2] that these centres should be such as to facilitate the solution of the problem of giving the vernaculars their due place in the work of instruction [3] that the Universities should not only be examining Universities but also teaching Universities for colleges at the central place with ample provision for post-graduate work.

### The Quranic Text.

In his learned article on the history of the Quranic text, published in the *Vedic Magazine*, Mr. Chamupati says :—

Mohammed tolerated differences of reading, differences of pronunciation, of idiom, of synonyms even of words and phrases, and perhaps sentences, of kindred meaning.

Again :—

Dr. Mingana's leaves are a positive evidence of the text of the Quran having changed. They appear to us to be a valuable help in tracing the actual words uttered by Muhammed in his apostolic trances. The Muhammedan Ulema if they instead of sticking to the letter of the Quran, as it is extant, were to devote their energies to the finding out of some original recension of the Holy Writ, would do better service to themselves and the community. For purposes of history too it is extremely important that the actual utterances of Muhammed by which he guided his own and his followers' actions be resorted, though, as we have shown above, he laid greater stress on the spirit than on the letter of his revelation.

### The Meaning of "Muslim."

The Editor of the *Islamic World* declares :—

We, Muslims, do not believe in conversion because we are taught by the Holy Prophet (may peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) that every child is born a Muslim. Islam is in fact a natural religion of man. It is his parents or envi-

ronments that make him to deviate from Islam, otherwise he is a Muslim by nature and birth. Therefore, there is no *conversion* in Islam. When a man becomes a Muslim he is not *converted* to any thing else but he *realises* his own self; and thus becomes a truer and better man. Self-realization is the theme upon which Islam has laid great stress. The Prophet is reported to have said that one who has realized one's own self has realized his Lord. And it is a fact that those who have embraced Islam have invariably borne a testimony to their self-realization. They have again and again conformed that by becoming Muslims they have become truer and better men, i. e., they have realized the grandeur and the purity of human nature.

Is it really a fact that all who have embraced Islam have realised the grandeur and the purity of human nature ?

### Chaitanya.

Writing in *Everyman's Review* on the *Bhakti* movement of Chaitanya, Mr. P. V. Aghoram Aiyar observes :—

Chaitanya is the originator of the movement which aims not at the suppression of human passions but at their purification by turning their current to God. In one sense his movement is without a parallel either in India or outside it.

Regarding the "unique distinction" of the Prophet of Vaishnavism, the writer says :—

He took up the weakest and the vilest life and made it accessible to the influence of love of God. Every life, said Chaitanya, is strong with emotions and feelings. Usually these emotions relate to worldly matters, but there are moments in the lives of all men when the passion mounts up from the heart to the throne of God. All life at some time or other wearies of the little limited joys this earth can give and desires to get a taste of the limitless love of God. He called on men not to think themselves vile or wretched. He asked men to talk the name of God loudly and sing his praise with the full passion of soul. He told them to consecrate the human passions and bring into existence the true worship of God through the senses. He talked less of renunciation than any other teacher though he himself was a *Vairagi* and ascetic of a severe order. He sanctified the ordinary life of the householder. He went round the country deluging the hearts of men with the floodtide of his love of God. The emotions were at their highest and purest in him; all the thought in him had melted into high feeling and the world had in him an example of perfect emotional culture. He did not debate with men or give discourses on the subject of religion. He simply went from end to end of the land and silently raised the life of the people. He had such an all-consuming love of God and had within him so inexhaustible a store of spiritual emotion that by personal contact he influenced people he met so thoroughly that they changed beyond recognition in some cases. This movement of Shri Chaitanya produced many exalted saints of as high spiritual stature

as that of the saints of any other faith. The originator of the faith was a perfect model of God-love in the heart of man.

In the writer's opinion,

The great merit of Chaitanya's religious movement was that it took away fear from the heart of man. God was a loving and merciful being. He delighted in reforming the lives even of sinners. "There is more joy in Heaven over one sinner that repented than over ninety nine that are just". He wants from us only our love; and if we loved him he would be with us for ever and for ever. Our imperfections vanish in His perfection. This took away also the begging and bargaining spirit from the hearts of men. The result has been that the common people in Hinduism had a nobler end to pray for than many a learned divine in other religions. The Hindus, of all people, have assumed the familiarity with God to the point of being considered blasphemous by other nations.

The writer's concluding words of defence of Chaitanya are :—

The criticism may be levelled against the great master that he was guilty of emphasising the emotions. The cheap sneer may be indulged in at his expense that his faith has given birth to mono-maniacs and that some of his followers are subjects for pathological investigations by doctors. All this, even if true, is no more due to the religion of Shri Chaitanya than heartlessness in any pandit of the formal school is due to the practical religion of the Vedanta. So long as the heart is the gateway to the religion of the spirit, and the emotions will continue to thrill men and in some instances transform them, and so long as the human heart has a hunger for perfection, the religion of Shri Chaitanya will have adherent among men. This world yet requires so much more of the practical workings of the religion of love.

The article is purely appreciative and has merits. It would have been a better production if it had been critically appreciative.

### Salaries in the Postal Department and Its Profits.

The presidential address of Srijiit Tulsi Charan Goswami at the 5th session of the Bengal Provincial Postal and R. M. S. Conference published in *Labour*, contains the following passage :—

Apart from individual hardships certain wide questions of principle and policy have to be considered. The impassable barrier between the Superior and the Subordinate Services is wrong in principle; in practice it does not stand for economy or efficiency. Frankly speaking, this distinction, which prevails in other departments and which is one of the characteristics of the present administrative system, has its origin in the idea that the men who come from across the seas must be well provided, must have money enough to keep up an imaginary prestige; for originally the superior services were practically monopolised by Europeans.

There is no conceivable reason why a meritorious officer in the subordinate service should not aspire to be the Post-Master-General. When you separate subordinate from superior services so entirely, you perpetrate a double wrong. Under political pressure Indians are being "increasingly associated"—to use an official phrase—in the higher scales of appointment, the higher scales of appointment carry salaries which have been fixed with a view to satisfy Europeans; they are usually higher than the salaries attached to the corresponding posts in other countries. Royal Commissions have not even attempted to remove these anomalies. It is not to the interest of the strong—and therefore not in the interest of justice—that they should be removed: for justice is the interest of the strong. If that be so, I hope your Union will be strong enough to help us in removing these anomalies.

There is one matter, about which, I understand, you feel very strongly. I am told there is no distinction in England between the pay of a postal employee and that of a telegraph employee. The differential treatment, which exists in this country is naturally resented by the postal services.

The Postal department has in recent years yielded very considerable profits, and the Postal Employees legitimately demand a share of the profits. Not only is the demand seemingly reasonable,—it is based on an old, settled policy of the Government of India. But this policy has apparently been abandoned by Government. With increasing expenditure in civil administration and reckless extravagance in military administrations, the Postal crores were too tempting; they were annexed to the general revenues.

As the British Government in India makes profit by selling justice, it is not a matter for surprise that it should be making a profit by selling postal facilities, though in reality the postal department ought to be treated as a national development department. The high postage rates have affected education and trade in various ways.

### The Indian Universities Conference.

In the opinion of Mr. P. J. Hartog, as expressed in an article in the *Indian Review*, "Probably the recommendations of the Conference of Indian Universities which will be regarded as outstanding are those to constitute two central bodies for the whole of India."

The first body proposed is an Inter-University Board comprising one representative from each University to meet not less than once a year, and to discuss matters of importance for all Universities, to act as a bureau of information to assist in the co-ordination of University work, to assist Indian Universities in obtaining recognition abroad for their degrees, diplomas, etc., to appoint, or recommend, where necessary, representatives of India at Imperial International Conferences, on higher education, to act as an appointments bureau for the Indian Universities, and for such other



purposes as the Indian Universities may assign to the Board from time to time.

The second central body proposed is an Advisory Board for Scientific Research, to comprise the heads of the Scientific Departments of the Government of India and a representative of Science nominated by each of the Indian Universities and by the Indian Institute of Science (Bangalore) with powers to co-opt representatives of other recognised institutes of Science not affiliated to any University.

### The Achievements of Asoka.

In the course of a very informing article on Buddhism's contribution to Hinduism, contributed to the *Young Men of India*, the writer observes:—

It is the social idealism of Asoka that catches the imagination of present-day India and makes his memory cherished. His reign was marked by clarity, by a strengthening moral effort, and a rare devotion to the public welfare.

"There is no greater task," writes Asoka, "than to strive for the universal welfare. All men are my children. As I desire that my children may be partakers of all that is good and happy in this world and the next, so I desire it also for mankind. Pious acts and the practice of piety depend on the growth among men of compassion, liberality, truth, purity, gentleness and saintliness."

Devoted to peace, truthfulness and moral idealism, he promoted ahimsa, he advocated toleration, wells were dug widely and watering places provided for animals, shade trees were planted by the roadside and orchards; hospitals were endowed, medical aid for men and animals it provided, and plants for medicinal purposes were propagated; officers were appointed for the supervision of charitable works and for the care of the subject races; public gardens were founded. Megasthenes reported that the single bright exception to the universal rule of human slavery was the Indian empire of Asoka, in which slavery appears to have been prohibited. During a reign of thirty years he laboured to meet the needs of society. His social principles are indicated in his rock and pillar edicts—reverence to parents, elders and preceptors, true charity and true ceremonial, toleration for the beliefs and practices of others, kind treatment of slaves and servants, liberality to ascetics and Brahmans, truthfulness, purity, gentleness and saintliness were held out as ideals.

### Indian Vegetable Oil Industry.

In the Journal of the Indian Economic Society, Mr. R. G. Saraiya shows that

The possibilities before the oil-seed crushing industry are not small; although there are great though not insuperable difficulties in the way. A policy of active encouragement of industries by Government can do much. But with it is required an enterprising spirit, which can go beyond the rut of routine business and create an active Indian as well as foreign demand for the products of the

seed crushing industry, a demand which is more or less latent and awaits the awakening hand of far-sighted salesmanship. One can only say:—"Faint heart never won fair business."

### Encouragement for Women Industrialists.

We read in the *Mysore Economic Journal*:—

The Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Information reports an interesting departure to encourage women who invest in industries or industrial banks or help to promote such enterprise. Such persons will hereafter be decorated with Phoenix Medals (Wen Feng Chang). These are of five classes and are to be awarded in the following way; 1st Class, for those who invest \$200,000 or more of their own money or raise \$1,000,000, or more from others; 2nd Class, for those who invest \$100,000 or more or raise \$500,000 or more; 3rd Class, for those who invest \$50,000 or more or raise \$200,000 or more; 4th Class, for those who invest \$10,000 or more or raise \$50,000 or more; 5th Class, for those who invest \$5,000 or more or raise \$25,000 or more. These medals have in the centre a green phoenix on a red disc with a golden margin, which is surrounded with four white peonies with green leaves and golden stems. The first-class medals will have 8 pearls studded between the peonies, the second-class 6, the third-class 4, the fourth-class 2, and the fifth-class none. They will be awarded to women industrialists upon the recommendation of the general chambers of commerce or the industrial boards of the provinces.

### Cattle Insurance.

Mr. K. C. Desai shows in the *Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* the importance of cattle-insurance in India. Says he:—

In an agricultural country like India, the importance of the insurance of agricultural cattle can hardly be exaggerated. The average farmer is poverty-stricken, and if he loses some animals by death, his misery becomes boundless. It is at such a juncture that the money-lender gets the better of him, and tempts him with money, of course at exorbitant rates of interest, to buy a new bullock. And once the farmer gets into the moneylender's snares, he gets free from the debts with difficulty; and perhaps before the year is over, he is tormented by the money-lender and his budget is upset by the additional liability incurred.

If the insurance of cattle is introduced and popularised among agriculturists, they will be better safeguarded against the loss caused by the death of cattle. No doubt, they may find it a little difficult to pay the premium for the insurance of their cattle as they are generally very poor. It is, however much better that they should find money for such premia rather than be stranded in the midst of a good season by the death of some of their valuable cattle, or fall into the clutches of money-lenders at a time of great need. Government on their part should consider the insurance of cattle as a matter of national importance and,

whenever necessary, should help those societies that undertake this work, both pecuniarily or otherwise as the need may be.

These cattle insurance societies should not rest satisfied by merely insuring the cattle. They must also undertake to popularise the idea of insurance and educate public opinion of the neighbourhood in its favour. Large numbers of insurances will help not only the assured but also the societies. Because if there are many cattle insured in a society, there will be comparatively less risk to be undertaken. Besides popularising insurance, these societies should undertake some propaganda for inculcating ideas of sanitation among the cattle-owners. They should be advised about the specific cures, if any, for several diseases prevalent amongst the cattle. Even for ordinary ailments, the societies should circulate information about preventive and curative medicines. If the work is done successfully, it will be a boon to the whole neighbourhood.

### All-India Khadi Guide

"All-India Khadi Guide, June 1924" is a very timely publication. It contains within brief compass useful information about the All-India Khadi Board, the Provincial Boards, principal Khadi centres, amounts invested in different provinces for Khadi, &c.

### Channels of Cultural Intercommunication

Mr. C. F. Andrews contributes to the July number of the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* a thoughtful and thought-provoking article entitled "The East in the West." He begins by giving the reader an idea of the distinctive feature of the Greek mind and genius.

Although Europe owes so much to the Greeks in the intellectual and spiritual spheres, especially in that region of artistic creation where pure thought and lucid imagination meet, yet the Greek mind, with one singular and hitherto unexplained exception, dwelt rather upon that which was perfect in proportion than that which was beyond all limits.

The exception was Plato. He draws nearest of all among the Greeks to the mind of India. For he is never content merely with the earthly perfection which is visible and to be reached by human endeavour. He is ever seeking for that heavenly city, which hath the foundations, whose builder and maker is God.

The essential Greek mind came back with a rebound in Aristotle, so sane, so balanced in every subject that he touches, but always falling short of that idealism, to which Plato gave the very name we still use to-day. We might, without any incongruity, imagine Plato taking his abode among the forest-dwellers of ancient India; declaring with them; *Listen to me, ye children of the Immortal I have seen Him, the Infinite Personality, that is beyond Time and Place.* But we can scarcely dream of Aristotle, the realist, dwelling for long in that atmosphere.

He dwells on this feature of the Greek mind as manifested in Greek poetry and drama, Greek architecture, Greek sculpture and Greek history.

Indeed, as we shall see later, modern science itself, with its realistic outlook upon life, is in a very true sense the greatest after-product of the Greek mind.

These wonderful children of antiquity, whose intellect had reached a clarity concerning the visible world which has rarely, if ever, been equalled shrank back from the infinite and the unlimited though afraid to venture forward into the darkness. It is a very strange limitation: and it surprises one ever more and more in the Greeks, where one comes back to them after Indian studies.

Mr. Andrews is not blind to the advantages of the Greek type of mind.

It is true, that this supremely sane outlook of the Greeks saved them from gross irrationalism and superstitions. To the Greek mind at Athens as the plays of Aristophanes show clearly, the old legends of the gods and goddesses had become objects of laughter and satire rather than belief.

But he shows us the other side of the shield also, when he says:

There is a nemesis in human affairs, which always follows close upon the heels of finite perfection. The Greek genius was amazingly short-lived. It is true that its results persisted. But its achievements were crowded into one glorious century, and then the blossom faded. We have not been able again to reach that exquisite completeness, which marked Athens at its prime; but in many other ways we have advanced far further and discovered things of which the Athenian intellect never even dreamt.

Mr. Andrews thinks:

It would be true, perhaps, to suggest that Europe to-day, with its new world-problems of psychology and religion, which have to be dealt with one by one, has more to learn from ancient India than from ancient Greece. We may even venture to predict that the present century in Europe will draw its greatest sources of new knowledge from India and the East in all the matters pertaining to the human soul. If this proves to be true, the reason will be, not that Greece is ever to be challenged afresh in her own sphere, but rather because, along with the growth of the conception of human personality, and of the universe as pervaded by one divine spiritual life, we shall necessarily turn away from the Greeks.

Indians feel flattered when they read passages like the foregoing written by Europeans. But they should remember that what is respected and revered is not Indian superstitions and relics of barbarism but Indian wisdom and idealism. It is for us to realise in our lives the enduring ideals of ancient India.

Mr. Andrews finds the limited outlook of the Greeks in the Roman mind and partly

also in the Jewish mind. As regards the latter, Mr. Andrews observes:

The great exceptions come here in the Prophets and the Psalms; and these have formed the spiritual nourishment of the Christian Church.

The writer continues:

The strange volcanic upheaval caused by the Christian Revolution consisted in this, that it tore away from its foundations, with a shock of tremendous explosion, this classical life of man in the Mediterranean area. For the Christian Faith started out at once on its romantic career, uprooting, destroying and obliterating like an earthquake all boundaries which man had reared up during the past ages in order to shut out the terrors of the unknown. It revelled in the unseen and the extreme, and even at times the bizarre.

As regards the origin of this upheaval Mr. Andrews observes:

There can be little doubt as to whence this new upheaval ultimately originated. It sprang from the East itself, where the unseen and the eternal had absorbed the souls of men for long ages past. Other Eastern cults had crossed the border and gained an entrance into the Mediterranean area. They had failed, but this succeeded.

He states in a parenthesis that:

Historical criticism and research have yet to give a final answer to the questions, which have already been adumbrated in this paper,—how, for instance, Plato himself is related to the East; how far the Stoics, starting from the extreme south-eastern corner of Asia-minor, had come under the sphere of Eastern thought; how far the Christian Faith itself is an Eastern product, tracing its origin not only back to Judaea, but to India,—the home of the religions of the East. If I might venture to give my own tentative opinion, formed after many years of patient revision of thoughts and experiences and tentative conclusions, I regard it as probable that a far greater Eastern element is contained in primitive Christianity than I had previously imagined. It was not without justification that the Roman Empire regarded it as an 'Eastern Cult,' and compared it with other Eastern faiths which had advanced westward.

The Christian doctrine of the Cross,—of suffering without limit and without retaliation,—was

repugnant to classical antiquity. We have to go to the early Buddhist Scriptures for such idealism of suffering and sacrifice, embodied in a whole society, and not merely in exceptional individuals.

The concluding paragraphs of Mr. Andrews' article are reproduced below.

In the present turmoil and confusion in Europe after the Great War, which shook the confidence and pride of the West, there are very many earnest souls who are looking more and more wistfully to the East. They seek to discover whether the harmony between religion and science on the one hand and science and philosophy on the other, may not be found in that eastern quarter of the globe which has hitherto been for the most part outside the field of European research.

Already, the resources of the classical West, as we have seen, have been examined, and tried again and again, and found wanting. The Christian Faith has also been tried with varying success. And in recent years it has been found too tightly bound by ecclesiastical dogmas to give any prospect that it will suddenly unloose itself and come forth with new strength unfettered for the great task that lies before us. Therefore, man's thoughts are travelling elsewhere; and the culture and civilisation of the world are seen to be far vaster than European insularity ever deemed.

One thing is practically certain. The old isolation of the different cultures and religions of the world, which was originally in a great measure geographical, is now rapidly vanishing away. The different currents of thought and life among the races of mankind have to be made to flow into one another in the future. Channels of intercommunication must be cut. The romantic and idealistic element, which is still strong in the religions of the East, must be brought into closer contact with the classical and realistic element, which came back to modern Europe with the Renaissance and has dominated European thought ever since. Only thus can the spiritual conception of the Universe, which is innate in the consciousness of mankind, in East and West alike, find its true setting and its full expression.

We should not forget that if the West requires what is distinctive in the Eastern outlook, we too require the sense of finite proportion and the realistic outlook upon life characteristic of the Greek mind.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

### .How to Finance Indian Education.

Discussing, in the *International Review of Missions*, the problem of finance in Indian education, Mr. W. Meston comes to the following three conclusions:—

The first is that government management is too costly, and points to the need for a transfer of that management to agencies which do not make so heavy a drain on the public purse. The second is that economy will be effected by decentralization, by the setting up of local educational authorities vested with the powers of control and finance.



The third is that what is most pressingly called for is a generous system of grant-in-aid applicable with modifications to public and private managements and so conceived as to draw forth local patriotism and private benefaction in the direction of education.

All these considerations previously urged on educational grounds are now confirmed by financial reasons. Their adoption would mean for India a system of education which would combine educational efficiency with national aspiration and financial economy.

### The Charm of the Arab.

To the same review Mr. P. W. Harrison, D. Sc., M. D., contributes an article on the charm of the Arab, from which we take the first three stories which he tells. The first is thus introduced and told:—

Out in Arabia poverty reaches depths unequalled, I imagine, elsewhere in the world. Yet out of that fearful poverty, out of that hopeless environment, the human spirit stands forth, not simply unbroken but quite unbent. The most cheerful men and women in the world, and the best sportsmen, are those desert nomads. Their national pastime is no tame thing like football, or baseball. Each tribe raids its neighbours, shooting them in the process, and being shot themselves, while stealing camels and goats and other hoofed property. The mortality is not very high, perhaps not a great deal higher than in American football. Many however report to the doctor for the removal of bullets from various parts of their anatomy. Such a victim was once brought to the Kuwait hospital by his brother. I offered my sympathy. That must have been a very bad man that shot you.' The idea was a great surprise. 'Oh no, I do not suppose that he was a very bad man. I tried hard to shoot him, but did not have very good luck.' The man was with us five months and eventually he left with a good result. In the meantime his brother took care of him, kept him clean, bought him things to eat, and cheered him up when down-hearted with a loyalty quite beyond praise. One day a fellow-patient assured me that this brother was rich. He certainly did not look very rich, so I asked him, 'Are you rich?' 'Oh no,' he said cheerfully, 'I am not rich, but I have a lot of camels and goats and sheep back where we live. I am rich that way.' 'Well,' I continued, 'you have been here now for three months and it is likely to be a couple of months more before you can take your brother home. Aren't you afraid that while you are gone, some of your camels and goats may be stolen?' 'Afraid,' he repeated, 'that some of my camels and goats may be stolen? Why, I imagine that they have all been stolen long before this.' 'The prospect does not appear to trouble you a great deal,' I replied with some surprise. 'Oh no,' with an even broader grin, if that were possible, 'it does not trouble me at all. That is all right.' 'I do not quite see how it is all right,' I persisted; 'you have been rich all your life and now you will go back to be poor.' 'Yes, of course, but you do not understand. Just as soon as I get out of here, I will steal some one else's; and who knows perhaps I will have more than I had before.'

The second runs as follows:—

Out of that environment, too, comes the finest independence in the world. Friendship they know, but subservience never. One day I hired a boy to take me aboard a small sailing vessel on his donkey. The shore sloped very gradually, and although the boat drew not over three feet of water, there was perhaps fifty feet of wading before I could be reached. For a true believer to lead a donkey upon which an infidel sat evidently turned all the moral values of the universe upside down, even for this youngster, and he looked back uneasily, first over one shoulder and then over the other. Finally he spoke. 'I am just as good a man as you are.' 'Yes, yes,' I hastily agreed, 'I did not say you weren't. Perhaps some time I may have a donkey and put you on board a sailing vessel.'

The third is quoted below.

As might be expected, once the confidence and affection of such men are gained, they show the finest sort of loyalty. In the days when I was learning Arabic, I spent two weeks on a river trip down the Tigris. Water was low and in thirteen days we progressed fifty miles. Frequently we were tied up alongside the bank for half a day. Once, when only two Arabs were with me, a strange and hostile face appeared over the high bank. 'What are you doing carrying that Christian around with you?' demanded the new-comer. The two men with me jumped up. One seized a large stick as thick as my wrist, which was waiting to be used for fire-wood. The other took the heavy iron rod an inch thick and a foot long, which is used in that part of Arabia as a pestle for pounding coffee. They ran up the bank after this man who had so grievously insulted their guest. Up on the bank the man held his ground pretty well, but they extorted some sort of satisfaction from him, and he promptly left, my two champions returning. 'Why did you chase him away?' I asked. 'He called you a Christian,' 'Yes, but I am a Christian, you know.' 'That is all right, asserted my defenders, 'we know you are a Christian, but he is not to call you one. No while we are around.'

### Murder and Fascism.

*The New Republic* says:—

The Mussolini government has been shaken to its foundation by the kidnapping and probable murder of Giacomo Matteotti, a millionaire socialist and member of the Chamber. Matteotti, it is known, was in possession of a considerable amount of evidence implicating Under-Secretary of State Finzi in dishonest transactions, and was to have made a speech revealing his information. The kidnappers used an automobile secured for them through the intervention of a tool of Finzi's, editor of a Fascist daily in Rome, who subsequently attempted to flee from the city. While there is no reason to assume that Mussolini is in any way connected with the plot, it is also fair to recall that kidnapping and murder are by no means illogical outgrowths of Fascism itself. The wearers of the black shirt took possession of the government of Italy by force and in defiance of law; members of the organization in various localities still continue to use physical violence.

against their enemies; Mussolini himself only a few days ago flatly served notice on the Parliament that if it did not obey his orders it would be dissolved. The sole difference between the present crime which Mussolini deplures and previous ones which he has tacitly condoned is that in this instance the victim is a person of importance, known to have been in possession of evidence linking the name of a member of the government with corruption.

### The World of Newspapers.

Mr. Christopher Morley, American author and journalist, tells us in an article named "Religio Journalistici" (religion of a journalist), published in the *Century Magazine*:

The world of newspapers and the life of newspaper men is for the most part vulgar, and therefore delightful. I mean vulgar in its exact sense; it is a word neither of praise nor blame, both of which are foreign to philosophy.

How idle to ask whether newspapers tell the truth! With truth they have little concern. Their trade is in facts; like all prosperous tradesmen they are reasonably conscientious. To belittle newspapers for not telling the truth is as silly as to regard them as training-ground for literature. Literature and journalism rarely overlap.

For the newspaper world, that vast brightly colored, contentious, and phantasmagoric picture of life that it evolves for its readers, is mostly a spurious world evolved for hurried and ignorant people. It is a world so happily out of touch with the world of philosophy that when, on rare occasions, the newspapers get wind of the things that philosophers habitually and calmly discuss, it causes a terrible to-do in the head-lines. The world of newspaper thinking is almost the last resort of the truly childish heart. With princely accuracy is it called "the newspaper game." Children are not friendly to philosophy, nor, hostile. They are simply not aware it exists.

### The Best of Every Life.

The same writer observes in the same article:—

The best of every life is unprintable. If one were given five minutes warning before sudden death, five minutes to say what it had all meant to us, every telephone-booth would be occupied by people trying to call up other people to stammer that they loved them. You would want to tell a whole lot of people that you love them, but had been too clumsy and too shy to admit it. And the newspaper man himself, who both loves and hates his queer trade, would be the first to remember that one always is severest with what one adores.

### Bertrand Russell on Democracy and Imperialism.

Anna Roebester publishes in *The World To-morrow* an interview with Bertrand Russell

on Democracy and Imperialism. Says that thinker:

In Honglong, just as in parts of China, you could until lately buy a girl from her parents and employ her in a relation which was closely akin to slavery. The wife of a British naval officer in Hongkong was much aroused over this and was leading the agitation against it. Her husband was warned that such activity was undesirable. The wife persisted and very shortly the naval officer was recalled.

In Africa, the whole condition of black labor is ghastly, from the pressure brought on the native workers to leave their homes, to the tuberculosis with which a very high percentage of them leave the mines. The native Africans had not developed any system of metal currency when the Europeans came in and imposed a hut tax which must be paid in money. For most of them the only way to earn the money to pay the tax has been to work away from home under the white exploiters as part of a complicated industrial machine, turning out materials whose uses they have not understood and on which the profits have been utterly disproportionate to the earnings of the native workers.

Extreme cases, you say. Perhaps, but remember the abuses of British rule in India. And that rule, at best, is undemocratic. The principle enunciated last year in relation to the Kenya Colony, reserving all the valuable land holdings for the white settlers, is without justification and undemocratic. One might almost state as a general fact that no white empire has been just in its dealings, much less has it brought anything like real democracy into its relation with colored subjects. One can go further and say that democracy and empire involve an essential contradiction and are mutually exclusive terms.

Why are democracy and empire mutually exclusive terms? Bertrand Russell's answer is:

The two basic difficulties are exploitation for private profit and differences in civilization. These have practically become so intertwined that clear thinking is not easy. And yet the future peace of the world, quite as much as any theoretical devotion to the idea of democracy, demands that we learn to untangle them. For I believe that as things are today the answer is not simple and obvious.

If we would reduce our standard of luxury and simplify enormously the number of "things" that clutter our existence and exhaust the world with useless activity, the white exploiter would withdraw from much of the imperial territory and the peoples with different civilizations would be left in comparative independence. (Personally, I think, for example, it may be a great blessing to the human race when the supply of oil is exhausted.)

But, says he, this is utopian.

Our practical problem is, first, to eliminate exploitation of raw materials for private profit and, then, to work out the best possible plan of co-operation among the different racial groups. The two phases of the problem may be attacked simultaneously, but we must always remember that political democracy is only one part of the whole, and

far less important than economic democracy in its bearings on human happiness and even on justice. So long as the shareholders draw the profits while others do the work genuine democracy is impossible.

More than that, I believe the control of raw materials cannot safely be left in the hands of any nation. It is not enough to eliminate private profit, in order to protect the rights of "primitive" peoples and to prevent wars; the time is more than ripe for international control. But I am not so keen to outline a program for the organization of this international control of raw materials as I am to see people begin to think internationally. These old concepts of national prestige and of the need for material reserves to draw upon in time of war afford an easy justification and an excellent smoke screen for profiteering and tyranny.

When we come to think internationally about raw materials we face the bedrock question of the possibility of a democratic control in which peoples of different civilizations or different stages of development share on equal terms.

The British thinker, while observing,

I am sure, too, that it is better for the world that Britain should hold the Suez Canal and the United States the Panama Canal than that these should revert to the peoples who happen to live in the adjacent territories.

yet holds that,

The question of Egyptian independence has been artificially tied up with the control of the Suez Canal. For British rule in Egypt, apart from a narrow strip of shore by the canal, I see no justification, just as I see none for western exploitation of China and for British rule in India.

It is Bertrand Russell's opinion that the British Labour Government has done almost nothing toward the solution of these problems. Sidney Olivier "has been most disappointing as Secretary of State for India. Josiah Wedgwood is the one member of the Government who has tried to take a really radical stand on these matters."

Asked as to what the Labour Government might have done, he said:—

Oh, yes, of course I have certain ideas as to what the Government might have done about India. I do not say that they could have attempted to withdraw immediately and completely, but I do insist that they should have made a clear announcement of their desire to take all necessary steps toward India's becoming a dominion state. They should have called a conference of notables, chiefly Indian, to review the whole situation, not forgetting its international aspects. They should put it up to the Indians themselves to outline a definite constructive plan. Until such a plan is offered, the Indians cannot reasonably blame the British for continuing in control.

It is true that the Labour Government is trying to substitute honesty and good faith for the trickery of the past, but there are certain oppressive regulations which, so far as I know, the Government has not yet touched. Censorship, for example, has been quite strict. The custom's officer can take from you almost any printed matter he

does not happen to like. And quite frequently Hindu students returning from an English university have lost, in the customs, books which the university had required them to read!

But, again, we must remember that the poverty of India is due in very large measure to exploitation by private capital which of course has been upheld by the Government and only in slight degree to other phases of British rule. Most of this capital is British, but not all. The wealthy Parsees have their own share of responsibility. This is no justification for allowing the political situation to drift. It merely brings us back to the point with which we began, that in thinking about democracy and imperialism we should always think further back to democracy and private capitalism.

### The Aristocratic Fallacy.

*The World Tomorrow* also quotes the following passages from "The Prospects of Industrial Civilization" by Bertrand Russell:

The fallacy of the aristocrat consists in judging a society by the kind of life it affords to a privileged minority. The ancient empires of Egypt and Babylonia afforded a thoroughly agreeable existence for kings and priests and nobles, but the rest of the community were mostly slaves or serfs, and must have had an existence composed of unremitting toil and hardship. Modern capitalism affords a delightful existence for the captains of industry: for them there is adventure and free initiative, luxury and the admiration of contemporaries. But for the great mass of the workers, there is merely a certain place in the great machine. To that place they are confined by the need of a livelihood, and no effective choice is open to them except by the collective stopping of the whole machine by strikes or revolutions, which involve imminent risk of starvation. Defenders of the capitalist regime are apt to vaunt the liberty which it grants to men of enterprise, but this is an example of the aristocratic fallacy.

I am afraid there are many socialists who commit the same fallacy; they imagine industry developed under state control, and they visualize themselves in that future millennium as part of the state control, not as part of the ordinary workaday labor.

### Dyeing the Wood of Living Trees.

The living tree is made to perform the work of staining its own wood by a method devised by Dr. Herbert Renner of Germany and Sol Weinberg of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, chemists and inventors. Their laboratory, a room on the second floor rear of an old-fashioned house on Arch Street, Philadelphia, is described by a writer in *The Master Painter and Decorator* (Newark, N. J.), who reports finding rows of bottles, funny-looking glass bowls of odd shapes, and the floor strewn with slabs of cross-sections of trees. He says:

"In dyeing or tinting the living tree any one of the twenty-odd colors selected, the chemicals are introduced into the tree near or at the roots, after



the sap has been stopt by a series of borings. Through the evaporation of the moisture in the tiny cells the dye is drawn to the farthest tips of the tree. Complete saturation of the wood takes from two to ten days, according to Mr. Weinberg.

"When the process is complete, of course the tree is dead, and ready for the ax or saw. As the wood is worked into boards, it is found to be thoroughly and evenly colored. Hard or soft woods take the dyes equally well.

After the wood is once colored, it can be boiled in water, steamed or exposed to the weather for an indefinite period, with no apparent effect. In other words, explained Dr. Renner, the wood is embalmed with permanent color. This preservative element which enters the tree also kills all insects or worms.

"Imagine the feelings of some of the old masters if they could gaze on a purple apple-tree, a pea-green poplar or a beautiful pink maple!

"As to the cost, Mr. Weinberg stated that the process costs less than one dollar per tree. Of course if this form of dyed woodwork became popular, it would be necessary for the mill men and lumber yards to carry on hand a much larger stock than usual, that a home-builder or architect might have a variety of colors to choose from.

The biggest field would seem to be the furniture trade; and according to Mr. Weinberg, he and Dr. Renner will leave shortly for the South to dye an entire forest. These trees will be worked up into furniture of different colors and exhibited at the coming furniture manufacturers' convention at High Point, North Carolina"—*The Literary Digest*.

### American Immigration Law and the Japanese.

*The New Republic* observes :

It will not be difficult technically to argue down the Japanese protest against the new immigration law. The provisions of the treaty of amity and commerce with Japan cannot properly be stretched to cover the subject of immigration. The most favored nation treatment to which Japan is entitled covers the right of travel and trade, and the latter involves incidentally rights of residence. It does not cover the right of settling down and participating in our domestic economic life. Nor will our State Department find difficulty in dismissing the argument on the assimilability of the Japanese. On this point, each nation has to judge for itself. What lies behind the Japanese protest, however, is a feeling that cannot be dismissed with technically correct arguments. Alone of the non-white races, the Japanese have fought their way to a place of equality with the Western civilized powers. They have successfully challenged the claim of inherent superiority which the white peoples have flaunted for hundreds of years. Our immigration law embodies an official reassertion of that claim by the United States. And no strong arguments or soft words from Mr. Hughes will relieve the sense of injury the Japanese have conceived.

A correspondent of this American paper has sent it a statement on the immigration question by Professor M. Anesaki of the Imperial University of Tokio. That Japanese

Professor is "a good friend of America and an ardent lover of peace," but he "believes that the immigration act has dealt a grave blow to the cause of international amity."

Two policies have long been at issue in Japan, one, to maintain the role of mediator between Europe and Asia, the other to place Japan at the head of Asia in antagonism to Europe. The former has prevailed down to the present. Our treatment of the Japanese in the immigration law will have the effect of strengthening the party which stands for Asia for the Asiatics. We have no doubt that Professor Anesaki is right in his diagnosis of Japanese feeling at the present time. It would be perfectly natural for the Japanese to turn first of all to other peoples that are aggrieved by the assertion of white race superiority. In the long run, however, Japan will align herself with those powers, white or colored, that can present the stiffest opposition to the English-speaking peoples. She has already begun to court the French. In time she will compose her differences with Russia and wait for an opportunity to thrust the Americans and British out of Asia.

### The Chief Result of the World War.

G. von Schulze-Gaevernitz asks in an article by him in *The New Republic* :—

When one day history is written, what will be regarded as the chief result of the World War? Will it be the destruction of the three imperial dynasties which were the stronghold of conservatism and autocracy in Europe? Or will it be the rise of France to predominance on the continent, the upsetting of the balance of European power on which Great Britain had based her home security and her world empire for centuries? All these events, far-reaching as they are, are overshadowed by the one fact: the shifting of the world's centre from Europe, which had held it since the days of Marathon, to America which, during the World War outgrew her competitors and became the leading world power in economics as well as in politics.

### The Sufi Spirit.

Professor T. L. Vaswani concludes his article on the Sufi spirit in *The New Orient* (New York) thus :—

Modern life is cut up into little bits. Modern life needs a new spiritual synthesis. In a Vision of the One is the cure of our sectarianism, our materialism, our narrow nationalisms. In a Sufi book we read :—

"If a myriad persons build houses and make windows therein, the same sun illumines them all."

Was image ever more complete of the Unity of Races and Religions? The East and the West the world has despaired of their meeting together! But listen to what the Seer of the Koran says :—"The East and the West (sic) are God's!" By a supreme intuition of the soul, has this truth been

preached by the world's prophets and sages. To this Truth has Sufism borne witness, century after century. Today more than ever before, the East and the West need men and women who will in silence glimpse the beauty of this vision of the One in all, and then come where the crowds shout and the people storm, and proclaim to them the message:

*"Windows in the great Hall of Humanity are  
Ye all, O Nations of the Earth! And the same  
Sun illumineth you all!"*

### England's Woman Economist

Another woman has come to the foreground in England. Mrs. Barbara Wootton has just been appointed by Premier MacDonald as one of thirteen members of a government committee to inquire into the national debt and its effect on taxation and industry. Mrs. Wootton, who is only twenty-seven, took first class honors in economics at Girton College, Cambridge, with a special distinction which had never been awarded to any other student.—*The Woman Citizen.*

### Internationalism.

In *La Revue de Geneve*, Christian L. Lange, writing on Internationalism, defines it as follows:

Internationalism, then, may be defined as follows, a social theory based on economic, spiritual, and biological facts. This theory affirms that the healthy development of society and of civilization requires the organization of the human race on an international basis. Nationalities should form the constituent elements of a great world federation. They should be guaranteed the opportunity to live their own distinct spiritual and intellectual lives, and to control purely local functions, while political and economic questions should be dealt with by an agency of pacific cooperation, in the common interests of all mankind.

### The Struggle of Races.

*The Living Age* writes:

Basil Matthews's *Clash of Colour* is the latest statement of what promises to be the world problem of the present century. The author says that this is 'the supreme feature in the world landscape to-day, and lies right across the path of the onward trek of mankind.' We in America are sufficiently impressed with its existence, and are dealing with some aspects of it rather ruthlessly in our immigration policy, but it looms large in France, in Russia, and largest of all in the British Empire. Of every seven people under the British flag six are colored. We live in an age of unprecedented white hegemony.

"The figures are staggering. There are on the earth some fifty-three million square miles of habitable land surface. Of those miles forty-seven million are under white dominance—or nearly nine-

tenths of the whole habitable area of the world. Of the remaining six million square miles over four million square miles are ruled by the yellow races."

Is this unstable equilibrium—certainly, unstable in its numerical relations—likely to be maintained? We have never thought out the issue; we still have vague ideas as to what constitutes race. Our reactions to the subject are instinctive rather than rational. Mr. Matthews thinks the solution is to be found in cultivating the team spirit among the people of different races—presumably a sporting term for universal brotherhood; but whether this will smooch over the coming conflicts induced by intenser economic as well as social and political competition remains to be seen.

### Abyssinia and the Slaves

We are glad to read in *The Inquirer* of London:

One of the beneficent achievements of the League of Nations has been that of bringing the Abyssinian slave-trade to an end. The Regent of that country has now issued orders dealing with those who were already in slavery before his recent edict was issued, forbidding the sale or purchase of slaves. On the plea, which is perhaps not unreasonable, that to liberate them at once would be dangerous to public order, he appoints supervisors, who are to see that the existing slaves are properly treated by their owners; and the stipulations made for the freeing, immediately or in certain contingencies, of specified classes of such pre-edict slaves seem to indicate a genuine desire on the Regent's part to be true to the spirit of the antislavery policy. The liberated slaves are to have the option of going back to their native countries or of remaining in Abyssinia; and if they choose the latter they are to be free of taxes for seven years, and to have free education up to the age of twenty.

So far as free education goes, the freed slaves of Abyssinia are in a better position than the "free-born" Indian subjects of King George V.

### "The Japanese Ban on Americans".

The ronin of Japan distributed the following handbill some time ago:—

"This is not a time for discussion but a time for action. Now is the time for the young men of the Empire to rise.

"We demand deportation of all Americans.

"We demand boycott of all American motion-pictures.

"We demand boycott of all American goods.

"We demand prohibition of the entrance of Americans into Japan and abrogating of all Japanese-American Treaties.

"We demand abolition of the evil of dancing, which is ruining our country."

### Chemistry and National Defence.

Efisio Mameli, writing in *Nucca Antiochia*, thinks:

To-day the chain that bars the door of every country against foreign invasion has three links: scientific research, industrial production, military application. To imagine that such a chain will hold without forging strongly all three of these links is folly. Since it is impossible for each nation, acting alone, to forge such links for peace and war, for wealth and defense, we must, unless we are willing to face the future unprepared, co-operate with our neighbors on a basis advantageous for all, and compatible with true ideals of world harmony.

But what of those who are not neighbours?

The writer's anxiety is for those who *may* be subjected to foreign invasion. But what are those people to do whose countries were invaded by foreigners in the past and who are now enslaved?

### Changing China.

Professor Emil Lederer gives in *Frankfurter Zeitung* a very interesting and instructive account of changing China. In his opinion the Chinaman is fundamentally a private citizen and fundamentally a pacifist. "He never idealises a robber brigand into a knight," as the peoples of Europe have done. Speaking of China's foreign loans, chiefly through which the Central Administration runs on, the German professor writes:

China is not a colony, but an independent commonwealth. This is not always recognized, and the Great Powers have often treated the country as if it were a Turkey or a Hottentot community. But since the Chinese revolution, the defeat of Germany, and Soviet Russia's successful resistance to the combined attack of the Allies, China's respect for the Western Powers has diminished, and their demands no longer do more than arouse patriotic resentment. China was an 'Associated Power' in the war against Germany and her allies. It is no longer possible to treat her as a protectorate. Indeed she could, were she so disposed, stake off her whole foreign debt by a single determined effort. I do not predict that immediately but the younger generation which resents outside intervention keenly, may accomplish this emancipation.

The writer continues:

Should China wipe out her debt abroad, foreign control of her customs would terminate, and foreign courts would be compelled to relinquish their present limited jurisdiction within her territories. What could Europe and America do under such circumstances? With India insurgent, with Japan jealously watching for a chance to drive Westerners out of Asia, with Russia looming behind China as her 'natural ally,' is it practical to maintain the present ascendancy of Europe and America there by the old instrumentalities of dollar diplomacy, worship, and soldiers? That exceeds their power. China needs only to will independence in order to possess it.

The Professor thinks China will not enter the path that Japan has followed.

Japan protected herself against Western aggression by consciously adopting European methods, by modeling her bureaucracy, her schools, her army, her fleet, upon those of the Western Powers. China has not up to the present pursued that course, and presumably will not do so. But she will soon become strong enough, by her industry and her economic development, to emancipate herself from her existing obligations to the outside world.

He concludes:

Altogether, one cannot escape the conviction that economic forces are irresistibly changing China into a modern State.

Apparently the United States, which is the strongest Power on the Pacific, has been the first to appraise this situation truly. Relations between the two countries were for many years merely perfunctory. Not until recently since America's domestic market has ceased to absorb the products of her growing industries, has she taken a real interest in China. To-day there is a lively trade between them. It is characteristic of America, however, that she depends as largely upon indirect as direct agencies to win markets. She has invested as much money in missions and schools in China as in business enterprises, and unquestionably the former, especially the higher institutions of learning, quietly but effectively cultivate a demand for American goods. The method of the United States might be described as 'Americanizing through the Chinese'—a very effective way of winning new markets where no ulterior political designs are cherished.

The underlying principle of the policy which America is pursuing in China today is identical with that which the British Government followed in India in encouraging English education here. As readers of Major Basu's *History of Education in India under the East India Company* are aware, it was decided to support English education, partly because the schools for teaching English were expected to quietly but effectively cultivate a demand for British goods and to open new markets for Britain.

### The Birth of the Working Class Soul in America.

*The Liberator* writes:

The birth of the soul of a child takes place, according to modern Psychologists, when the child becomes conscious of itself.

This conception of soul, of course, has nothing to do with the metaphysical or biblical conception. According to the modern viewpoint, the soul is that something which makes us conscious of ourselves as separate, distinct individualities, and which expresses itself outwardly in the personality of the individual.

The birth of the soul of a social class takes place, similarly when that class becomes conscious



of itself as a separate and distinct group with its own aims and ideals and needs. A social class gains its soul when it becomes conscious of its group aspirations, enters into a struggle to realize those aspirations, and suffers and makes sacrifices for its aspirations. A social class developed to that point becomes an entity, something distinct from all other groups in society.

We are living in a period in United States today in which the forces which create the soul of the working class are moving towards fruition. In the June 7th Farmer-Labor convention there is the promise of the birth of the working class soul in this country.

### The Immortality of Lenin.

We read in *Current Opinion* :

Though dead, Lenin is still speaking and his ghostly voice rings with all his former fanaticism. It is in his name that the Directory still seeks to govern Russia. As atheists they deny the immortality of Lenin's soul, but they have constructed for his corpse a refrigerator which will, they hope, preserve his embalmed body for future generations. Lenin has thus become the King Tut of Moscow, the canonized saint of Communism, the deification of the merely material. And worship of his dried skin is the Socialist alternative to Christianity.

During Lenin's illness the Soviet Republic issued proclamations in his name and apparently the forgeries are to continue. It is alleged that the Mohammed of Communism left a will in which he graciously bequeathed what Bolshevism means by a legacy to no fewer than 50,000 of his admirers. The bequests which these grateful friends will receive are not private property, but private arrest and exile to Siberia. In such cases no trial is conceded. The offender is merely told that he has been mentioned in Lenin's will.

### Poets in Moscow.

Editors of vernacular monthlies in India know that there are many poets in this country; but Moscow appears to be better off in this respect than even India. For, *Current Opinion* says :

In Moscow itself the mentality of the people is disclosed by the report that there are at least 8,000 poets there, of whom 2,000 spend their whole time composing verses, while 3,000 are occasional in their efforts, the remainder being content to recite, instead of publishing their rhymes. According to the New York *Evening Post*, Russian poets belong to various schools—for instance, the symbolists, acmeists, futurists, centrifugalists, imaginists, constructivists, presentists, nichevoki and the aimless ones. One difficulty with Russian literature is however, that while the Soviets supply volumes by Karl Marx the people prefer the more capitalist masterpieces known as Tarzan, which are sold by the many thousand. Next to Tarzan and his Apes, the most popular foreign literature is written by H. G. Wells.

### "The Longevity of Saints and Sinners."

*Current Opinion* thus summarises an article by W. Wyatt Tilby in the *Nineteenth Century*.

When Bernard Shaw, in "Back to Methuselah," startled the bourgeoisie by declaring that anybody could live on indefinitely if only he had the will to do so, his suggestion was accepted as merely another extravagant Shavian fantasy. Curiously enough some longevity figures have just been published which lend certain degree of confirmation to Shaw's contention. Not by Coué-ing ourselves, according to Shaw, can we prolong our lives, but by entering with such zest in this world's activities that our subconscious will-to-live will carry us on and on through the decades and the centuries. Following the same line of reasoning W. Wyatt Tilby, writing in the *Nineteenth Century*, presents interesting evidence showing that worldlings outlive those who give themselves up to unworlly pursuits.

The longevity of different classes of great and distinguished men are compared. Popes and archbishops are found to have lived on an average to the advanced age of 73 years, whereas saints have died at 59, even when martyrs who met violent deaths are excluded from the computation. Mr Tilby asks whether this striking discrepancy is not due to the fact that the princes and potentates of the Church concern themselves largely with mundane affairs, whereas saints live truly on another spiritual plane.

Corroboration of this view is found in the longevity records of other classes. Scientists die at an average age of 74, but philosophers succumb at 66.7 years. Here again the same distinction occurs: scientists are absorbed in earthly phenomena, whereas philosophers spin a web of intellectualism. Finally, and perhaps most curiously of all, musicians at 59 but great painters have lived to 66. It is pointed out that painters are engaged with the concrete and visible world, whereas the musician gives himself up to the invisible and spiritual medium of sound.

Men of action—ecclesiastics, statesmen, soldiers—as a class live longer than those given to contemplative pursuits. The former, grouped together, live to the age of 74, whereas the latter hardly pass 64. This however, is probably due to the fact that the leader among men is usually endowed with a powerful physique to begin with. To achieve eminence, he must be robust.

After surveying the longevity of more than 500 of the world's greatest men, the writer comes to the conclusion that they outlive the ordinary run of humanity. The average length of life for persons who reach maturity is 62 years, but for men of eminence it is 67.5 years and for those of remarkable genius 69.1 years. This figure closely approaches the threescore years and ten of the Psalmist, and Mr. Tilby wonders whether the Hebrew poet consulted an actuary before writing his verse.

The proverbial worries of the high-strung business man do not, apparently, bring him to an early grave. Merchant magnates, according to his tabulator, live usually to 70 years. Saints and poets are the only types who succumb at an earlier age than the average for humanity at large. The longest lived of all are seemingly the Speakers of the House of Commons, who have averaged 80 years.

despite the fact (as Mr. Tilby remarks) that of all men in the modern world they must be the ones who on occasions long most devoutly for release.

The oldest contributors to *The Modern Review* are Babu Dwijendranath Tagore, the eldest son of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, and Babu Syamacharan Ganguli, formerly principal of Uttarpara College. Both are p. 86.

### Kant's Ideas still Alive.

In an article in the Boston Methodist weekly, *Zion's Herald*, the distinguished New England publicist, Edwin D. Mead, has pointed out: Woodrow Wilson, himself more a philosopher than a politician, and a Kantian at that, was undoubtedly profoundly influenced by Kant's international thought, and his whole work at Paris

was whether consciously or not, an heroic effort to realize that thought in the practical organization of the world."

It was Kant's intention to follow his three great Critiques with a "System of Politics"; but he was compelled in his seventy-seventh year to abandon the plan. Happily, the political essays which he wrote clearly indicate the spirit of his political ideas. The best known of this "Eternal Peace" published in 1795, is described by Mr. Mead as "the Magna Carta of the peace movement." It took the position that the peace and order of the world depend upon a cosmopolitan union of states, and that this can only come about when the states of the world, or the controlling body of them, are free states. The only right government, Kant said, is republican government; to that nations of the world are gravitating by the very urge of human nature. When enough nations have achieved it, they will unite in a "cosmopolitical institution"—Kant's term for Wilson's League of Nations—and then, and not till then, law will supplant war, armies will be disbanded, and we shall have a peaceful and cooperative civilization.

## NOTES

### India and China.

Mr. C. F. Andrews writes in *Young India* that what has delighted him more than anything else on his travels to the Far East hitherto has been to see the cordial relations in every place between Indian and Chinese residents.

The Malay Peninsula, in these modern times, has become more than ever before the meeting place between India and China, the open highway along which India, as it were, sets out to journey towards China, and China sets out to journey towards India. The happiest thing of all is this, that the people of both countries love one another at first sight. There is no mutual antipathy at all.

In proof of this he says that at the Indian Association meeting, which was gathered at Singapore to welcome him on his arrival, he was very deeply interested to find that the reception committee had unanimously elected a Chinese gentleman, who was himself the President of the Chinese Association, to take the chair and give him (Mr. Andrews), on behalf of the Indian community, a cordial welcome.

So closely interwoven are the two Associations, that this was in no way incongruous, but a thing that seemed eminently fit and proper. At Penang, one of the very first persons to be introduced to me by the members of the Indian Association, who met me on my arrival, was the President of the Chinese Association. I travelled some distance, on

my journey from Penang to Kuala Lumpur, with a Chinese barrister, who gave me a full account of the intimate relations between Indians and Chinese. "We love each other," he said simply; and I felt that what he said was true.

When he reached Kuala Lumpur, which is midway between Penang and Singapore, the same experience met him.

I think that, during the very few hours I was there, I spent as much time talking to the Chinese who were introduced to me by Indians themselves. At a very enthusiastic and crowded meeting in the Hall of the Indian Association, Kuala Lumpur, the Chinese came in great numbers to receive me; and in my speech, in reply to the kindly words of welcome from the chair, the sentence I happened to utter, which brought down the house, was one in which I referred to the age-long friendship between India and China, and spoke of Gautama the Buddha as the founder of this Indo-Chinese friendship.

Mr. Andrews rightly observes that this Indo-Chinese friendship has come to us from our great ancestral inheritance, and is, therefore a God-given gift which must in no way be squandered or neglected.

Amid very much that has been altered and shifted in this modern world, this old friendship between India and China appears to be permanent and unchanging. It is indeed a great and saving benefit to the whole world that these two most populous countries, comprising between them nearly half the population of the world, should not only have no antipathy towards each other, but should

be actually friendly and cordial in all their mutual relations. If the peace of the world is to be maintained, it will depend very greatly on the cultivation of this friendship between India and China whether the bonds of peace that hold humanity together remain strong.

How the Chinese love and respect Indians will become also evident from the hospitality and careful attention which not only the poet Rabindranath Tagore but also his companions received in their country recently. From the private letters of Nandalal Bose and Kshitimohan Sen, passages from which will be found quoted in translation in our Indian Periodicals section in this issue, it appears that these gentlemen received a treatment which they are not likely to receive in any other country. This courteous and hospitable treatment accorded to India's cultural envoys was characteristic of the hoary civilization of China.

We have said that the Chinese love and respect Indians. But not all Indians. In Hongkong there are Sikh policemen who are the servants of the British Government, whom the Chinese detest and despise; because when those who are slaves in their own country find themselves in a position to abuse their little powers, they become the worst and most odious tyrants.

### Rabindranath Tagore in Japan.

Mr. Andrews' account of Rabindranath Tagore's last visit to Japan in *Young India* should be read by all Indians. Mr. Mitsuru Toyama is one of the most venerated men in Japan, because of his chivalrous character and courtesy. When he and the poet met,

these two venerable men stood still in silence for a moment. Then Mr. Toyama bowed several times, after the Japanese manner of profound salutation, while the poet after the Hindu fashion held his hands joined together and kept his eyes closed all the while in prayer.

It was the meeting of the Grand Old Man of Japan with one from India and solemn silence fell on the assembled multitude, as though they had been present at an act of worship. The two countries of the East seemed to be cemented together in the bond of love by that ceremony.

On the previous occasion in Japan, when giving a lecture, the Poet had spoken about the anti-Asiatic immigration measure and the people assembled had expected him to continue to speak on that subject, which is the burning topic of the day in Japan and indeed throughout the whole of the Far East. But he took a far higher theme. He recalled the Japanese back to their own souls. The chairman in his opening words had said to him feelingly; "Your presence here to-day is a joy to us, because your teachings have made us pause and think.

They have entered into our souls. In days gone by, your India did this same invaluable service to Japan. You India can do it again for us. Send us more of your philosophers and we shall remain your infinite debtors."

The Poet replied to this in remarkable words: "Last time, when I came to Japan about eight years ago, I was nervous for your future. I was nervous at the wholesale external imitation and at the lack of spirituality. To-day there is an enormous difference. You have progressed in the way of the spirit, and this gives me exceeding joy. You have asked me for wise men to come from India to teach you; but you have your own wise men and you must not neglect them as you have done too often in the past, in your admiration of the West; nor should they hide their light. You must realise that your spiritual awakening, which is the only true happiness, cannot come from outside. It cannot come from the West or from any other quarter. It must come from your inner self, from within. The problem of life to-day is not the problem of amassing material wealth, but of true happiness,—the happiness that comes from within. This has been the bed-rock of the philosophy of the East. This has been your own philosophy also. Be not ashamed of the religion of the soul which Asia has held sacred all these centuries. Be not ashamed at your own spiritual ideals. The need for you now is self-emancipation. This is the need for every one on this earth,—to emancipate self from the gross dross of transient pleasures, which destroy the true happiness that springs from within."

The poet then spoke with great feeling about the poor.

"We must serve those who have served us. That is the law of human existence, which can never be violated with impunity. The poor have served us. It is our turn to serve them. My ambition in life is to repay them in whatever way I can; to illuminate their life with some beauty; to bring rays of happiness into their existence. If the best things of life remain only in the hands of the few fortunate, then civilisation is starved, and the age in which we live is doomed. This injustice towards the poor, from generation to generation, has now reached its climax. There is unrest everywhere. The whole world is divided into two camps, the rich and the poor, the satisfied and the dissatisfied, the toilers and the leisured classes. There is no peace in sight, so long as these inhuman divisions continue.

"You have asked me to bring wise men to you. Wise men are not so plentiful. But I would like to bring to you in Japan, if only I could do so, the poor of India, *my* own Indian poor; and I would like you to bring to India *your* own poor of Japan. For if the poor in every land could get into touch with one another, the countries of the world would understand and sympathy would be possible. For it is through the poor and through the children that the Kingdom of God can best be brought on earth."

Mr. Andrews concludes his account of the Poet's visit to Japan by saying :-

This speech which was given at a gathering of some of the wealthiest people in Japan has created a very great impression of friendliness and goodwill towards India and has raised the thought of India



in the minds of the Japanese people at this critical time, when Japan has been stirred as never before by her exclusion from America.

Last time when the Poet visited Japan, he was rejected. After a first outburst of welcome, later on, when he gave his message truly and sincerely, and spoke of the things of the spirit, the whole newspaper press turned round upon him and warned the Japanese people not to listen to him, because he was the "Poet of a defeated nation." It was then that he wrote the 'Song of the Defeated':—

"My master has bid me, while I stand at the road-side, sing the song of defeat; for that is the bride whom He woos in secret.

She has put on the dark veil, hiding her face from the crowd; but the jewel glows on her breast in the dark.

She is forsaken of the day, and God's night is waiting for her with its lamps lighted and its flowers wet with dew.

She is silent with eyes downcast; she has left her home behind her. From her home has come that wailing in the wind.

But the stars are singing the love-song of the Eternal to a face sweet with shame and suffering.

The door has been opened in the lonely chamber. The call has sounded. And the heart of the darkness throbs because of the coming tryst."

In a note appended to this account, Mr. M. K. Gandhi says:—

For a fuller account of the effects of the Poet's humanitarian and peace-giving mission, I cannot do better than refer the reader to the excellent Viswa-Bharati bulletins on the visit, issued by the editors of the Viswa-Bharati Magazine.

### Egypt and the Sudan.

Britain has given Egypt independence of a sort, but would not allow it to have control over the Sudan. But Zaghlul Pasha would not be satisfied without it. With respect to this attitude of the great leader of Egypt, *The Nation and the Athenaeum* writes:—

Zaghlul Pasha's recent declarations with regard to the Sudan are profoundly disappointing. The proposed conversations between himself and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald offered the best possible opportunity for a friendly settlement of all outstanding disputes between Great Britain and Egypt. Now, however, he has declared that he cannot even enter into negotiations unless full Egyptian sovereignty over the Sudan is conceded in advance. Mr. MacDonald could do no less than reply that persistence in this demand must make an understanding impossible. It is true that our whole position in Egypt was anomalous and that this may be said to affect our position in the Sudan under the Condominium of 1899. Nevertheless, we have acquired responsibilities towards the peoples of the Sudan which we cannot ignore, and our withdrawal might well entail disastrous consequences both to the Sudan and to Egypt itself.

This has always been the argument of Britishers when called upon to leave any country which they have acquired—no

matter, by what means. *The Nation* continues:—

At the same time we shall do well to remember that the growth of anti-British sentiment in Egypt was fostered by our own blunders during and after the war, and if Zaghlul Pasha shows any sign of receding from his present impossible position, the way should be made easy for him. In frank discussion between the two Premiers it should be possible, as Mr. MacDonald said, to face the realities of the situation, and to reconcile British responsibilities with security for legitimate Egyptian interests.

A. G. G. writes in the same paper:—

Zaghlul Pasha's gesture on the subject of Egypt's claim to the sovereignty of the Sudan was the retort to Lord Parmoor's intimation that the Labour Government did not recognize that claim. It is an unfortunate fact for the Government that the irresponsible attitude of its supporters in the past had raised extravagant expectations among the Egyptian Nationalists as to what would happen when they came into power. Mr. MacDonald has been sufficiently emphatic in disposing of those expectations, and if Zaghlul Pasha is wise he will address himself to making Egyptian independence something better than the failure it has been so far, and discountenance the artificial clamour for dominion over the Sudan—a clamour to which the Labour deputation that went out to Egypt a year or two ago gave disastrous encouragement. The Egyptians have no historic claim to the Sudan, their record there was one of almost unparalleled evil, it is notorious that the Egyptians themselves loathe the country and would not administer it if they could, and the Sudanese, whose voice in the matter should be supreme, and who realize how their country has been redeemed under British administration, would not have the plagues of Egypt back in their midst at any cost. The only *locus standi* Egypt has in the matter is the control of the headwaters of the Nile, but if the difficulties with Abyssinia are overcome—and in this matter good relations with France are all-important—there are, I understand, illimitable resources for the requirements both of Egypt and the Sudan and the interests of Egypt in the Nile can be safeguarded without the sacrifice of the Sudanese. The only internal difficulty in the Sudan itself is the cult of Mahdism, which is still a considerable factor. But that fanatical movement has no Egyptian affiliations, and it only becomes a serious menace when, as a generation ago, it is the focus of social miseries and discontents.

These facts and views emanate from the British side. And as Britain is interested in holding the Sudan, they may not be quite correct. It is, therefore, necessary to consider what a third party has to say on the subject. Leopold Weiss, special correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in the Near East, writes in that paper:—

Sudan promises to be the acutest issue, Egypt will assert her claim to this country; England, no matter what party is in power, will denounce that claim as chimerical. Although England struggles against the idea of eventually surrendering Sudan, and no one in that country seriously contemplates

this possibility at present, signs of a dawning comprehension that it may prove inevitable are beginning to appear.

Since control of the Suez Canal is vital for the British Empire, no matter what degree of independence Egypt may attain, she will enjoy it only by favor of her powerful patroness. Egypt lives from the waters of the Nile. Were these withheld a single year her fertile fields would become a desert. The Power that controls the waters of the Upper Nile, particularly above the confluence of the sister rivers,—the White and the Blue Nile,—need not occupy Egypt in order to hold her completely at its mercy. All such a Power would have to do, should Egypt prove recalcitrant, would be to detain the Nile waters for a season in the reservoirs and irrigation canals of Sudan. For a number of years the British have been constructing an elaborate irrigation-system in that country—naturally for the joint benefit of Egypt and England, who are partners in the control of that country.

The significance of these reservoirs and irrigation canals has not been lost upon the Egyptians.

The Egyptians have not only developed an intense interest in political affairs of late, but they have acquired a considerable degree of political insight. They are temperamentally pacifists, and are not inclined to pick unnecessary quarrels with Great Britain. Yet they see that more than purely economic interests, plans more far-reaching than the irrigation of a few hundred thousand acres of fertile land, lie behind the ambitious system of dams and reservoirs and canals and irrigation ditches now under construction along the Upper Nile. To be sure, so long as this development is governed by purely economic considerations, it will redound to the benefit of both countries. With careful regulation, there is enough water for both Sudan and Egypt. But the Egyptians feel they must control the Sudan to protect themselves from political duress by an unfriendly influence there. England feels that she must hold the Sudan in order to ensure the safety of the Suez Canal. So that has become the critical issue between the two Governments.

Naturally, therefore,

The Egyptians are passionately demanding the complete political union of the two countries. The English insist that the Sudanese are completely satisfied with the British administration, and would not at any price submit to Egyptian rule. The Cairo Nationalists deny this, and even go so far as to say: 'If the Sudanese will not let us rule them, it would be better for them to rule us than for the two countries to be separated.' Of course, such professions must not be taken literally,—they are merely rhetorical,—but they show, how vitally important this matter is in Egyptian eyes. The people realize that, whatever guarantees may be given them, independence will be but a myth unless they control the Sudan.

### Egyptian Ideas of the Caliphate

According to Leopold Weiss, it seems

beyond doubt that Turkey has isolated herself from the rest of Islam by the abolition of the Caliphate and the banishment of the Caliph; the unbounded popularity which the Angora Government enjoyed in Egypt a year ago has utterly vanished. In fact, he thinks, Turkey is now the least popular country in the Near East—only less popular than the European colonial Powers. The abolition of the Caliphate has more than disillusioned the Egyptian Arabs: it has deeply wounded their religious feelings. In Egypt,

An opinion prevails among the clergy that the only solution is to summon a general council of the Mohammedan world to settle the whole question. No one considers seriously recognizing King Hussein, who was recently proclaimed Caliph in Hejaz and Transjordan. Arabian papers refer to him as the 'Reuter Caliph.' Some people in Egypt advocate conferring the title upon King Fuad; but they propose a separate Egyptian Caliph rather than a single head for all followers of the faith. This idea of dividing the Islamic world into state churches, so to speak, seems to be gaining ground.

There is another school of thinkers, including some of the most influential and scholarly Mohammedans, that opposes any 'political Caliphate.' They ask if the time has not passed when the Caliph was chiefly 'Commander of the Faithful.' Has the militant propagation of Islamism not become an anachronism? Does that mean decline? By no means. The age calls for a purely spiritual head of the Faith, a leader commanding the minds and consciences, not the swords, of his followers: a Caliph of the heart, a Caliph without territories and armies, a spiritual leader who will exact not blind obedience but trust. And it would be immaterial whether such a Caliph lived in India, Egypt, Afghanistan, or Tripoli.

We also suggested some time ago that it would be best for the Muslim world to have a Caliph, like the Pope, without temporal powers and dominions, who would be its spiritual leader.

### The Flooded South.

Harrowing accounts of the havoc wrought by the flooded rivers Cauvery, Bhabani, etc., in the Madras Presidency and in the Indian States of Travancore, Cochin, Coorg and Mysore have been published in the dailies. The loss of life and property has been immense. Cholera has broken out in a severe form in many places. Thousands upon thousands have been rendered homeless and utterly destitute. The disaster is beyond description. We deeply sympathise with the sufferers, and shall consider it a privilege to help the relief committees in any way that we can.

### Mr. Baldwin on India.

Speaking on the 26th July at a big Unionist open-air demonstration at Manchester, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, ex-Premier of Britain, said with an air of omniscience:—

"The Indian people now enjoyed the justice and freedom given by the British Government which their forefathers had never enjoyed."

This ex-Premier deserves to be pitied for his ignorance of India's past, and of her present condition. India has a long history. During certain periods of her history there has been misgovernment, no doubt, as there has been in all countries; but there have been also periods when her people enjoyed freedom and justice. And these were longer by far than the periods of misrule.

### Kashmir's Loyalty to British Ideals.

Last month there was a strike of the operatives in the silk factory at Srinagar, Kashmir.

"On July 21, finding that no notice had been taken of their action, a large number of them became disorderly, and their attitude eventually was so threatening that the military were called out. A conflict between the mob and a small force of State cavalry took place, and the latter were compelled to fire, with the result that seven of the rioters were killed and forty wounded.

It is understood that the authorities now have the situation in hand, and that no further trouble is anticipated."

The operatives have no publicity officer and have not been able to broadcast their version of the affair. But that is immaterial. The Kashmir authorities, it is to be hoped, have, in pursuance of up-to-date British methods, aeroplanes and bombs ready for emergencies.

### The Governor's Mofussil Tours.

The monsoon tours of His Excellency the Governor suggests food for reflection. Exactions from the rural people, to give His Excellency a splendid reception, though officially prohibited, are nevertheless made by some over-zealous local officers, either because they imagine that the prohibitory circulars are a mere eyewash meant to keep on the right side of the newspapers representing public opinion, or because they hope to improve their own prospects of preferment by giving His Excellency a grand ovation at public expense. The discontent, in these days of

economic distress and growing self-consciousness of the masses, is keen, and rightly or wrongly it is felt more against the foreign government than against the local Indian officers, who are regarded as so many tools in the hands of their superiors, whose instructions, express or implied, they merely translate into action. The decorations have, it is true, been considerably shorn of their splendour, the lavish scale observed in our own school days has been much reduced and the local enthusiasm is all gone. Whether a *Hartal* is on or not, the streets are no longer full of eager spectators, and the gay and gala appearance which a Mofussil township used to present on such occasions in our own youth no longer signifies a gubernatorial visit. The local executive officer has, from his own point of view, some justification for betraying a little extra zeal in realising 'voluntary' subscriptions. The other officials at the station pay, as in duty bound, but the official contribution cannot, in the nature of things, amount to much. He has, however, to spend largely in giving His Excellency a fitting reception. Where is the money to come from? Few non-officials really make voluntary payments, and so he has no option but to cast his net far and wide in order to obtain the sinews of war. The point therefore is, whether these artificially organised and purely formal receptions, from which all trace of spontaneity has vanished, are really necessary. The divinity that hedges round the supreme executive head of the province has lost nearly all its glamour, and it is time that these forced demonstrations in honour of his visit were dropped and it would be wise for His Excellency to take note of the changed time-spirit, and take the initiative himself.

For what are the arguments used by the Swarajists when they declare a *Hartal* and picket the shops and try to persuade the visitors to turn back? They are to the following effect, as the writer, who by the way, is not in sympathy with the non-cooperation movement, can testify from his own knowledge:—The Governor is touring for pleasure, for sending glowing accounts of his delightful and luxurious journeys to his people at home, and not with a view to see the real condition of the cultivators in their cottages or devise means for its amelioration; he is as much a man as any of us, with all our common human failings, and he represents a power which is responsible for most of our miseries; it is humiliating for a self-respecting man to come to see a man as if he were a



god; he has come to spend the tax-payer's hard-earned money on his pleasure trips, and the little doles he gives here and there in aid of public institutions should not blind us to the fact that the extravagant military and the costly civil service have, between them, made it impossible for more money being spent on the crying needs of the country.

We have all heard a lot in our time of the bureaucracy being the natural protectors of the interests of the voiceless masses of India. How is it then, one wonders, that the masses, as soon as they hear these and similar arguments being trotted out by Swarajist volunteers, quietly return to their homes or close their shops or carry away their merchandise, without a word of protest in favour of their true well-wishers and patrons—the bureaucrats? The fact is that unless the volunteers, unarmed with any legal sanction, had a strong public opinion behind their backs, they would clearly be unable to command such ready obedience from the masses, who, in the ordinary avocations of life, do not show an excessive subservience to the classes.

But clearly also, the power which these 'volunteers' have come to wield is a double-edged sword which requires jealous watching. Otherwise it may soon develop, if in many respects it has not done so already, into a veritable Frankenstein. For all the Swarajist activities are not good or wholesome. Take the attempt to prevent boys from attending school on the day the Governor's visit is announced. By virtue of his exalted office, he deserves consideration; at any rate as a gentleman he should be treated with common courtesy; and to keep away from school on purpose on the occasion of his visit is positive rudeness. Apart from it, it is a lesson in indiscipline which will do the boys no good. If they were to leave the school for good in obedience to some principle, such as that underlying the doctrine of non-cooperation, something might be said in its favour. But the Swarajists have now learnt wisdom and have given up the attempt to boycott schools as hopeless. All that they want is that the boys should abstain from attendance for the nonce and on that particular day only. If the boys are permitted to do so with impunity, this tendency to let their passing whims get the better of their sense of duty will recoil on them or their guardians in odd ways when least expected. This applies with added force in the case of girls' schools, which are maintained in most places by government grants and official encouragement,

as our educated classes are not yet educated enough to feel the necessity of spending money on female education, though where such schools exist within easy reach, and no exacting demands for fees or subscriptions are made, and the girls are not wanted at home to help their mothers or to carry the latest baby, our educated fathers do not object to send their daughters to school, with a view to enhance their eligibility at the matrimonial market.

A comparatively small matter and yet one that shows the direction in which the wind blows, is that of the long holiday, following close upon the summer vacation, usually granted to the students in honour of the Governor's visit. The guardians do not like these constant additions to the scheduled holidays, which certainly do not err on the side of illiberality. One Head Master, being taxed for shutting up his school for so many days after His Excellency's visit, replied that it was His Excellency himself who gave the boys a week's holiday, as he wanted to impress them with his high position, so far transcending that of the collector or commissioner, who, too, were in the habit of punctuating their occasional visits in the same manner in a gradually ascending scale. Now, this may have been a very uncharitable view to take, but the fact remains that His Excellency's apparent desire to be gracious to the boys is not appreciated by their guardians and is sometimes attributed to the Governor's personal vanity by the schoolmasters themselves, who say that they are not consulted in the matter, nor do the boys really expect such a long holiday.

Official reports and communiques no longer enjoy a monopoly of cooked and garbled versions of truth; the patriotic camp has learnt the gentle art quite well. When, for instance, telegraphic accounts of the complete success of a *Hartal* and the non-attendance of school boys (what a really schoolboyish triumph it is after all!) are published in the morning papers with flashing headlines, one has to swallow the news with more than the proverbial grain of salt. And the patriotic glee with which the printed message is received back at headquarters shows that the most liberal indulgence in terminological inexactitudes is not only tolerated, but welcomed in patriotic circles, provided they are of the right brand.

Lastly, as regards the future of these 'volunteers,' some enquiry as to their activities elicits the following facts: They have almost

all given up their studies, which seldom proceeded beyond the matriculation stage, or even went as far as that; they will assure you, with all the charming confidence of youth, that the public schools and all-government institutions are so many *golam-khanas* to turn out slaves; and so they cultivate an independent mentality by the simple and easy process of leaving their minds totally uncultivated. When duty to the motherland calls them, they don their badge and by persuasion, ridicule or gentle violence, as the case may be, prevent people from attending to their legitimate avocations or compel people to vote for their favourite; when off duty—and a *Hartal* or an election does not come off every day,—they will attend meetings, theatres, *jatras*, and in fact anything that comes handy, and take upon themselves the duty of maintaining order, though I have heard complaints about their own disorderliness; a few, by no means a large number, will even nurse the sick and succour the distressed; at football fields and games where large sums of money are often spent in spectacular displays and festive rejoicings, they are very much in evidence, and they take the lead in wringing subscriptions from an unwilling public for any cause which they have undertaken to befriended. This sums up their activities, and such humdrum work as weaving and spinning is not of course among them. I know of cases where the father's hard toil in the government *golam-khanas* is the only source of income on which the volunteer can draw for his support, but his self-respect seldom or never revolts against eating the bread of slavery, for the body of even the most ardent of youthful patriots requires nourishment.

It would be foolish to deny that some of these young men are actuated by the noblest of impulses and are full of a sincere idealism. But the question is, is that enough? Is mere unguided impulse and idealistic emotionalism a sufficiently effective preparation for making men of our young hopefuls? The country demands solid work, and solid work can come only from solid worth. What is this large body of derelicts—for most of these volunteers are nothing else—doing to qualify themselves for serious public service? Such activities as they are apt to indulge in, with minds untrained to think, without the necessary intellectual equipment for forming correct judgments, may bring them into the limelight once or twice in a year but will leave them stranded high and dry on the

sandy shore when the tide of life, which taken at the flood would have led them on to fortune, has begun to ebb and the political passions of the hour have subsided and vanished in the limbo of oblivion. Political reputations, we must remember, are lost as quickly as they are made, and the mere camp-followers of political leaders, who have made indulgence in their passing mood the serious business of their lives, will soon find that they have mistaken their vocation and the country will have to mourn the loss of so much fine material run to seed and utterly wasted.  
X.

### The Place of the 'Expert'.

No one can deny that experts meet a real need of society. But some experts have too low an opinion of those who are not experts, and there is a tendency to concede the exaggerated claims of experts. In the following passage Lord Haldane appears to take a just measure of their worth:—

"... there is a lower class, a middle class, and an aristocracy of intelligence. The lower class may do something better than the intellectual aristocrat. I have known senior wranglers who would have been below par as bank clerks. Again, there is a large class of skilled work, some of it requiring long training and even initiative, which is done better by competent permanent officials than by statesmen even of a high order. But when we come to the highest order of work it is different. There is a common cry that this, too, should be left to the expert. There is no more complete misinterpretation of a situation. The mere expert, if he were charged with the devising and execution of high aims and policy, would be at sea among a multitude of apparently conflicting considerations. What is the relation of a particular plan to a great national policy and to far-reaching principles and ends? Questions like these must always be for the true leader and not for the specialist."—*The Conduct of Life* (and other essays) by Viscount Haldane, London, John Murray, 1915, pp. 22-23.

### Increasing Competition and Increasing Prizes.

Some may foolishly think that the solution of the problem of middle-class unemployment lies in narrowing the sphere of education. But the real remedy lies in more education, better education, and greater variety in education, combined with the ideal of hard work and mental alertness, as the passage quoted below suggests.

"It is not true that with the increase of numbers and competition life offers fewer prizes in propor-

tion to the multitude who are now striving for them. With the progress of science and the advance in the complicated processes of specialisation and distribution of function, there are arising more and more openings, and more and more chances for those who aspire to succeed in the competition which exists everywhere. I believe that the undergraduates whom I see before me have better prospects than existed forty years ago. There are far more possible ways of rising. But the standards are rising also, and high quality and hard work are more than ever essential. The spread of learning has had a democratic tendency. Those who are to have the prizes of life are chosen on their merits more than ever before."—*Ibid*, p. 27

### Technical Colleges *versus* Universities

It is natural, when trying to find out remedies for unemployment as also the means of developing the resources of the country by starting various industries, to think of establishing institutions for technical and technological education. But such education cannot and should not replace a truly liberal and highly intellectual university education. Both should co-exist in a country, as Lord Haldane shows in the following passage:—

"There was a time when men of business, accustomed to see closely to profit and loss, used to think that the work of a university was worth effort and expenditure only in so far as it produced aptitude for industrial and commercial production. . . . But this idea is now discredited, and the part played by science and by general learning in the production alike of the captain of industry and of the extension of invention is far greater than was the case even a few years ago. Applied science is in its best form only possible on a wide foundation of general science. And the fruitful scientific spirit is developed to-day on a basis of high intellectual training, the training, which only the atmosphere of the fully developed university can completely provide. What is true of science in the narrower sense is also true of learning generally. It is only by the possession of a trained and developed mind that the fullest capacity, can as a general rule, be obtained. There are, of course, exceptional individuals with rare natural gifts which make up for deficiencies. But such gifts are indeed rare. We are coming more and more to recognise that the best specialist can be produced only after a long training in general learning. The grasp of principle which makes detail easy can only come when innate capacity has been evoked and moulded by high training. . . . science means far more now than technical training, or the mere application of special knowledge to industry. It rests on a foundation of general culture which is vital to the maintenance of its standards . . . It is the power of the highly trained mind that is required, and the full development of this trained mind can only be given by the highly organised universities." *Ibid*, pp. 71-73.

### Communal Claims to Higher Posts

The following views of Lord Haldane are commended to all Swarajists, Musalman or Hindu:—

"... While I am not without sympathy with the complaint of democracy [i. e. the trading and labouring classes] that the entrance to the higher positions in the civil service is by far too much the monopoly of a class, I reply that a highly educated official is essential for a particular kind of work which the state needs. The remedy must not be to displace the class which alone furnishes the supply. Democracy is apt in its earlier stages to be unduly jealous, and to try to drag things down to a level which, because it is the general level, is in danger of being too low to provide the highest talent. The remedy for what is a real grievance appears to me that democracy should add a new plank to its platform, and insist on equality of opportunity in education as something that should be within the reach of every youth and maiden"—*Ibid*, pp. 75-6.

The remedy suggested in the foregoing passage has been repeatedly put forward in this **Review**, and recently Mr. M. K. Gandhi also while opposing the communal distribution of appointments in the public service and supporting the selection of only the fittest irrespective of class or creed, has suggested that all educationally backward communities should be levelled up with the advanced classes by special efforts and provisions made for the education of the former.

### Our Professors' Work

For some time past there has been a feeling that the money spent in the public services could probably be economised and the burden on the people could thus be lessened or provision might be made for bettering the work of some departments of a nation-building character which could not be hitherto properly done for want of funds. The direct result of this was the appointment of a retrenchment committee composed of a successful contractor, a coal merchant, a lawyer and a civil servant. This committee recommended the deprovincialisation of all Government colleges and schools with the exception of the Presidency College mutilated in a special manner. Sanskrit College and the Madrassa were specially recommended for abolition. The retrenchment proposals were not given effect to with regard to Government colleges and schools, though the idea of the necessity of the teachers in colleges giving a larger number of working hours was started by the Directors office



as being the only condition of the justification of their existence. The only idea that suggested itself to the authorities of improving the efficiency of Government colleges was by way of increasing the tuition hours and thereby raising the normal output of work—the fair return for the money received—to the same scale as is found in other departments of Government.

The Sanskrit College, where during the management of the late principal Pundit Ashutosh Sastri, recently made a Mahamahopadhyaya for proofs of scholarly contributions best known to Government, the number of students was fast falling down, was threatened with abolition and a reduction of staff was recommended by the principal and effected by Government. These orders had however to be modified and a Sanskrit College Committee was appointed to consider the question of its maintenance, improvement, if maintained, and also the bigger question of improving the condition of Sanskrit studies in *cols.* It is almost a year since the first sitting of this committee began and the committee, we understand, gave a preliminary report on the question of the maintenance of the college and the minimum staff required, but nothing is known as to what is going to happen with regard to the execution of the original terms of reference on which the committee has not yet been given any opportunity of expressing its opinions. The appointment of a Presidency College Committee for the purpose of effecting economies and improving its efficiency was gazetted long ago as a result of the retrenchment committee recommendations and we understand that it is going to commence its sittings soon.

It is strange how the proper functions of higher educational institutions maintained by Government are often misunderstood in the turbid atmosphere of contemporary politics and mercantile ideas are applied to education.

The maintenance of a higher class of teachers with ample leisure, security of service and adequate remuneration can only be justified if the work of these men be utilised not only for teaching and guiding the students but also for advancing the bounds of knowledge in their respective subjects. These two sides are equally important and in all modern European countries teachers in colleges and Universities are traditionally expected to fulfil satisfactorily both these functions. Examples are known where fellows of colleges had never had to teach orally, but had yet been maintained by the college for encouraging their

scholarly habits of research and original investigations. No teacher can inspire his students with zeal for learning unless he has it in himself in extraordinary fullness, goading him forward in the cause of discovering new relations of known facts or of otherwise extending the bounds of human knowledge. A professor who does it increases the intellectual assets of the country and in the case of physical science, physical resources as well. He therefore contributes to the physical, moral and intellectual strength of the country in a way in which no man in any other department can do. It is, therefore, indispensable that such men should have plenty of leisure and be kept contented and above want. At the same time, they must be required to show what return the country gets for their leisure and their salaries. The idea that these higher teachers are kept only for teaching students how best they may pass examinations is a wholly unsound and perverted idea of education, possible only for those who are unworthy of being professors of subjects or of directing the course of education in any advancing country.

The question which naturally arises, is, "Are the Indian professors now fulfilling these higher duties of a real professor and if they are not, why not deal with them with other standards of treatment?" It is indeed painfully true that most professors in India (Indian or European) do not perform these higher duties. But the proper course of improving them is to give the teachers proper facilities of work, to arrange the departmental rules of promotion and preferment and initial choice of new recruits, in such a way that they may be made to feel that they are required to fulfil these higher duties and that mere class work is not sufficient. English professors in India have been *at least* as barren and unproductive as the Indians. It may not be far from the truth to suppose that the English members or the staff of the English heads of department here can hardly exact a better standard of work from the Indian members, largely because they themselves have not a better or often even an equal record to show, though they draw the fattest pay and are at the heads of all affairs.

English education was originally implanted in this country not so much for the intellectual advancement of this country as for the training of clerks for rendering the administration less expensive; and generations of Europeans, with some noble and notable exceptions, who have controlled recruitment

and arranged departmental rules of promotion and preferment had their minds fixed on this lower standard of requirement. This is largely the reason why education in this country has seldom satisfied the higher standard of requirement and has consequently been such a deplorable failure. We are trained in clerk-making institutions and we have lost the stimulus of looking for higher ideals. It is just and right that professors should give us a fair return of work for the remuneration they receive. But in which way should this fair return of work be looked for? Simple minds unacquainted with higher educational ideals will say: "Well, if they now teach for 12 hours a week, let them work for 30 hours."

They do not know that over-teaching baffles teaching; for the true aim of instruction is to kindle zeal for learning in the pupil and rouse in him the spirit of doing all his work himself and to give him assistance only when such help is indispensably required. If the teacher adds more hours of work and anticipates the work which the pupil is expected to do by himself, he baffles his own work. More hours of labour in this field does not necessarily mean more effective work. Again, the teacher who is not himself interested in creative or research work would naturally fail to perform the most vital functions of a teacher, namely, that of rousing the zeal and interest of his pupils in his special subjects of study or for learning in general. A successful teacher of higher studies must himself be an investigator. The system of recruitment, promotions, preferment and official supervision should be of such a nature that the teacher may be forced to direct a large part of his energies to original investigations. He may do an hour's work in the college, but duties may be expected of him for which he may have to do eight or ten hours work at home.

It may be argued that this may be left to private enterprise and scholarly habits, as is the case in many European countries. But the fact remains that in those countries it has been traditional for a teacher in the University or a college to be also an original investigator, and tradition has the force of law. But here we have to create this spirit, and for that reason popular and governmental care and encouragement are therefore indispensable. The point remains whether the teachers in a college like the Presidency College may be said to be doing a type of work entitling them to the enjoyment of the privileges of higher teachers. Our honest opinion on this

point is that a good piece of Honours work in some subjects is almost equal to at least the Part I work of some subjects in Cambridge, where the Cambridge standard is not exceptionally high. Even in English universities the standard is not equally high in all the universities and the Calcutta University standard can hardly be considered to be very much lower than the standard of some at least of the provincial universities of England.

It may also be pointed out that the superiority of Cambridge or Oxford is not so much on account of the actual amount of work that is done there, but on account of the association of efficient scholars, most of whom are themselves original investigators and contributors to the growth of knowledge. It is the superior outlook created by these men that adds to the value of their teaching. The failure of professors in India to fulfil this high standard of work is largely due to the fact that there has been no tradition of original investigation in this country, and no encouragement from Government of any kind. They were not expected to do any original work, and cases are not unknown where so many obstacles were thrown in the way of carrying on researches that the investigator had to give up Government service in a first grade college in Bengal for the simple offence of carrying on his researches in his spare time.

All these things must have to be taken into consideration before the teacher in a Government college is blamed for his failure and the reform must not take the line of the destruction of all higher ideals because there has been failure so long, but it ought to be directed towards such an arrangement of service conditions that higher ideals in a teacher's work may be successfully established in this country. It is unfortunate that for a long time there had not been any one among the heads of the education department who had at any time of their life been associated with any kind of original investigation. In all committees for the improvement of instructional requirements, it is desirable that there should be associated with them at least some members who are themselves original investigators and who are acquainted with the methods of higher work and research in European Universities. If a reform is to be effected, let it be done in the proper way. Let us not have destruction in the name of reform.

### The Charkha and Hindu-Muslim Relations.

MR. B. F. Bharucha, a Parsi gentleman who writes frequently to the papers, has issued a report of his tour in Bengal under the heading "Glimpses of khadi work". The following passage from it is taken from *Young India* :

"In Bengal all the volunteers and the workers of the Bengal Relief Committee Khadi work, of the Khadi Board, the Khadi Pratishthan, and Deshi Rang Fund are almost all Hindus. And the largest number of those who take the benefit of these institutions are Muslims. These Hindu workers walk miles from their centres, and carry kapas or cotton to Muslim hamlets. They weigh the spun yarn, and pay for it; they repair the Charkhas, supply parts, prepare the spinners' accounts and give kapas or cotton as required. They (the Hindus) thus render such splendid brotherly service to their Muslim sisters. There is such regard and respect between the Hindu workers and Muslim spinners, weavers and their families, that none can ever perceive or feel that they are divided by their religions. They talk and act as though they are of one race—Bengali—and of one brotherhood—of humanity. Verily, if the Charkha is pushed on in other parts of the country, as assiduously and amiably as is done by Satish Babu's 'Boys,' much of the present tension amongst Hindus and Muslims will diminish, and, Heaven helping, will vanish."

For the present strained relations between the two biggest communities in India, it cannot be said that only one party is to blame; and it would not serve any good purpose to try to ascertain which party is on the whole more to blame. From Buddha downwards, all the great teachers of humanity have taught that hatred is to be overcome by love, wrongdoing by beneficence. Each community should try to do good to the other. The Hindus in Bengal have all along unconsciously followed the divine law of love, alleviating the miseries caused by famines, floods, earthquakes and cyclones, making no distinctions of creed, caste, race or class in their relief operations. The majority of the inhabitants of North and East Bengal are Musalmans. Yet whenever there has been distress in those parts, relief and relief-workers have come mostly from the Hindu community. Though Muslims may clamour for paid services, let the Hindus go on rendering unpaid service to humanity.

### The Paper Industry and Protection.

Those connected with the management of the paper mills in India have said to the Tariff Board all that they had to say in

support of their claim to protection for the paper industry in India. We have not been impressed with their facts and arguments. So far as the Indian tax-payer is concerned, no *prima facie* case has been made out for the protection of the paper industry in India. Whenever a manufactured article imported from abroad is taxed in order to foster and encourage its manufacture in the importing country, its inhabitants have to pay a higher price for it—at least for years. They can and ought to agree to pay this higher price if the works established in their country for its manufacture be wholly or mainly theirs; that is to say, if the capital is theirs, the directors and managers are their countrymen, the operatives are their countrymen, and the experts and higher employees are also their countrymen. That is the ideal condition. But protection may be granted if at least 75 percent. of the capital and the managers and directors belong to the country, and if, in case the experts and supervising officers are in the initial stage foreigners, apprentices who are natives of the country are taken to be trained in all kinds and grades of work connected with the manufacture.

As the paper mills in India do not generally satisfy the conditions stated above, there is no reason why the paper industry should have a higher protective tax than what exists at present. All imported paper has to pay a duty of 15 per cent. on its market value in the port town where it is landed, which means that the duty is really something like 25 per cent. on the price charged by the foreign exporter. If in spite of this duty, paper manufactured in India cannot compete with foreign paper, the manufacture of paper in India must be carried on on more efficient and economical lines than at present.

The witnesses on behalf of the Bengal and the Titaghur Papers Mills gave very unconvincing reasons for not having Indian apprentices in their mills for training in all the processes of manufacture. In the cross-examination to which they were subjected the lameness of their excuses was exposed.

As a consequence of the war, the price of paper is still double of what it was in pre-war times. The public cannot afford to pay a still higher price for no good reasons. Newspapers are generally printed on cheap foreign paper. This kind of cheap paper is also used to produce popular books like the Ramayan and the Mahabharat in Bengali, Hindi, etc. If there be an enhanced duty on imported paper newspapers and popular



books would become more costly. So the duty would be practically a tax on knowledge and culture. Government may not dislike this kind of indirect discouragement of journalistic enterprise, but the public would not support a tax on publicity. Moreover, there is no excuse for taxing the consolation and the ethical enlightenment derived by the masses from the Ramayan, the Mahabharat, and other popular religious literature.

The higher post-war price of paper has made education dearer than before. School books and exercise books cost more now than before. If paper becomes still more expensive, these aids to education would become still more costly, throwing further obstacles in the way of the spread of education. The doubling of postage on books, the compulsory registration of all V. P. packets and the doubling of the money order commission on orders below and up to Rs.5, have already hit the pupils and the book trade hard. They do not stand in need of any further handicap. An additional disadvantage for school children would be involved in the raising of the price of paper. If paper becomes dearer, the inferior grades of paper would be more largely used by publishers for printing text books for schools. The printing would, in that case, be worse. That may injure the eyes of the children. Moreover, as neat and beautiful printing is an aid to the cultivation of an artistic taste and the sense of beauty, bad printing must have an opposite tendency.

If imported paper be taxed, there is no economic reason why imported books also should not be taxed. Of course, to tax imported books would be to tax knowledge and recreation. But if paper be taxed, that would practically amount to taxing books manufactured in India; and that, too, would be a tax on knowledge and recreation. There is no reason why knowledge should be taxed when it is conveyed through books produced in India and not taxed when conveyed through books produced abroad. But we not think the Government of India and the Secretary of State would be strong enough, even if they were willing (which is unlikely), to levy a tax on books imported into India from Britain. So further taxation of paper in India may have the result of the printing of English and even Vernacular books abroad. That would injure the printing and publishing business of India, and the vernacular books would not be as accurately printed as they are here.

In the case of mills like the Lucknow

paper mills, which are almost wholly Indian, bounties may be given to them from the revenue of the provinces where they are situated, if they do not at present pay a sufficient dividend.

### Earl Winterton on the Lee Commission Report

Writing on the Lee Commission Report, Earl Winterton says in *The Asiatic Review*:—

The reason why many British members of the Service feel they cannot work under Indians—at any rate, to the extent which they expect they would have to do in a few years' time, and why therefore they are leaving the Service—is not because they have racial objections to Indians on the score of their intelligence or the pigmentation of their skin, but because they do not believe that any Asiatics can ever attain to the high standard of efficiency to be found in the old Civil Services in India. [*Italics ours. Ed., M. R.*]

Again —

Of course, it is undeniable that nowhere in the world is there a higher standard of conduct and fitness for their office than is to be found in the British Civil Service and the Europeans in the Indian Services. It is impeccable and unimpeachable.

Nauseating self-adulation can go no further. Lord Winterton thinks that no Asiatics can ever come up to the standard of efficiency of the old Civil Services in India. The Japanese are Asiatics. Are their statesmen less efficient than Anglo-Indian Civilian? Coming to India, was Seshadri Iyer less efficient than any Anglo-Indian Civilian? As regards Anglo-Indian efficiency itself, one may ask for proofs of this efficiency and wait to know its meaning. It is undeniable that India is of all countries under 'civilized' government the poorest, the most ignorant and illiterate, the most unhealthy, the most disease-ridden, and the most emasculated. Are these the proofs of the unparalleled and unsurpassed efficiency of the Indian Civil Service? In one respect the Service is very efficient no doubt; namely, in collecting as much revenue from the people as possible, in helping their own exploiting compatriots as far as possible, and in keeping down the people as far as necessary.

In the opinion of Earl Winterton,

"No more fatuous line of argument has ever been taken than that of certain Indian extremists who claim that British Civil Servants in India are shameless alien exploiters of a suffering people."

British Civil Servants, except those who

own shares in British trading and manufacturing Companies in India, are not direct exploiters, unless their big salaries be called exploitation; but the bureaucratic machine of which they are parts does help and encourage their exploiting compatriots. That is a fact which will take an indefinite amount of killing on the part of thousands of Earl Wintertons.

The reader will note that the Earl speaks of the high standard of conduct and fitness for their office of "*the Europeans in the Indian Services*," not of the Indian members of the higher services in India. Mr. J. N. Gupta, I. C. S., Commissioner of the Burdwan Division, in his evidence before a public service commission, once threw out a challenge to the asserters of European civilian superiority to state and prove in what respects the British members of the Indian Civil Service were superior to the Indian members. But nobody took up the gauntlet. The challenge may be safely repeated.

British conceit is to be found at its highest in Earl Winterton. That is already clear from the last extract quoted above. He has great contempt not only for Asiatic efficiency, but also for efficiency "in some European countries," as the following passage will show:—

Having both travelled and soldiered in the East, I am not, of course, ignorant of the fact that Asiatic efficiency is, as a whole, *infinitely* below that of this country, though hardly worse than it is in some European countries. On the other hand, many of the British critics of Asiatic ethics ignore the state of affairs to be found in parts of the world mainly inhabited by people of Nordic descent. Recent events in Washington and Newfoundland give grounds for unpleasant reflections, as does first-hand experience of the methods of government in many Trans-atlantic towns and in some states and provinces as well. It is doubtful, too, if the worst-managed Indian municipality would suffer by comparison with local government as practised in Pöplär. [*Italics ours Ed., M. R.*]

As he mentions Washington, he evidently considers America, too, inefficient and inferior in morals. But why does he not mention the European countries which are as inefficient as Asia? Discretion, or what? However, as Britain has thought it expedient not to meddle in the affairs of America and of these inefficient European countries, which are all independent, why is it thought that the same degree of inefficiency in Indians does not entitle them even to provincial autonomy? In spite of the much vaunted British impeccability and unimpeachability, the answer is that love of filthy lucre and of power stands in the way of angelic persons like the Earl admitting that Indians have at present any capacity for managing even provincial affairs.

The Earl condescends to admit, however, that his people have not been always as impeccable and efficient as they are now believed to be. Says he:—

But after all, that high standard is a comparatively modern growth. It scarcely existed among the British in India in the eighteenth century; it was not known in Great Britain until well on in the nineteenth century.

He even goes so far as to give us some hope that we may make some progress in *one hundred years*!

Underlying it all is the hope, implied—though not, I think, stated in so many words (except in Professor Coupland's Minute)—that the same gradual growth of higher ideals will take place among Indian officials as we have seen in the course of the last 100 years in our own country. The admirable spirit displayed by many Indians in the Civil Service to-day gives great confidence for the future.

The Earl thinks that the 'proposals' made in the Lee Commission's Report "can and should be accepted."

The improvements suggested are not the maximum that could justly have been accorded, but are considerably better than the minimum which might have been given. Are they sufficient to produce recruits for the Services from this country of the right quality in future?

Taken by themselves they probably are. But I have already said that the difficulties alike of retaining existing British Civil Servants and of obtaining recruits are partly financial and partly due to fear or dislike of present-day conditions in India.

How far the difficulties are financial and how far due to fear or dislike of the growing political consciousness, insight and power of the people will be clear if one reads between the lines of the following passages:—

That hard work, difficult conditions, and indifferent pay do not of themselves act as a deterrent to Civil Service overseas is proved by the case of Africa.

There is, I believe, no difficulty in getting recruits for service in Uganda, Kenya, the Soudan, or in others of our fast expanding African administrative areas. Business and sport happens to have taken me to different parts of Africa on several occasions. I have been the guest, out in the Bush, of Civil Servants, in the Soudan, Kenya and Northern Rhodesia. I can scarcely conceive a harder life than that led, say by a British member of the Soudan Civil Service in the Equatorial Provinces: heat, mosquitoes and risk of fever all the year round, with no real cold season, with fewer British neighbours than are to be found in most up-country districts in India, and a turbulent population to control. Spending, as I once did when recovering from fever, a week or ten days on the verandah of the house of a Provincial Governor\* in the Southern Soudan, I had ample opportunity of observing the daily flow of grievances, peti-

\* The office roughly corresponds to that of a District Commissioner in India. The writer

tions, and malefactors from an African Province to its principal officer, unaided by a British assistant. It is hard to conceive that even in India, under similar conditions, the procession in question could have been greater or its component parts more vociferous. Yet there are no lack of recruits for the Soudan Civil Service.

Why then is more and more money demanded for service in India? Because India is more easily squeezable? Because civil disobedience has not been started?

Of course there is a striking difference between service in a territory like the Soudan, where the European has virtually undisputed authority, and similar service under the new duo-racial system in India. All the same, the comparison, to the disadvantage of service in India, might be stressed too far; for the difficulties of the British Administrative Official in the many territories in Africa, where there are the conflicting claims of European settlers, African natives and Indian traders constantly to be adjusted and a Legislative Assembly (not widely different from its counterpart in India) to be considered, are of exactly that harassing kind which are said to make present-day service so unpopular in India.

I myself believe that if the emoluments of the Services are put on a reasonably good level, instead of on the present miserably low one, the right class of recruits from the Universities of this country will again come forward. It must be remembered how small are the entrances to a livelihood open to the successful University man in the present time of world-wide trade depression, and though no one wishes to see men go into the Indian Civil Services because there is nothing else for them to do, it is legitimate to emphasize the fact that the war has made life in every profession harder than easier. Look, for example, at the terrific strain to which the staff in the higher positions of a British Government Office are put to-day, compared with their predecessors of the eighties and nineties.

Yet Winterton has the audacity to speak of the big salaries and other emoluments of Anglo-Indian Civilians as miserably low. Will he name a single foreign country which pays more than we do for the same class of work? Earl Winterton has let the cat out of the bag. It is the loss of "virtually undisputed authority" and service under Indians which the Anglo-Indian Civilians can not bear to think of, without adequate pecuniary compensation.

### A Criticism of the Sukkur Barrage Irrigation Project

In the *Asiatic Review*, Mr. F. Wright, late Chief Engineer in Sind, criticises the Sukkur Barrage Irrigation project.

The cardinal feature of the project is the construction of a weir, with gates, across the Indus a mile or so below the town of Sukkur. The weir, or barrage, when its openings are closed, will create a very large reservoir, which will serve

seven canals to be constructed with their headworks immediately above the barrage.

The entire system is estimated to cost £ 2,250,000, and to involve the construction and maintenance of 5,300 miles of irrigation channels. The works expected to be completed in twelve years, and eventually to show a return of 14 per cent. It was recently stated also, in an article by Sir Montagu Webb in the London Press, that the value of the crops would exceed £ 13,000,000 annually.

Mr. Wright thinks that there is a possibility of change of course following any notable meddling with the river at Sukkur. He adds:—

The barrage has yet other adverse potentialities. For several months annually it will convert part of the Indus into an immense lake that sometimes may be more than thirty miles in length. That lake will not store muddy water of the usual description that flows in the river, but water that is comparatively free of sediment. It is such clarified water which the promoters of the scheme for improving Sind irrigation are going to turn on to the lands to raise the 3,000,000 acres of new winter crops hopefully anticipated, and in great part counted upon, to make the project pay. The siltless water will be without the fertilizing agents—nitrates, phosphates, and potash—that give plants their food. For a season or so virgin lands may go without such necessary nourishment. Then disaster, and a Sind ruined and soured will be the result. For the soil of this province must have its nutritive silt if it is to continue to yield its crops of corn, more especially as the Sindhi cultivator hardly ever resorts to artificial manuring.

Some of his conclusions are:

The truth of the matter is, the essential features of Sind—its river, its soil, its climate, its rainfall and its population so diverse in constitution—have not been given the careful consideration and analysis so supremely necessary before embarking upon such a scheme as harnessing the river at one place, and then staking the whole future of the irrigation of the Province—indeed, its very life—on the success of that enterprise and the systems of giant canals it gives birth to and nourishes. The eggs, it seems, are to be all in one basket. What is more, many existing canals are to be scrapped, which is to burn boats that are still seaworthy. And such, I venture to assert, is hardly a policy which can appeal to prudent minds.

Sir James Wilson's opinion is:—

I am strongly impressed by the objections brought forward to the project, not only by Mr. Wright and Dr. Summers, but by other engineers of great Indian experience, such as Sir John Benton and Sir Lionel Jacob, and fear that, if the barrage is completed, the whole scheme will cost a much larger sum than is anticipated, the income will be much less than is estimated, and the province of Bombay will find itself saddled with a huge burden of debt. Moreover, there is a great danger that the construction of the barrage will induce this mighty river to seek a different channel, in spite of all the efforts that puny man can make to keep it to its present course through the gorge at Sukkur: and the barrage itself will be left high and dry, and the whole of the irrigation dependent upon it will



fail, with disastrous consequences to the large population which it is proposed to establish on the irrigated area.

### Pre-war and Post-war Estimate of Indian Civilization.

Whether because the War has made Europe appear more savage than she thought herself, or whether India's soldiers having fought well have proved India to be "civilized," the following is the conclusion of a British thinker:—

"Before the war, men might have said that India and Europe are not analogous, because India is less civilized than Europe; but now, I hope, no one would have the effrontery to maintain anything so preposterous."—*Principles of Social Reconstruction* by Bertrand Russell, chapter III (first published, 1916, eighth reprint, 1923).

Just as Japan proved herself civilized by beating Russia, so India would have been considered still more civilized according to European standards, if she could have licked some power!

### Bertrand Russell on Education.

According to Bertrand Russell (*Principles of Social Reconstruction*, eighth reprint, 1923, ch. V) education is concerned with the maintenance of the existing order, and almost all education has a political motive.

"Education is, as a rule, the strongest force on the side of what exists and against fundamental change: threatened institutions, while they are still powerful, possess themselves of the educational machine, and instill a respect for their own excellence into the malleable minds of the young. . . . education as a political weapon could not exist if we respected the rights of children. If we respected the rights of children, we should educate them so as to give them the knowledge and the mental habits required for forming independent opinions; but education as a political institution endeavours to form habits and to circumscribe knowledge in such a way as to make one set of opinions inevitable."

History, Geography, Political Economy, Political Science, Biography, besides general literature, are made use of in schools and colleges with a political motive.

### History as it is taught in schools.

"History, in every country, is so taught as to magnify that country: children learn to believe that their own country has always been in the right and almost always victorious, that it has produced almost all the great men, and that it is in all respects superior to all other countries. Since these beliefs are flattering, they are easily absorbed, and hardly ever dislodged from instinct by later knowledge. To take a simple and almost trivial example;

the facts about the battle of Waterloo are known in great detail and with minute accuracy; but the facts as taught in elementary schools will be widely different in England, France and Germany. The ordinary English boy imagines that the Prussians played hardly any part; the ordinary German boy imagines that Wellington was practically defeated when the day was retrieved by Blücher's gallantry. If the facts were taught accurately in both countries, national pride would not be fostered to the same extent, neither nation would feel so certain of victory in the event of war, and the willingness to fight would be diminished. It is this result which has to be prevented. Every state wishes to promote national pride, and is conscious that this cannot be done by unbiased history. The defenceless children are taught by distortions and suppressions and suggestions. The false ideas as to the history of the world which are taught in the various countries are of a kind which encourages strife and serves to keep alive a bigoted nationalism. If good relations between states were desired, one of the first steps ought to be to submit all teaching of history to an international commission, which should produce neutral text books free from the patriotic bias which is now demanded everywhere."

In India, as we all know, the precise opposite of this has been the case so long. We were all along taught by our rulers, who were actuated by the same political motive as other free nations, that before the advent of the British we were absolutely worthless as a people, and that if they leave our shores now, we shall relapse into barbarism. But the neo-revivalists among the Hindus and the political parties now in power would go to the other extreme and like to teach equally false history by painting pre-British India in colours too gorgeous to be true.

### Suppression of freedom of thought in Schools.

On this subject Mr. Bertrand Russell says:—

"The prevention of free enquiry is unavoidable so long as the purpose of education is to produce belief rather than thought, to compel the young to hold positive opinions on doubtful matters rather than to let them see the doubtfulness and be encouraged to independence of mind. Education ought to foster the wish for truth, not the conviction that some particular creed is the truth. . . . It is intensity of belief in a creed that produces efficiency in fighting: victory comes to those who feel the strongest certainty about matters on which doubt is the only rational attitude. To produce this intensity of belief and this efficiency in fighting, the child's nature is warped, and its free outlook is cramped, by cultivating inhibitions as a check to the growth of new ideas...."

But he thinks:—

"The success in fighting which is achieved by suppressing freedom of thought is brief and very worthless. In the long run mental vigour is as

essential to success as it is to a good life. The conception of education as a form of drill, a means of producing unanimity through slavishness, is very common, and is defended chiefly on the ground that it leads to victory.... in the modern world so much intellect is required in practical affairs that even the external victory is more likely to be won by intelligence than by docility. Education in credulity leads by quick stages to mental decay: it is only by keeping alive the spirit of free enquiry that the indispensable minimum of progress can be achieved.... Instead of credulity, the object should be to stimulate constructive doubt, the love of mental adventure, the sense of worlds to conquer by enterprise and boldness in thought. Contentment with the *status quo*, and subordination of the individual pupil to political aims, owing to indifference to the things of the mind, are the immediate causes of these evils; but beneath these causes there is one more fundamental, the fact that education is treated as a means of acquiring power over the pupil, not as a means of nourishing his own growth."

Three more passages from Mr. Bertrand Russell's book are given below.

### Love of Mental Adventure

"The world in which we live is various and astonishing: some of the things that seem plainest grow more and more difficult the more they are considered; other things, which might have been thought quite impossible to discover, have nevertheless been laid bare by genius and industry. The powers of thought, the vast regions which it can master, the much more vast regions which it can only dimly suggest to imagination, give to those whose minds have travelled beyond the daily round an amazing richness of material, an escape from the triviality and wearisomeness of familiar routine, by which the whole of life is filled with interest, and the prison walls of the commonplace are broken down.... To give this joy, in a greater or less measure, to all who are capable of it, is the supreme end for which the education of the mind is to be valued."

### Fear of Thought

"Men fear thought as they fear nothing else, on earth—more than ruin, more even than death. Thought is subversive and revolutionary, destructive and terrible; thought is merciless to privilege, established institutions, and comfortable habits; thought is anarchic and lawless, indifferent to authority, careless of the well-tried wisdom of the ages. Thought looks into the pit of hell and is not afraid. It sees man, a feeble speck, surrounded by unfathomable depths of silence; yet it bears itself proudly, as unmoved as if it were lord of the universe. Thought is great and swift and free, the light of the world, and the chief glory of man."

That is why some of the Anglicists wanted to suppress original thinking.

### Hope, not fear, the Creative Principle.

"No institution inspired by fear can further life. Hope, not fear, is the creative principle in human affairs. All that has made man great has sprung from the attempt to secure what is good, not from the struggle to avert what was thought evil. It is because modern education is so seldom inspired by a great hope that it so seldom achieves a great result. The wish to preserve the past rather than the hope of creating the future dominates the minds of those who control the teaching of the young. Education should not aim at a passive awareness of dead facts, but at an activity directed towards the world that our efforts are to create. It should be inspired, not by a regretful hankering after the extinct beauties of Greece and the Renaissance, but by a shining vision of the Society that is to be, of the triumphs that thought will achieve in the time to come, and of the everwidening horizon of man's survey over the Universe. Those who are taught in this spirit will be filled with life and hope and joy, able to bear their part in bringing to mankind a future less sombre than the past, with faith in the glory that human effort can create."

### Two Munificent Donations

On behalf of Sir Currimbhoy and Bhai Khanubai Noormahomed Jirajbhoy Purbhoy Educational Trusts, Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy has offered to the Bombay University ten lakhs of rupees, in three and a half per cent. Government papers for an endowment of University Scholarships for Mahomedan students of the Bombay Presidency going to foreign countries for higher studies in medicine, philosophy, ancient history, Arabic literature, town-planning and technological and industrial subjects, as well as superior Services.

Messrs. Tata and Sons on behalf of the Empress, Swadeshi and Ahmedabad Advance Mills have made a donation of one lakh of rupees for the Nagpur University building. The Executive Committee has gratefully accepted it and decided to call the building after Janshed N. Tata.

### General Nadir Khan on Indian questions

Interviewed by a representative of a Hindi paper, General Nadir Khan, Commander of the Afghan Army during the last war with Britain, who is on his way to Paris, where he will act as the Afghan Ambassador, on his recent visit to Lahore, expressed his full faith and confidence in the programme of Mr. Gandhi. He regretted the indifference shown by the people of India to his teachings, which, as he remarked, was evident from the use of foreign cloth by most people. It was painful to him to see this sight.

Afghanistan is progressive. There from the peasant to the King all put on khaddar. There is an ideal Hindu-Muslim unity in the country and cow-slaughter is unknown. Even foreign goods have been generally boycotted as far as practicable. The General expressed full hope in Afghanistan's future, when she will take her rank with the advanced nations of the world. While expressing

implicit faith in Mr. Gandhi, he urged the need of making khaddar popular all over the country. For the Mussalmans he said, although it is desirable that they should extend their love and sympathy to their kinsmen abroad, it is more desirable that they should have patriotism for the country in which they live. To the Hindus he gave the advice that without unity with Mussalmans, the freedom of Hindustan was an impossibility.

### Calcutta Corporation Appointments

The appointment of a large percentage of Musalmans to some posts under the Calcutta Municipal Corporation has given rise to a rather acrimonious controversy.

We have never been in favour of any distribution of appointments in the public services on a communal basis, believing that the employment of the fittest candidates best promotes public welfare.

It is said that recently out of 33 vacancies 25 were filled by Musalman candidates. Questioned as to why this was done, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, lieutenant of Mr. C. R. Das, the Mayor of Calcutta and the leader of the Swarajya party, who is the Chief Executive Officer, gave a reply which was autocratic and bureaucratic in tone. He said he was responsible for the selection of the candidates appointed. That was true. But he forgot that he was a paid servant of the Corporation, enjoying only delegated power, for the exercise of which he was accountable to that body, and that the real and ultimate responsibility was that of the Corporation, which was again responsible to the ratepayers. Mr. Bose's high tone was no doubt due to his consciousness that the Swarajya party was in the majority in the Corporation and the appointments were in accordance with the policy of that party.

We do not intend to find fault with Mr. Bose for giving the majority of the posts to Musalmans. It is probable, nay, certain, that if fitness were the only criterion of eligibility, some men (both Hindus and Musalmans) who were already in the employ of the Corporation would have got some of the posts and among the new men appointed there would have been more Hindus. But though the excellence of the principle of appointing the fittest has been theoretically accepted, the fittest have not generally been appointed. Let us confine our attention only to Hindu candidates. Can it be said that the Calcutta Corporation has always or generally appointed the fittest Hindu candidates? Let us take a concrete example.

When on the death of Mr. Lalit Chandra Mitra, M. A., the late license officer of the Corporation, the vacancy had to be filled up, was the most deserving and the most qualified and experienced candidate appointed to the post?

When unfit or comparatively less fit Hindu candidates are appointed, there is no hue and cry like that raised on the present occasion. After the abolition of the system of competitive examination for recruiting officers of the provincial and subordinate executive services, it cannot be said that all the ablest young graduates in the country have a chance to enter those services. Yet there is no persistent agitation against the abolition of the aforesaid competitive examination.

As we are for the employment of the fittest, irrespective of creed or caste, so we are against the employment of the unfit or less fit, irrespective of creed or caste. As we have failed in our duty in not protesting against the employment of unfit or less fit Hindu candidates in the past, we cannot now assume a virtuous tone and, standing on a high pedestal, lecture anybody on the high crime of appointing unfit or less fit Musalman candidates. It is not a greater offence to employ unfit or less fit Muslim candidates, than it is to employ unfit or less fit Hindu candidates.

*The Musalman* says that on a previous occasion Rai Bahadur Dr. Haridhon Dutt, then Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation, filled up every one of 36 vacancies by appointing Hindus. Assuming that our contemporary's information is correct, we ought to consider whether it is not probable that on that occasion there was at least one Muslim candidate who was abler than the least able Hindu candidate appointed. Moreover, on that occasion, and generally in making Corporation appointments, how is the comparative fitness of candidates ascertained?

We do not, of course, say that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has done the right thing. Nor are we in a position to say that every one of the Muslim gentlemen appointed by him is unfit or less fit than some of the Hindu candidates who have not been appointed. It is possible that some of the selected Muslims are just as good as the Hindus selected, though considering the comparative progress of education among Hindus and Muslims it is not probable that a large majority of the fittest belonged to the Muslim community. What we mean to impress upon our readers is that, seeing that as no systematic effort has



been generally made to give jobs only to the fittest, there is no justification for criticising Mr. Bose as if he alone has done the wrong thing for the first time. At the same time we do not say that because other culprits have not been pilloried, Mr. Bose ought not to be. What we mean is that in criticising him, we ought not to forget that others before him have deviated from the right principle for reasons different from his, and we should therefore temper the severity of our judgment.

It has been alleged in *The Bengalee* that information regarding the appointment of the Muslim candidates was communicated to them through some Muslim members of the Bengal Legislative Council. This has not been flatly contradicted by the organ of the Swarajya party. Its attempted reply is quite unconvincing. So *The Bengalee's* allegation may be assumed to be correct. This method of communicating information regarding appointments being unusual, its object is quite plain, namely, to secure the votes of the members of council in question.

There can be no doubt that the appointments have been made to serve a party purpose.

It is not at all difficult to criticise Mr. Subhas Bose's reply. He said two things in the main. The first was that university degrees, Indian or British, were of little value, and therefore he chose the candidates according to their energy, devotion, character, etc. The second thing that he said was that hitherto Hindus (of the higher castes) had almost monopolised all posts. He therefore wanted to do justice to the Musalmans, Christians and the backward castes among the Hindus.

Mr. Bose is an intelligent young man. And therefore it would be as easy for him as for others to see the absurdity of his argument. If he wanted to make energy, devotion, honesty, etc., the criteria of eligibility, the question of creed or caste could not come in. For honesty, devotion, and the other good things are not to be found preponderantly among Musalmans, Christians, and the "depressed" Hindus, just as they are not a monopoly of the high-caste Hindus. It is also not possible to judge of a man's devotion by any intuitive method. And it is ridiculous for anybody to affect to believe that neither British nor Indian degrees have any value. Degrees are obtained by passing examinations, and Mr. Bose got his I. C. S. post (which he gave up) by passing an examination. That has helped him to reach the position which he now occupies.

If he wanted to break the practical monopoly of the high-caste Hindus, he must of necessity overlook in some cases the claims of some very able men of that class in favour of less able men of the other classes whom he wanted to befriend.

Therefore, it was a mistake on his part to trot out both these reasons in one and the same speech. No doubt, he will learn by experience to be more diplomatic in future;—which means that he will still say contradictory things, but not in the same speech and on the same occasion. For instance, on the present occasion, he has pleaded for the infusion of new blood. On some future occasion he may find it expedient to lay stress on the need of promoting or appointing experienced men.

Though the Chief Executive Officer said that he wanted to appoint Christians and "depressed" Hindus along with Musalmans, it is said that among the 33 appointments made by him not one has gone to any Christian and only two to persons belonging to the depressed classes.

### A Dacca University Appointment.

We have said in our last note that even among Hindus the fittest man is not always appointed everywhere. A recent example which has come to our notice illustrates our remark. In the Dacca University a temporary Reader in (mixed) mathematics has been recently appointed. We understand that it was ascertained by enquiry that preference would be given, other things being equal, to candidates who have specialised in mixed mathematics. But the appointment has been given to one who is an M. Sc. (Calcutta) in pure mathematics, though there were at least three other candidates who had specialised in mixed mathematics. Even if the question of specialising in mixed mathematics be not raised, we find that all the other four candidates possessed higher academic qualifications. One of these was a high Cambridge Wrangler. Another was a first class M. Sc. of Calcutta who had stood second in order of merit and had in addition obtained the Ph. D. degree of Gottingen, class *Sehr Gut* (very good). A third was a first class Calcutta M. Sc., standing second in order of merit. A fourth was a first class Calcutta M.A. who stood first in Mathematics and had a uniformly brilliant University career. The selected candidate passed the Calcutta B. Sc. in the second division,

obtaining a low place, and the Calcutta M.Sc., securing a low first class. From information in our possession relating to the original papers published by the candidates, it appears that there are more and better papers to the credit of some of the candidates than what the selected candidate has produced.

All the candidates, including the one appointed, were non-Muslims. If an unfit or less fit Muslim had been appointed instead of a less fit Hindu, a great clamour would probably have been raised;—particularly as the University of Dacca is believed to have been established in order to encourage and placate the Moslem population of Bengal.

### The Proposed Home for Rescued Girls.

Under the auspices of the Calcutta Vigilance Association, a public meeting was recently held for collecting subscriptions for founding a Home for minor girls rescued from houses of ill fame. Lord Lytton made a very touching appeal. It was stated at the meeting that there were in Calcutta about 2000 such girls between the ages of 9 and 13 in houses of ill fame, who would be made to lead immoral lives when grown up. Under the Calcutta Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act the police now has the power to remove them from such places. But no such step has yet been taken because there is no Home to keep the girls in. No doubt, the Christian missionaries can and would gladly take charge of the girls and give them a training to enable them to lead good lives. But then the cry might be raised that Government was indirectly promoting the cause of conversion to Christianity. Hence this effort to found a Home where, for the present, 40 rescued girls can be brought up to lead pure lives without having to give up their ancestral faiths.

For our part, we would much rather see all the 2000 girls rescued and placed under the charge of Christian missionaries without a moment's delay than that a single one of them should continue to live in hellish surroundings for even a day. We have not the least doubt and we believe no thinking man can have any doubt, that it is infinitely better for a girl to lead a virtuous life as a Hindu, or Jain, or Buddhist, or Christian, or Musalman, etc., than to be in a house of ill fame. If any religious community cannot take charge of rescued girls belonging to it, it should not

in the least object to the girls being taken care of by the Christian missionaries. In fact, if we had belonged to the orthodox Hindu fold, we would have tried to promote a twofold movement, namely, for founding a Home for rescued Hindu girls and for so moulding Hindu public opinion that it would not object to such girls being taken care of by Christian missionaries in case of need.

It must be remembered that efforts are being made to provide for only 40 girls for the present. Assuming the success of the attempt, there would still remain 1960 girls unrescued and unprovided for. It is very difficult to say in how many decades Hindu public opinion would be sufficiently roused to press for the rescue of all Hindu girls in houses of ill fame and be ready to take charge of them. It would be inhuman to wait till then and consign the girls to a hellish life. Therefore, we say again, let the girls be rescued and placed under the care of virtuous ladies and gentlemen of any creed and race. In the meantime, let all Hindus and Musalmans and Jews and others try their utmost to rouse the conscience of their communities to take charge of their own girls.

There is a special difficulty in the case of Hindus, as in the orthodox Hindu social system there is no place for rescued girls to get married and lead respectable lives. But Hinduism has never been quite inelastic; and so if really earnest efforts be made by the leaders of Hindu society, a place may be found for them. There is, of course, a place for them in the caste of Baishnabs; but that caste itself is not looked upon as respectable, in the sense that even the lowest of other castes are.

### The Problem of Social Purity.

Social purity is very difficult to obtain. While we are entirely for the removal of girls from vicious surroundings and bringing them up under salutary influences, we cannot be blind to the fact that that method does not touch the root of the evil.

For the purpose of propagation and preservation of species, man, like other animals, has the sexual passion. But it requires to be kept within due bounds, so that its gratification may not be made an end in itself. In order that this object may be gained, men should be able to respect womanhood, not looking upon women only as

objects of enjoyment. This requires the proper education of both women and men. If women have worthy aims and activities, they cannot but command respect.

Literature and art and newspapers as well as amusements, should not be such as would pander to the vicious propensities of men.

Social, economic and civic arrangements should be such as to make it practicable for men and women of even average character to lead pure lives.

Men require the companionship of women and women require the companionship of men.

If we examine the conditions of life in Bengal in general and Calcutta in particular, we shall find much that is not favourable to social purity.

Taking India as a whole, it is found that the males greatly outnumber the females. This is true of both Hindus and Musalmans and some of the other larger communities.

This state of things is repeated in Bengal. In some Hindu castes there is an alarming paucity of women.

Coming to Calcutta we find that that city and its suburbs have just two males to every female. The City has 470 females per thousand males (the Municipal area 487), the suburbs in the 24 Parganas 614 and Howrah 520. In the Indian Empire, Rangoon has a lower proportion of females than Calcutta, 445 females per 1000 males, its cantonment being responsible for its surpassing Calcutta in this peculiarity. Bombay has 524. In fact all industrial areas have this peculiarity. This is one of the principal reasons why modern industrialism, so far at any rate as India is concerned, has been one of the causes of vice and impurity. Unless industrialism can be made compatible with family life and home surroundings, it is doomed and must be destroyed, in spite of the comforts and luxuries and wealth with which it provides a minority of the population.

City life, for many reasons, promotes impurity. It is not possible to provide homes for all who have to resort to the city for purposes of business. Therefore the suburbs and adjacent areas must be opened up, housing schemes for providing model dwellings for men of scanty means should be undertaken, and means of cheap transit brought into existence.

In the census report of the city of Calcutta for 1921, it is stated :-

"The number of prostitutes in the city in 1901 was 14369, with 2520 dependents ; in 1911, 12488, the number of their dependents not being available ;

and in 1921, 8,877 with 1330 dependents. Prostitution is, therefore, much less than it used to be in the city ; but the fact that there is still one acknowledged prostitute to every 43 males aged between 20 and 50 shows what is the moral result of conditions which have brought together a population in which males outnumber females by more than two to one".

In addition to acknowledged prostitutes, there is the large class of female servants who do not live in the homes or lodgings of their employers but in *bustees* and earn only part of their livelihood in wages for their labour. For doing the same kind and quantity of work these women get much less than male servants. All who know this fact and have reflected upon its significance, must admit that society connives at immorality because thereby cheap menial service becomes available. He would be a great benefactor to these women and to society who would promote a movement for securing adequate wages to them and getting them married according to the provisions of the law for the remarriage of Hindu widows.

We do not know whether there is any country in the world where men and women are judged by society according to the same standard of character. But whether there be such a country or not, it is plain that there should not in practice be two ethical standards for men and women. For a single lapse a woman becomes a fallen woman and is ostracised by society, while her seducer—possibly the seducer of other women too, is not only not considered a fallen man but moves about quite freely in respectable society and is even the recipient of honours and distinctions, if he has money and talents. So long as such a state of things continues, there can be no social purity. When a woman falls, that means that a man has also fallen, and it is almost always the case, so far at least as the first offence of the women is concerned, that the man is the tempter, not the woman the temptress. Yet it is the woman who is punished by society, not the man.

The man escapes scotfree and continues to be the cause of the ruin of many other women, who must be victimised to gratify his and his companions' lust. So long as these brutes—often high-placed brutes—want victims, there will not be wanting other scoundrels to procure them for them. Therefore, in order to strike at the root of the evil, these rogues should also be punished.

But mere punishment cannot bring about an ideal state of society. The whole tone of society should be raised. All that relates to



man should be critically examined, and if there be anything which has a tendency to pander to vice, the proper remedy should be applied.

In this connection, one cannot help having to say a word on the people's amusements. In the West moving pictures which appeal to the sex-instinct in a certain way are being condemned by well-wishers of society. These 'movies' have invaded our country also, and are productive of perhaps worse results than in the West, because even those caresses and endearments which may be indulged in in public in the West are considered indecorous in public in our country.

Some of those Indian journalists and public men who advocate the rescue of girls and the eradication of prostitution, at the same time advertise, encourage and patronise the Indian theatres; though they know full well that these places of amusement draw their actresses from the class of prostitutes, and that the actresses are not more moral than the class to which they belong. It is an example of conscious or unconscious inconsistency and hypocrisy that the same men write in favour of rescue homes and patronise these actresses, too. How can it then be said that society is determined to have social purity at any cost?

The life-long widowhood of girls brought about and enforced by custom and social opinion, is a principal cause of social impurity.

The vocabulary of Bengali as it is spoken by the masses supplies an irrefutable argument in favour of this view, of which the truth can also be demonstrated by investigating the personal history of women of ill-fame. In vulgar and rustic Bengali the same word is used to denote a widow and a fallen woman. We believe almost the same word is used in Hindi, too, in the same sense. Advocates of social purity must needs, therefore, also be advocates of the remarriage of widows.

### Sir Basil Blackett Solves the Problem

On the 12th of July last, Sir Basil Blackett the Finance Member, opened the new building of the Calcutta branch of the Central Bank of India. Sir Basil gave expression to some sound ideas on the duties of the share-holders in a joint-stock company. He exhorted them to exercise their united powers to achieve success. Otherwise, said Sir Basil, the progress of India in banking and industry would probably be checked by bitter disappointments.

Referring to the stringency in the money market Sir Basil stated that things were no longer what they were before. India may not expect much financial help from outside and has got to shift for herself. Unstability of the exchange was not the real cause of India's financial poverty and even a highly stabilised exchange could not remove the causes of India's monetary stringency. Said he:

"For a more far-reaching remedy, India must look to the increase of saving in India, so that the supply may be equal to the demand."

That certainly would be a far-reaching remedy, but an unqualified application of the same may reach far enough into India's economic life to injure it vitally. We are referring to the principle of saving as dissociated from the ability to save. If the nation's income is such as would never enable it to save anything without reducing the expenses required to lead a human and progressive life, we should stop and think before advocating the propagation of a saving craze in the country.

It may be said that without further saving, new enterprises would not be undertaken and as a result the income of the country will never increase; therefore it is better to suffer for a time in order to assure permanent well-being. It may be so, but one must be convinced that there are no other ways to get the extra saving.

Apart from possibilities of acquiring new wealth by whatever means, we can see that new saving is possible if we can so distribute the national wealth as to insure that those who waste wealth do not get much to waste or that those who save as a rule get more.

In India we find that highly paid jobs generally go to Western people whose differentiation of necessities and luxuries of life follow no logical process. Whereas an Indian drawing 1000 a month will educate his children, lead a decent (if not "modern") life and leave behind, on his death, many thousands as saving; the Western man with the same job will not be able to "make both ends meet" and he will keep up a constant whine before the *maliks* to give him more. If Sir Basil wants India to save more in order to bring into being an era of cheap money and rapid development, would he expect the extra savings to come from the half-starved and disease-ridden lower and middle classes or would he rather get it from those who for the sake of high life have rolled idleness and waste into a new art?

Western people who get high salaries and

make excess profits are not necessarily the only people who do all the wasting. Both thriftiness and extravagance can be insane. We suggest that steps be taken to put a stop to such senseless waste as may be existing in modern India.

Then we have got a large number of people who take a good portion of India's annual national income out of this country to foreign lands. While it remains the normal thing to transfer wealth (both profits and payments) to other lands, from India it is practically impossible to check the escape of capital out of India. Even if we managed to have *cheap* capital in India, would we be able to keep it in this country?

Sir Basil Blackett ought to find out some means whereby production, exchange and profit-making will be done mainly within the borders of India. In that case there will be less chance of profits escaping to other lands without our knowledge and it will be easier to stop it. As things are now, much of India's national income goes into foreign pockets in the shape of, let us say, Political and Commercial Dues. We should like Sir Basil to so manipulate things that India may have less of the above. Also let there be more trustworthy British and Indian Bankers and Company-promoters, so that people may save with safety and profit.

So much about saving from what we have at present. Turning to the question of adding to our national income, we expect it from better utilisation of India's material and human resources. So far as we know these are not utilised properly at present. The reasons are many and need not be pointed out here. We only hope that Sir Basil Blackett has also thought out this important problem. In his speech he was reported to have made the following statement:

"The passing of the Steel Industry Protection Act marked a deliberate effort to build up a strong Industrial India."

We cannot see why Sir Basil is so optimistic regarding this miracle of protectionism. We think the above Act will merely shift some wealth from many pockets to a few. It may mark anything, but it will not, in our opinion, build up a strong Industrial India. Sir Basil Blackett seems to be fairly thrilling with the hope of seeing an industrially advanced India. He asks India to save more so that she might be "called upon to finance her own programme of capital development." Is that why he is borrowing, on behalf of the Government of India Rs. 15,00,00,000 out

of whatever money that the people may be willing to invest?

We hope the Government will not always come up as a rival to industrialists in the field of borrowing. From the point of view of the individual lenders investments in Government loans may be safe and good, but from the point of view of economic progress the Government ought to live within its revenues, which are large enough for carrying on the sort of Government India has, and leave the public to use their money in "capital development."

A. C.

### Britain Losing Her Tradition

There was a time when a Government defeat in the British Parliament practically meant a change of Government. But now-a-days Government seems to be making a collection of defeats with the fervour of a Philatelist. The present Labour Government has already got together ten defeats, but they seem to be quite contented with their achievement. Governments now-a-days accept the decision of the House, whereas formerly they considered themselves worse than no Government unless they could make the House accept theirs. This may be a sign of weakness, progress, want of confidence in themselves, or adaptability, according to one's point of view, but this is surely not the usual thing. The normal function of a Government once formed is to give opinions and take none. This used to be the unwritten Philosophy of British Politics. We find it even to-day in places where the glories of ancient Britain are still extant. When Governments have to accept outside decisions, it becomes their etymological duty to clear out. This is what the "Mother of Parliaments" has taught us. But the "mother" is changing her views in a most unfeminine way. We fear for her.

A. C.

### A Master of the Art of Thinking

The British nobility has produced some great intellectuals in the past and there are reasons to believe that its greatness has not died out altogether. Of late we have noticed sparks in the long dormant fire and the other day, July 21, 1924, at the House of Lords, Lord Peel removed all our pessimistic doubts and filled our hearts with the greatest hopes regarding the intellectual future of the British nobility.

His speech contained several unclassified logical gems and we cannot resist the temptation to put them before the public.

Lord Peel expressed the opinion that the Lee Commission had framed its advice from a very direct view of economy and the present financial situation in India. It might not be easy at present to find the money for public services in India, but proper payment and support of the Civil Services in any country should be a first charge on the revenues of the country.—*Reuter*.

NOTE: "A very direct view of economy" is a species of view which enables one to find money in a coffer which contains nothing. The trick is to believe wholeheartedly in the ethical urgency of finding the money.

Lord Peel then drew attention to the very remarkable statements of Mr. C. R. Das and said the resolution praising the patriotism of the murderer of Mr. Day *might have a very deplorable effect*. He hoped that any proceedings that the Government might contemplate taking in that connection would not be taken only against humbler persons. Lord Peel said that the reply given in the House of Commons on that point, namely, that Mr. Gandhi disapproved of murder, was very remarkable. He was unable to understand what that had to do with it, unless it was suggested that Mr. Gandhi was the keeper of the Government conscience and that his disapproval acquitted the Government of the necessity for any further action.—*Reuter*.

NOTE: Mr. C. R. Das is an individual, so is Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Das' statements *may have* a very deplorable effect and Mr. Gandhi's statements may have a very desirable effect. But as a deplorable effect less desirable than a desirable one, the one must not have anything to do with the other. Hence Lord Peel does not understand why Mr. Gandhi's pacific influence should be balanced against the influence of Mr. C. R. Das. The conclusion is that either Mr. Gandhi must keep the Government's conscience or go out of the game. But in any case, the Government ought to take "further action."

He emphasized that the non-co-operators had entered the Councils to destroy the Government. He referred at length to recent events in the Central Provinces and Bengal with regard to the voting of money. He pointed out that the action of the non-co-operators had compelled the Governor of the Central Provinces to take over the working of the transferred subjects, thus destroying the large measure of constitutional advance and freedom granted when the subjects had been handed over. He asked whether Lord Olivier contemplated that it might be necessary in the near future to *make these transferred subjects reserved subjects*.—*Reuter*.

NOTE:—If you want to kill a baby, never violate good form by blurting out your ideas in common garden English. Do not say, "kill the baby," but say, "make that live baby a dead baby." This will be in keeping with the highest traditions of Western European culture.

A.C.

## Lord Ronaldshay Discovers Historical Evidence

The following extract is taken from *The Statesman* and is written by its London correspondent. The italics are ours.

Prominent among the contributors to the July reviews are Lord Ronaldshay in the *Nineteenth Century* and Mr. C. F. Andrews in the *Contemporary*. The ex-Governor of Bengal furnishes English readers with an illuminating study of the realities of the political advance which it was sought to achieve in India in 1919.

Lord Ronaldshay, as, in his wont, goes straight to the heart of the problem when he remarks that "the permanent factor in the present political crisis in India is the pride of race of the intellectual Hindu—a thing born of a rapidly awakened consciousness of past greatness, giving birth in its turn to an extreme sensitiveness to any suggestion of inferiority where East and West come into contact". From a famous speech of Mr. C. R. Das, Lord Ronaldshay illustrates the "extravagant opinion of their country's past" which is engendered by the pride of the intellectual Hindu, and from a volume of Bengali songs edited and translated by Rai Bahadur Dinesh Chandra Sen, he has no difficulty in pointing the moral and adorning the tale which his theme unfolds. In the past, according to Mr. C. R. Das, "we had corn in our granaries: our tanks supplied us with fish, and the eye was soothed and refreshed by the limpid blue of the sky and the green foliage of the trees. All day long the peasant toiled in the fields, and at eve, returning to his lamp-lit home, he sang the song of his heart." Yet from a ballad of the sixteenth century which tells the story of Kenaram, a famous robber chief, Lord Ronaldshay extracts the description of a "land racked and riven by anarchy, of deserted homesteads, and of a people harried and panic-stricken under a chaotic administration." "The people," sings the poet, "buried their wealth under the earth for fear of plunder. The robbers strangled the wayfarers with nooses of ropes," and so forth. "Husbands sold their wives, and wives their children. All convention, all affection and feeling were gone, and men became like lower animals seeking the whole day long for something to live upon." It all smacks, indeed, rather of the description of Bolshevik Russia by Sir Philip Gibbs in that powerful work, "The Middle of the Road," than of the "singing, the apple-blossom, and the gold" which is the Bengal of Mr. Das's dreams, and with which the Swarajist tickles the phantasy of his followers.

Comment is hardly necessary. It seems from the above that Lord Ronaldshay does not deny that the Hindu has a great past, in spite of the Kenaram ballad and the exaggerated dreams of Mr. C. R. Das. Dreams are always exaggerated, be they Hindu or Anglo-Saxon, and these are by no means the only things which are exaggerated. Exaggeration always presupposes the existence of something to build up upon. We know of cases where concoctions have been utilised to tickle the vanity, patriotism, pugnacity, and what not, of immature school boys,



so that they may grow up into foolhardy colonisers, slave-drivers or cannon-fodder. We do not know of many "intellectual Hindus" who do not feel the deepest shame at their slavery. They may have some sort of pride in their past glories, but that certainly is not the permanent factor in the present political crisis. If there is any permanent factor in the political crisis in India, which has been developing since more than a quarter of a century, it is just Foreign Domination. Loss of freedom is a thing which does not require any high order of intellect or any rapidly or otherwise awakened consciousness of past greatness to be resented. This is something which Lord Ronaldshay can understand without having recourse to any involved thought-process.

As to his selection of historical evidence from a certain collection of songs made and edited by a certain Rai Bahadur, who is a literary pensioner, we must say that Lord Ronaldshay has rendered a distinct service to the cause of historical research. We hope the Kenaram ballad will go down in British history as the last straw which broke the back of Indian presumptions. His picture of 16th century Bengal is bloodcurdling. It reminds one of the numerous ages of confusion found in the history of Britain and that of other European nations. We almost forget the *apple blossoms* of Bengal in our horror.

Why Sir Philip Gibbs' "powerful" work on Russia? The thing will make Douglas Fairbanks vibrate like a tuning fork in sheer panic.

A.C.

### Lord Olivier on Mr. C. R. Das.

A high authority on India—that is how he is referred to—has informed Lord Olivier, Secretary of State for India, that Mr. C. R. Das is "a particularly upright and scrupulous politician, second only to Mr. Gandhi in saintliness of character." A wag suggests that somebody must have pulled Lord Olivier's leg. How should we know? Mr. C. R. Das himself, and Mrs. C. R. Das in part, may be better able to judge of the correctness of the estimate.

Lord Olivier has also said that

Mr. Das appeared to be one of many Indian publicists who was convinced that no advance could be made in the attainment of Self-Government

except through organised force or secret methods aiming at outrage, in which connection they constantly pointed to cases in Ireland and Ulster.

Here again, though Mr. Das's persistent support of the Gopinath Saha resolution at Sirajganj has given a handle to his opponents and his enemies, one cannot be sure whether Lord Olivier is right, as Mr. Das has also repeatedly declared his belief in *ahimsa*. Mr. Das himself ought to know his settled convictions in the matter of violence and non-violence, assuming that he has any.

Lord Olivier went on to suggest that

Mr. Das believed it expedient that the British public should be a little frightened with regard to what might happen in India, if his party's policy was not conceded.

Mr. Gandhi and many of Mr. Das's own party had shown very lively indignation on the subject. It was unnecessary for the British Government to assume an attitude of high moral condemnation of Mr. Das as a politician on this account. The operations of secret murder societies were detestable, but they were not, in themselves, a political force, nor did they ultimately strengthen any political party that dallied with them. The Labour party had always condemned such forcible methods on the ground of their foolishness and futility, quite independently of their moral turpitude.

Lord Olivier expressed the opinion that Mr. Das and his associates were in a delusion that the Indian revolutionaries could frighten the British Government out of their senses by bombing policemen. They must already be beginning to recognise the political wisdom of the advice given by Mr. MacDonald, before he took office, to the Indian politicians to stand aloof from such insane methods. The incident was only another example of the political simplicity shown in Mr. Das's leadership in the Bengal Council.

Replying to Lord Peel, Lord Olivier said he did not intend to take any action. The question was for the Government of India to decide. Lord Olivier emphasised the political futility of the methods of the Swarajist Party in the Bengal Legislative Council and possibly elsewhere as a means of attaining their immediate ostensible object.

### The Alleged Manifesto of "Red Bengal."

As Lord Olivier made light of the bogey of the party of violence in Bengal Nemes is has thought it proper to bring him to his senses. Hence some Anglo-Indian papers have received a manifesto of "Red Bengal," and they say that the leaflet has also been stuck on lamp-posts and other prominent places. We have not seen any. Government has also proscribed the leaflet and similar literature wherever found, and declared them forfeited.

The affair appears somewhat suspicious.

Revolutionaries in no country are lacking in cleverness. From the speech of Lord Olivier, they might have easily and naturally inferred that the authorities were off their guard. Is it clever strategy on their part to publish a manifesto at this juncture to tell all concerned that they are neither a joke nor a figment of the imagination, but a Red Reality very much alive and kicking? Would it not have been better tactics on their part to lie low and lull suspicions completely?

It seems to us that the thing may be a dodge on the part of some secret agents, playing the part of Nemesis, to frighten Lord Olivier and force his hands. If so, he may be expected to see through it.

### Lord Olivier's Sympathy for the Services.

In the Lords Debate on Indian affairs, Lord Olivier was full of sympathy for the Europeans in the Indian Services.

He pointed out that while the rise in the living of Europeans in India between 1914 and 1923 was at least 50 per cent., the average increase of the pay of the service men, taking a man's pay throughout his period of service, was about 20 per cent. and in the case of the Indian Civil Service the increase was under 10 per cent. He dwelt on the circumstances incidental to service in India making a rise in the cost of living exceptionally burdensome to the European Domiciled officers, especially married ones.

He also referred to the fall of the rupee. He said that quite independently of any question of inducements to the future recruiting of the services these facts seemed to him to present a claim for relief which no reasonable and just-minded man could, on its own merits, repudiate and refuse.

What the Secretary of State drives at is that as our European servants' cost of living has risen 60 per cent., we should pay them 60 per cent. more than what they got in 1914. But it is not the cost of living of them alone that has risen. The cost of living of their masters, the Indian tax-payers, has also risen, without any corresponding rise in their income. So the Indian tax-payers find it difficult to make both ends meet. Nevertheless Lord Olivier thinks of relieving only the servants, unmindful of the lack of means of their masters, the Indian tax-payers, to pay more. He thinks that it is more urgent to relieve the European servants of India, who already receive higher pay than any similar servants in any foreign country, than to improve the condition of the half-starved,

disease-ridden, semi-nude, pig-styed, and illiterate millions of India.

### Resumption of Transferred Subjects.

According to Lord Olivier,

The Viceroy and Governors of Bengal and the Central Provinces were now considering whether the Governors should exercise power to suspend or revoke the transfer of subjects. Lord Olivier was of opinion that it was a perfectly reasonable construction of the Government of India Act that the Governor might act in such a manner.

Such suspension and revocation by provincial governors are provided for in the Act with the sanction of the Secretary of State; and it is obvious from what he has said that he would be only too glad to give such sanction.

That would give the finishing touch to the farce yecept dyarchy.

### Bengal Ministers' Salaries and the New Rules.

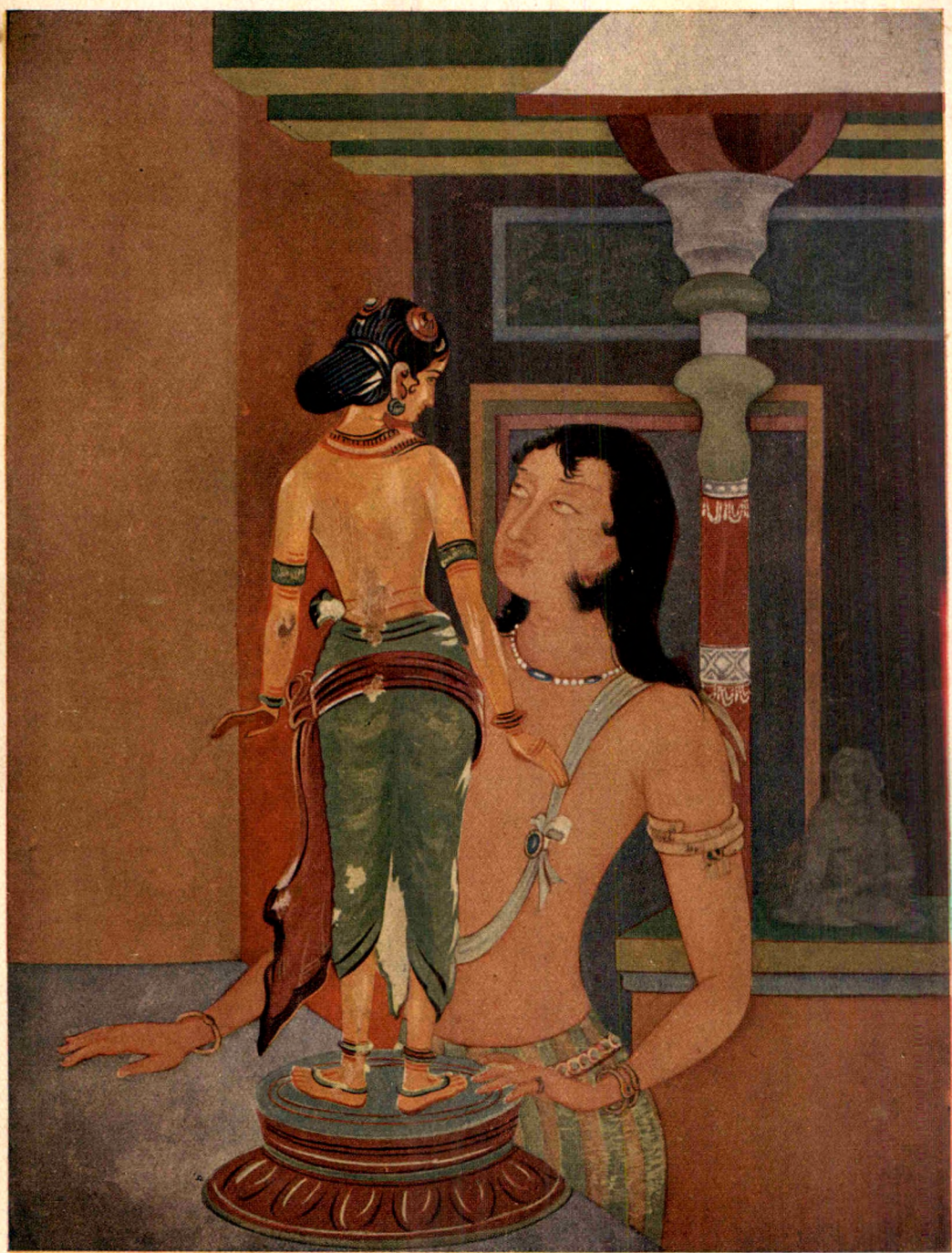
As a High Court injunction prevented the placing of the demands for the Bengal Ministers' salaries again before the legislative council, the Governor prorogued the session of the council in a huff. As there were many other important items of work for the session, as the members had come from the mofussil at sacrifice of business, and of income in some cases, as their travelling expenses will have to be paid from the public purse, etc., the Governor ought not to have acted thus in anger.

There has been another such step taken in hasty anger to maintain prestige. The Bengal Government had appealed against Mr. Justice C. C. Ghose's injunction. But before it was disposed of the Governor-General made new rules by which rejected or reduced Budget demands may be again placed before the Council in all cases. By making these rules before the disposal of the appeal, Government has shown great respect for the High Court! The new rules also make the intention and meaning of the Reforms clearer than ever.

### Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

We accord Mrs. Sarojini Naidu a cordial welcome back to the mother-land after her strenuous and successful labours in Africa.





Lovers

By Mr. Ardhenduprasad Banerjee.



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## CONSTITUTION AND FUNCTION OF THE INDIAN LEAGUE

BY RAO BAHADUR SARDAR M. V. KIBE, M. A.

THE announcement that at the forthcoming session of the League of Nations, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner will represent the Indian Princes is of the greatest significance to the Indian States. When on previous occasions His Highness or other Indian Princes formed part of the delegation of India at this or other similar bodies, although chosen as representative of Indian Princes, they represented the Government of India. For the first time now, the Indian Princes have been formed into a constituency and a representation has been granted to them as a part of the British Empire like the British colonies or India.

2. It is obvious, on the analogy of the party heads in Parliament or Assemblies, that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has been chosen the representative of the Indian Princes, as, being the elected Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, he represents the majority of them. The few Indian Princes, who have kept aloof from the Chamber and who comprise perhaps the most important personalities of the order, both territorially and politically, being in a minority numerically, do not count in the eyes of persons, who have the disposition of such matters, as they are accustomed to regard them as members of an Order. As a next step, the Princes Chamber would claim to elect its representative at international bodies. Although it is gratifying that the large body of the Indian Princes should be represented in the world's councils, yet the trend of events as illustrated by the present instance is not in accordance

with the traditions, importance and rights of the Indian Princes. Nothing short of the individual representation of some of them and of the rest in a group, or the proportionate representation of their League, will be in keeping with them.

3. The Chamber of Princes is a body subordinate to the Government of India in its working. With this exception it is merely a deliberative body seeking to enforce its decisions by the influence of public opinion, of a sort. It no doubt enables the Government of India to understand the view-point of a large number of the Indian Princes on certain questions on which it requires light. But here its patent usefulness ends. If it is to do a real good to Indian Princes as a whole and preserve intact their privileges, dignities and rights, it must be raised to the status of a league of nations. Such a league alone will ensure their continued existence in the new polity which is becoming large in the horizon of India. In the words of President Wilson, of revered memory,

"A general association of Nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike."

4. There exists in India material enough to form such a league as is referred to in the preceding paragraph. Measured by the standard of their relations with the Government of India, which is the highest and most potent power among the Indian States, and which, besides, holds the strings of all

the other States in its hands, the latter are divided into three main and two sub-groups. The Treaty States, the Sanad States and the Mediatized States are the main groups, while the first and the last have sub-groups attached to each. To the last sub-group belong the guaranteed States and estates and among the first there are States, who enjoy complete internal autonomy and there are others, on whom some restrictions have been placed. Among the first two groups are States which possess all the qualifications to become members of the World League of Nations. It follows, therefore, that they can very well be members of a similar League in India which will include them as well as the Government of India. In the case of some of them, their status, vis a vis the latter (the Government of India) will have to be raised. But this has already been done when certain forms of the residuary jurisdiction exercised by the Government of India have been given up. As regards the mediatized States, and their sub-groups, some of them which possess any distinguishing features, such as tradition, territory, opulence, should be given a higher status and the rest 'may be absorbed into the mother States from which they were separated. In this proposition again there is nothing revolutionary, since guaranteed States and estates have been so allowed to be absorbed with of course, certain safe-guards, which, in no way, detract from the principle, and States of inferior status have been raised to a higher status, in their relations with the Government of India and consequently in such formal relations as exist with one another.

c. There are no insurmountable difficulties in achieving this. Already the guaranteed States or estates in an important Indian State have been handed over to it. The same procedure may be followed in the case of guaranteed States or estates elsewhere. Then the mediatized States generally may be given over to their former over-lords. This means that the political jurisdiction exercised over them by the Political officers should be ceded. In doing this perhaps the state of things existing before the changes recently introduced by the Political department may have to be resorted to. Within the last few years in order perhaps to lighten the burden on the Political officers, the extent of the residuary jurisdiction exercised by them has been reduced. It is this which is required to be changed, but in ceding such jurisdiction, as is proposed, there is nothing revolutionary. During the last decade, the feudatories of a big

State in Southern India were handed over to it.

7. These measures will considerably reduce the number of Indian States and augment the status and resources of the remainder. Then there will remain the Treaty and some Sanad States, which will be raised to the higher status, as in the case of Mysore. Among the former there are many too weak to shoulder the burden of becoming members of the League. These, at present, could be allowed to remain out of the League. There are several solutions in their case, which will have to be tried in different cases. One solution is to coalesce the States which had a common origin as opportunities may occur, e. g., the Patwardhan States in the Bombay Presidency. Another solution would be to form federations of homogeneous States and have a common army, judiciary, educational and medical institutions and such federations could be made members of the League.

8. But the formation of the Indian League need not wait for all the reconstructions suggested in previous paragraphs. For the purpose already stated in the words of President Wilson, the league consisting of the Government of India and such other Indian States as may be qualified for its membership, e. g. the Nizam, should be formed and thenceforth their mutual relations should be governed according to its covenants which should be based on the existing treaties. As regards the rest of the States, pending their reconstruction on the lines already suggested, their affairs should continue as heretofore. Either the League or the Government of India, assisted by the Chamber of Princes, which may continue to exist on the present lines for a time, should gradually bring about the reconstruction proposed.

9. Howsoever vehemently the leaders of public opinion in British India may protest that they would leave the affairs of the Indian States to be dealt with by the Viceroy, their eventual object is not to make him the sole arbiter of the governments of the Indian States, but, it is clear from the utterances of leaders even like Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Dr. Annie Besant that it is only a stop-gap arrangement pending the bringing of the Government of India under popular control. The concession to exclude the Indian States from the purview of the people's assemblies or representatives, is only a temporary arrangement in order to avoid discussing what they regard, as questions of perplexing complexities. But this is all the more reason

why the Indian States should wake up and utilize this lull in strengthening their position. The formation of a League for such a purpose is the remedy which has been uniformly and universally thought of and acted upon.

10. The Montford Report held before the Indian States the idea of a Federation. It is unacceptable because all such formations lead towards the unitary type of rule which involves loss of sovereignty. When such a loss is voluntary and is meant as a sacrifice for a national cause, it is cheerfully undergone. The circumstances in India are quite the reverse. Any such step out here will overtly or covertly, consciously or unconsciously and willingly or unwillingly savour of pressure and even coercion, and will not last a day after it is removed.

11. The World League of Nations was formed by President Wilson to avoid war whether due to judicial disputes or political causes. In India a League has to be promoted to remove discontent and a smarting feeling and to do away with the policy of distrust, as manifested, in the words of the address of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha of 1877, by the existence of the Military Camps in the territories of the Indian States and the presence of the Political Agents. Under the pressure of the military necessities many of the military camps objected to in the preceding sentence have been removed, as a matter of fact, but the policy behind their back still survives. The proposed league will replace it by the policy of mutual trust, respect and contentment.

12. The Indian League will be based upon three principles, viz. (1) It would be founded upon a written constitution defining the rights and duties of its members, whereas hitherto the relations between the Government of India and its allies, or feudatories, although based upon solemn treaties or engagements have been modified by custom born of circumstances.

(2) It would enact the rule that the paramount State would not be allowed to enforce its will without previously having submitted the dispute to an international Court or a Council of Conciliation, for which provision will be made in the constitution of the League.

(3) This new League would be compelled to create a standing body, with a secretariat, because otherwise it could not be vigilant and powerful to achieve its object.

13. The nomenclature of the World League of Nations creates a confusion by confusing

nations with States, because what it really means is a League of States. Mostly even in Europe, or much more so in India, any other meaning would be inappropriate. However all confusion would be avoided by naming the proposed organization as the League of Indian States.

14. The League's first duty, as now, will be to proportionately provide for a common defence. Its second duty will be to devise a means of settling disputes (1) those which can be judicially settled, i.e., can be settled by the rule of law, and (2) those of a political character, which cannot be settled by the rule of law. In order to achieve these aims, it will have to consider four problems. There is first the problem of the organization of the League, secondly the problem of making rules for its guidance, thirdly the problem of the administration of justice by its means and fourthly the problem of mediation within the League.

15. There are certain principles which ought to be accepted for the organization of the League. They are as under :—

(1) The League is composed of Indian States which recognize one another's external and internal independence and absolute equality before International Law.

(2) The chief organ of the League would be the Princes Chamber at Delhi. The Chamber will meet periodically, without being convened by any special power. Its task would be the gradual codification of customs and practices, which have taken the place of the International Law in India and the agreement upon such interstatal conventions as would be, from time to time, necessitated by new circumstances and conventions.

(3) A permanent Council of the Chamber is to be created, the members of which are to meet at Delhi or Simla, as occasions may arise, and to conduct all the current business of the League. A strong secretariat of the League would be formed. It will move with the Government of India. This current business comprises the conduct of communications with the several members of the League with regard to the preparation of the work of the Chamber; and all other matters which the Chamber, from time to time, hands over to the Council. Some such Committee already exists, but its functions should be as suggested above, and it should meet more frequently and may consist of the ministers or representatives of the Princes.

(4) Every recognized sovereign State has a right to take part in the Chamber. This is



also done, but the scope of sovereignty is ill-defined. By the acceptance of the first principle, it will be set right.

(5) Resolutions of the Chamber can come into force (as at present) only in so far as they become ratified by the several States concerned. On the other hand, every State agrees once for all faithfully to carry out those resolutions which have been ratified by it.

(6) Every State that takes part in the Chamber is bound only by such resolutions of the Chamber as it expressly agrees to and ratifies. Resolutions of a majority only bind the majority. On the other hand, no State has a right to demand that only such resolutions as it agrees to shall be adopted.

(7) All members of the League agree once for all to submit all judicial disputes to International Courts, which are to be set up and abide by their decisions. They likewise agree to submit all non-judicial disputes to International Courts of Conciliation, which are also to be set up.

16. As regards the last principle cited in the preceding paragraph, the Montford Report makes certain suggestions, but they are not quite satisfactory and it has not behind its back the idea illustrated by the first principle underlying the formation of the League.

17. The Court of Arbitration, as a whole, should consist of as many judges as there are members of the League; each member to appoint one judge and one deputy judge who would take the place of the judge, in his absence. The president, the Vice-President and say a dozen members should form the permanent Bench of the Court and should be available to meet at Delhi or Simla, whenever an occasion may arise.

18. If a judicial dispute arises between two States, the case is to go in the first instance before a bench comprising the two judges appointed by the two States in dispute and a President, who, as each case arises, is to be selected by the Permanent Bench of the Court from the members of this Bench. This Court of first instance having given its judgment, each party is to have a right of appeal. The appeal is to go before the Permanent Bench, which is to give judgment with a quorum of six judges, with the addition of those judges who serve as the Bench of First Instance. One of the functions of this Court may be to give judgment on the claim of a party to a

treaty to be released from its obligations on account of vital changes of circumstances. This power would check the tendency of a strong State to modify treaty provisions at its will.

19. Just as the Permanent Court of Arbitration is to be established for the decision of cases of judicial nature, Permanent Boards of Conciliation may be appointed for the settlement of disputes of a political nature.

20. The constitution of Conciliation Boards to be established by the Indian League may be as follows:—

Every member of the League shall appoint, for a term of years, two conciliators and two deputy conciliators from among their own subjects and one conciliator and one deputy conciliator from among the subjects of another State. In case of dispute the three conciliators of each party shall meet to investigate the matter, to report thereon, and to propose, if possible, a settlement.

21. If they fail to reach a settlement, the matter may be referred to the Permanent Council of Conciliation which shall consist of a nominee of the British Government and two of the British Parliaments or the World League of Nations. Their decision shall be final and binding upon the parties.

22. This last provision may be objected to on the ground that it infringes the sovereignty of a State. Now in the first place, even if it be assumed for a moment that it is so, it is an advance over the procedure in vogue at present. Although the Indian States are at liberty to approach the Parliament, only one appeal made on behalf of a confiscated Indian State has hitherto succeeded. That body is not likely to devote its attention to such cases frequently. However, if a better method could be devised it should certainly be accepted. On the other hand, as a matter of principle, "Independence" as observed by a judicial writer, "is not boundless liberty to a State to do what it likes, without any restriction whatever."

23. The Indian League of Nations, if endowed with the attributes discussed in the preceding paragraphs is bound to usher in peace, contentment, prosperity and progress in the two halves of India and not perpetuate the dominance of one over the other.

## SIDE-LIGHTS ON THE ECONOMICS OF REPARATIONS

BY BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

### THE ECONOMIC CENTRE OF GRAVITY.

**D**IRECTLY or indirectly every economic item in the world's life today, from the value of the rupee and the accumulation of gold in the United States Federal Reserve Bank to the Russian demand for loans in England and the deflation tactics in the Balkans,—is connected with the reparations problem. Economic harmony or equilibrium, should such a thing be said to exist in the world-order, essentially dynamic as it is, can be established only when this question is finally settled.

The matter appears to onlookers to be mainly an affair of conversations between the diplomats of London and Paris over which the journalists of the two countries engage in heated controversies. But no subject of contemporary economics is of greater universal importance. The question of reparations constitutes in reality the centre of gravity of the financial and economic system of every nation that is worth anything.

In each country, of course, the phenomenon has been manifesting itself in a different manner. Some of the manifestations in France and Germany, the two poles of the present international complex, will serve to throw instructive side-lights on the problem. The "larger bearings" of every "internal" question cannot fail to be brought home to the investigators in economic development.

### THE FALL OF THE FRANC.

In France today politics both internal and external are centred on the fate of the franc. In peace times the sterling was equivalent to 25 francs. That parity has never been attained since the signing of the peace. But by 1921-22 the exchange came to be stabilised at £ = 50-55 fr. In 1923, however, almost synchronous with the occupation of the Ruhr and the precipitous fall of the German mark the franc began to show signs of "sympathetic" sinking.

Towards the beginning of the present year the symptoms became ominous and the *Journée Industrielle* (Paris) was led to make the following observation. "In a few months, unless the government takes immediate and energetic measures a creditless France will have to

encounter a Germany strong in credit." The financial strength of Germany was referred to because of the stabilization of the currency brought about by the establishment of the *Reichsbank*.

On Feb. 20 the *Temps* (Paris) spoke of a panic in French financial and lay life. Two reasons were assigned for the situation: first, the nervousness of persons who have to make payments abroad and therefore buy foreign monies, and secondly, the loss of confidence in French currency which prevails among the exporters.

The same occasion led the *Manchester Guardian* to some criticism of French foreign policy. Six months ago, it was alleged, the French press had been bent on isolating Great Britain from the continent. But the fall of the franc together with the general rise of prices has, it was said, created a new spirit among the French people who are now seeking to work hand in hand with England.

The franc was falling all the same. One pound was often equivalent to about 110 francs in spring although the sterling itself had sunk in relation to the dollar.

### POINCARÉ'S LAST ACHIEVEMENT.

The French *Chambre des Députés* devoted several weeks to the discussion of measures calculated to prevent the further sinking of the franc. In February a law has been passed authorizing the finance minister to control the buying of *foreign* monies by merchants and private persons in a very strict manner.

Secondly, taxes of all denominations have been raised 20 per cent. The enhancement of the rate of taxation is to go hand in hand with such retrenchments as will enable the state to save at least one milliard francs in 1924.

In the third place, all titles, documents, certificates, etc., existing in the possession of persons who command shares in commercial, industrial or other undertakings, have been placed under the tax-collector's supervision. The only exception is the *Bons de la défense*, which belong to the category of war-loans. These alone are not to be taxed.

By all these fiscal reforms the French

Government proposes to raise additional 7½ milliards. In France it is notorious that taxes have been evaded by the citizens all the time. Poincaré's strong hand, determined as it was to show no mercy to anybody, was being appreciated even by the democratic elements in the Parliament who had always protested against his dictatorial despotism. But he had to earn unpopularity among his own flock, the nationalists and industrialists "of the right," who are opposed to increment of taxation.

Altogether, however, European statesmen could not help admiring the speed with which only a country that is so centralized in constitution and sentiment as France could accomplish such serious and revolutionary tasks. The *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, the banker's daily of Zurich, for instance, noted that Poincaré was not only an able lawyer and masterful diplomat but had functioned as finance minister on two previous cabinets, once in 1894 and the second time in 1906.

In France, it is clear, the fall of the money was officially treated as dependent on the politics of the budget. The budget reform would, it was expected, check the sinking of the currency.

#### FRENCH BUDGET.

Since the end of the war there has been instituted in France a system of two budgets, one the ordinary budget and the other the budget of an extraordinary character. This extraordinary budget is meant for the expenses involved in the reconstruction of regions mutilated or devastated during the war. By the treaty of Versailles Germany is responsible for these disbursements. On theory, therefore, the framers of the French budget have really been functioning as creditors of German Government. But since Germany has not yet paid her dues to the creditor, this latter has been compelled to borrow, *i. e.*, issue loans in order to meet the reconstruction charges. On account of this extraordinary budget known as *Budget des dépenses recouvrables*, *i. e.* the budget of recoverable expenses, the French public debt has grown to much above 100 milliard francs.

This dichotomy of the budget, the source of the post-war deficit, has been now abolished. Both the budgets are to be constituted as one for the current year and all the expenses, both ordinary and reconstructional, are to be met from the regular normal receipts of the State. It is for this reason that new incomes have been sought by emergency taxation and retrenchments. It need be re-

marked *en passant* that France still holds true to her thesis that reparation expenses must come from Germany and that the occupation of the Ruhr continues to be the surest guarantee for this payment. The Poincaré Ministry has fallen. But the last achievement of Poincaré, namely, the financial reform is being upheld by his successor Herriot.

#### THE MONEY-POLITICS OF FRANCE.

The official view of the present financial situation in France was however contested by several statesmen and financiers of importance. Forgeot said in parliament: "The present crisis is due not to the budget but to the balance of the *Banque de France*. The Government banking institution has issued notes to the extent of 69 milliards on the strength of a reserve of only 5 to 6 milliards. It is in the circulation of large amounts of paper money that the trouble has to be sought."

According to the socialist financial expert, Auriol, the State should monopolize all purchases of foreign currency, no matter for what purpose. All French exporters were to be compelled to accept French money in return for their goods. Industrialists were of course violently opposed to this plan.

Klotz, the late finance minister of the Poincaré regime, traced the fall of the franc to altogether different quarters. He said that speculators in foreign countries were in possession of 10 to 15 milliards of French money. Long-period credits had therefore to be offered by French traders in order to balance this foreign ownership of francs.

#### THE RATE OF EXCHANGE.

Outside the *Chambre* critics of the new laws were no less outspoken. At the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes Sociales* (school of higher social studies) a lecture was delivered by M. Loucheur, the electrical engineer, who, on several occasions had been deputed by the French Government to confer with Rathenau and other German representatives on the economic arrangements to be entered into between the two countries. In analysing the situation Loucheur said: "There are three factors which are generally considered to be important as influencing the rate of exchange. The first is the circulation of notes. The second item is the balance of trade. The last but not least is known to be the budget. But so far as the present story of the franc is concerned none of these factors has played any role."

In 1919 there were 37 milliards of bank



notes in circulation, which rose only to 39 milliards in 1923. The Government had paid back some of its debts to the *Banque de France* in the meanwhile, enabling it thus to dispense with the use of the note-printing press to a considerable extent. But the franc fell notwithstanding in an extraordinary manner during the same period.

In four or five years the amount of public loans, further, sank from 27 to 23 milliards. And yet there was no check to the fall of the franc as everybody would naturally expect, said Loucheur.

In the second place, the balance of trade has improved considerably. The year 1919 began with a deficit of 27 milliards as legacy of the war-period when almost every commodity had to be imported. By 1923 the export-schedule should itself "active," i.e. more weighty than the import-schedule. And yet, said Loucheur, it was a mistake on the part of the finance minister, de Lasterrie, to congratulate himself on the conditions of foreign trade.

The "balance of accounts" and not the simple "balance of trade" is what matters. Loans made by France to Austria, Tchechoslovakia, Poland, are some of the items which the finance minister had ignored in his report. Interest had to be paid to foreigners on the French stocks possessed by them. For instance, there are the payments to be made to people who delivered goods to France and have invested their wealth in French commerce, industry and agriculture. In Loucheur's calculation these loans and other items come up to about 40 milliards. Some of these payments are balanced indeed by incomes such as the French people get from foreign stocks as well as the 3 milliards of foreign money spent by tourists in France.

But altogether the "balance of accounts" (including trade) gives a deficit of 3 to 4 milliards. It is this deficit that, according to Loucheur, accounted for the depreciation of the French currency. The remedy suggested by him was the heightening of production and the acceleration of exports.

In regard to the "ordinary" budget it is curious that during 1920 and 1921, while there was a deficit, the franc was improving; whereas in 1923 while a strong taxation policy established a balance between receipts and disbursements, the franc began to fall. The so-called "*budget des dépenses recouvrables*" should not, according to Loucheur, be called a budget at all as the payment does not come out of the French pockets. He

was therefore strongly opposed to the raising of the rate of taxation.

#### LOUCHEUR'S SUGGESTIONS.

"The fiscal retrenchments proposed by the government are moreover useless," said, Loucheur. "The ordinary budget provides for an expenditure of 30 milliards. Of this only 1½ milliards represent actual state disbursements, the rest being given over to payment of interest on or amortization of loans. It cannot be said that French administration is extravagant. The rise in expense is simply *nominal*. It does not represent a rise in the real costs but only a corresponding increase in the price-levels. Not more than 500 millions are likely in any case to come out of the so-called economies."

In Loucheur's prescription what France needs is first a confidence of the French people in themselves, and secondly, a better press-propaganda in foreign countries in order to demonstrate the positively favourable character of French finances. In regard to taxation, even without increasing the rates the government could realize 2 milliards per year solely by compelling the evaders to pay their dues. Besides, the government was advised to issue a gold loan, consisting not only of French values but also of the 25-30 milliards of foreign values existing in the possession of the French citizens. And finally, said Loucheur, "the importing of British coal and nitrates worth about 1 milliard must be prevented by all means, because it is possible to realise the same amount from Germany on the reparation account."

#### PROFESSOR GIDE.

Professor Charles Gide was of opinion that "the uniform raising of the rate by 20 per cent would create inequality as well as hardship." But, according to him, "the fact that France is determined to impose new taxes will create a favourable impression in foreign countries." In Gide's analysis the fall of the franc was not to be explained by the financial and fiscal conditions of France, but by international politics. "The franc can improve," says he, "only when England, France, Germany and America unite to discuss world politics, i.e. reparation and war-debts on friendly terms."

To a certain extent Gide's idea about the "favourable impression" created abroad by Poincaré's financial reform has been verified. For, an Anglo-American loan under the leadership of the Morgan Bank of New York

has since then come to the rescue of the franc. But all the same the franc continues to oscillate between 80 and 90 to the £.

#### THE RUHR WAR IN GERMANY.

In Poincaré's interpretation of Versailles the reparations could be extorted from Germany by "sanctions", i.e. the force of arms. Hence the Franco-Belgian occupation of the Ruhr.

The Ruhr-War has meant good business for Great Britain. The coal market became brisk and the unemployment question was partially solved. It compelled also readjustments in the world-trade in ores, machineries and chemicals. India, for instance, is not unaware how the closing of the Rhine-Ruhr has affected the "direction" of her imports and exports. But let us watch the developments in Germany.

The occupation of the Ruhr Valley by the Entente (January, 1923) as well as the "passive resistance" of the German people, practically brought the local industries to a standstill. But the men, women and children of the territory had to be maintained with bread and butter. The financing was undertaken by the German Government.

While Ruhr was not in a position to export any manufactures, its demand for imports from unoccupied Germany or abroad remained constant, especially in the line of food products. It is just these goods that Germany has to buy in foreign countries, i.e., for which Germany needs foreign money. The passive resistance campaign contributed, therefore, to the most persistent demand for foreign currency on the part of German banks and business houses. The fall of the mark has thus ultimately to be traced in huge proportions to the economics of the Ruhr-war.

The deep fall of the mark (in September, 1923, one English pound was equivalent to 200,000,000 paper marks) was then caused by the attempts on the part of industry as well as of the people to provide themselves with foreign monies. But it automatically brought higher prices in its train and as a consequence also higher wages. The working capital of the factories and workshops found itself incapable of coping with the situation engendered by the sudden heightening of the demands from the side of the workers.

Nor was credit forthcoming to help forward the industries, especially since the Reichsbank considered it prudent to minimize

the advances as much as possible. To this have to be added the high taxes on industry.

#### ECONOMIC AFTERMATH OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

The result was diminution in production all along the line. In any case German production reached a stage at which goods could be delivered at prices, which, according to the Bulletin published by the ministry of commerce, were in certain instances as high as and in others higher than world-market prices.

The economic consequences of the occupation of the Ruhr and of the virtual cutting off the Rhine-Ruhr from the mainland of Germany, began to make themselves felt in the summer of 1923. In August and September, the official reports from the chambers of commerce in every part of Germany were stories of factories closing down or working short hours and of workers thrown out of employment.

On October 1, the volume of unemployment in Germany was officially declared to be 298,844. On the 15th it was registered at 376,491. By the end of November there were a million and a half unemployed in unoccupied Germany. Last February the figure rose to just the double. The present figures are almost reaching the post-war depression figures of the United States. The unemployed receive financial support from the Government.

#### FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION.

Unemployment is one side of the German economic life as affected by the failure of the passive resistance (September), registering as it did another crushing national defeat of Germany at the hands of the Allies. The other side of the shield is represented by the financial muddle and the efforts at reconstruction which have been in evidence in Germany since last autumn.

On November 15, the German Government has established a new bank, known as the *Rentenbank*, as a temporary measure in order to solve the currency crisis. A new money, the *Rentenmark*, has been issued by this bank. Its stability is assured by the values existing in Germany under the two main divisions of "gold" loans. One of these is based on the entire German landed estates. The other loan is covered by the properties of the industries, commercial corporations and banks.

Just at present there are two sorts of *Wertbeständiges Geld* (stable money) in Germany. One is the *Rentenmark* described

above. The other is the *Dollarschatzanweisung* (the Dollar treasure bill). "German dollars" in denominations of 1/4, 1/2, 1, 2, 5, units have been issued by the government on the strength of the loan in American dollars raised in Germany towards the beginning of 1923.

By issuing these two monies as medium of circulation the German Government has been able to withdraw a large amount of paper money. But since the amount of these "gold" monies is not large enough, the papermark continues still to be *legal tender*, i. e. it must be accepted by everybody in economic transactions. The values of the Rentenmark and the German dollar in terms of the paper-mark fluctuate in exactly the same proportion as the foreign monies.

At Hamburg as well as at Kiel gold-giro-banks have been established. They issue notes on the strength of their deposits in foreign money. These notes, says the *Berliner*

*Tageblatt*, constitute "gold" currency and promise to be the fore-runners of the gold mark which the *Reichsbank* of Berlin expects to put in circulation for entire Germany in the near future.

These transitional stages have prepared the ground to a substantial extent. In spite of the opposition of the "nationalists" the German government has considered it prudent to accept the conditions of the Entente in regard to the establishment of a gold-bank which is to function for all Germany.

The first fruits of the ministerial changes in Great Britain, Germany and France are thus going to embody themselves, among other things, in a co-operation of Germany with the Entente in matters financial. The Ramsay MacDonald-Marx-Herriot measures in contemplation during the present summer may at last be said to contain within them the germs of a more or less stable settlement of the economics of reparations.

## POST-WAR REFORMS AND EDUCATION\*

BY V. V. OAK.

### PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY AND IMPERIAL FINANCE

THE whole system of financial arrangement existing between the Imperial Government and the provincial governments has been overhauled since the introduction of the "Reforms." The item of "divided revenue" has been abandoned. Revenue from land, judicial stamps, excise, irrigation, etc., has been handed over completely to the provinces, while those from post, income tax, opium, salt, railways, etc., have been retained by the Imperial Government (Government of India). Provinces have been given limited powers of taxation and borrowing. In short Provincial autonomy has been granted to India, in a more or less degree, and the provinces need no longer depend upon the Central (Imperial) Government for means of provincial development. This new arrange-

ment, however, makes the Imperial Government to face a deficit in its budget which is met by fixed contributions from the provinces.

### EDUCATION, A "TRANSFERRED SUBJECT"

Of the subjects handed over to provinces known as provincial subjects, a few have been handed over to Indian ministers *nominated* from the enlarged legislative councils having popular representation based on a narrow franchise. These subjects, which include education, sanitation, medical relief, etc., are known as 'transferred subjects.' The remaining subjects, such as police, justice, etc., are known as 'reserved subjects.' All this would lead us to believe that the reforms introduced in India are a substantial step towards the introduction of responsible government. But, a careful examination, however, would reveal the fact that what is given by one hand has been taken by the other.

\* It is intended to give here an account of the Reforms and their practical effects on education.



### DIVISION OF FUNDS BETWEEN "TRANSFERRED AND RESERVED SUBJECTS"

It is the method of division of funds between the transferred and the reserved subjects that has taken away all the benefits of the reforms. The order in which provincial funds are to be distributed is: first, the contribution towards the expense of the Imperial Government; next, the amount needed for the reserved subjects; and finally the need of the transferred subjects. These transferred subjects, which will be constantly expanding, are provided for the last. Naturally the deficit, if any, will be charged to the transferred subjects and the odium of additional taxation over the already over-burdened poor people would be shifted to the Indian Ministers in charge of the transferred subjects. Add to it the fact that the provincial legislative Councils have only limited power of taxation.

### BUDGET FRAMED BY THE EXECUTIVE

As the budget is to be framed by the Executive Government as a whole, the Indian Ministers have an opportunity to take some part in the deliberations. But owing to their minority they cannot do anything in the matter. The budget is then placed before the provincial councils for discussion and for taking votes upon resolutions for allotments. "*But neither in this case nor in the case of the Government of India does the legislature acquire power under the Reforms to vote upon and pass or reject the budget\**" The executive government is not bound to carry out the wishes of the legislature, except in the case of transferred subjects.

### PATRONIZE LIQUOR IF YOU WANT MORE EDUCATION

Education being a transferred subject, let us see how its position is affected by the above system of distributing funds. Even though, as I have said above, the Ministers wish to go ahead, they cannot do so unless they are willing to propose additional taxation, which is almost impossible. All the imaginable sources of revenue have been tapped already. If there be some few left they ought to be such as not to interfere with the Imperial needs of taxation. The ridiculous position into which the benign Government has put the poor Ministers by handing over to them

revenue from excise for meeting their educational expenditure only increases this difficulty—"Patronise liquor if you want more funds for education" is the essence of Government's action. Under the circumstances, it will not be possible to enhance educational activities even though this question is handed over entirely to provincial councils and their *nominated* Indian Ministers.

### THE SO-CALLED COMPULSORY EDUCATION ACT

During 1918 and the following years, certain provincial legislatures had approved legislation in the matter of primary education, by which the municipalities have been empowered to enforce compulsion. A few municipalities took advantage of this measure, but on the whole it proved a failure. The reformed councils of 1920-21 took up the matter again, and in some provinces, legislative measures for compulsory primary education have been passed. But the glaring defect in them is that the Government beyond promising to pay a certain percentage of the cost does not bind itself to introduce the scheme, but leaves the local authorities (municipalities or local boards) to do so if they *choose*. Writing about this measure in the presidency of Bombay, the *Bombay Chronicle* made the following appropriate remarks: "The public on a careful examination of the provisions of the Bill, will realise that the Government have nowhere laid down that the program of compulsory education will be completed in the next ten years." The people have no faith in mere promises and sympathetic resolutions, because, the Government has been profuse in them, without any intentions to fulfil them. The present type of compulsory education bill passed in many provinces is a misnomer, and has the same defect which former legislation giving power to local bodies to enforce legislation had. The only change in that has been about meeting the cost of education. Time alone will prove conclusively the futility or otherwise of the Reforms but if one is to interpret events in the light of Indian history of the last 50 years there is only one answer. Four years have passed since the introduction of the Reforms and yet we are in no way better off than we ever were before. This is especially true when we remember the fact that during the same time the rest of the world has advanced at a tremendous rate in comparison with ours.

\* Sixty Years of Indian Finance—K. T. Shaha.

# INDIANS AND ANGLO-INDIANS: AS PORTRAYED TO BRITONS BY BRITISH NOVELISTS.

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

## I

IT is, of course, impossible for any one but the author of a play or a novel to say whether he or she wove a plot for the mere pleasure of telling a tale or for propagating pet ideas and theories. Few writers are swayed entirely by the purely artistic impulse. Few can resist the temptation to "propagand"—especially in this age of propaganda.

A play or a novel is generally read for pastime after the work of the day is over or when one is having a holiday. The mind, at such a time, is either tired or unwilling to function with all its strength. Reason, in other words, is more or less in abeyance, and impressions are more likely to be received without being challenged, or at any rate without being challenged to any extent.

A person who is capable of writing a play or a novel knows enough of human psychology to realise these facts. Hence the stream of propaganda plays and novels is swelling.

That is particularly the case in regard to books relating to India. More and more writers are taking to working up their Indian materials into plays and novels. During the last few weeks I have read several, three of which really deserve notice, namely:—

*The Green Goddess.* By Louise Jordan Milne. (Hodder and Stoughton, London) 7s. 6d. net.

*Expectancy.* By John Eyton (Arrowsmith, London.) 7s. 6d. net. And

*A Passage to India.* By E. M. Forster (Edwin Arnold & Co., 41 & 43 Maddox St., London, W. 1.) 7s. 6d. net.

All these books are by British authors who are more or less well-known. Each of them is well worth reading, as fiction. They, moreover, contain British ideas of their own kinsmen in India and of us Indians and, therefore, we need to examine their contents if for no other purpose than to see what their authors have to say about India and Anglo-India.

## II

*The Green Goddess* is based on a play of the same name by William Archer, who it will be remembered, wrote, some years ago, a book in which he sought to prove that India had never succeeded in evolving a civilisation—that the culture of which she boasted was at best only "splendid barbarism". In the play, which I saw some time ago at St. James' Theatre in London he has tried to amuse his people by presenting to them a caricature of a Western educated Raja—a "Cambridge Indian".

Louise Jordan Milne has developed the plot at much greater length than did the playwright, for she did not labour under the limitations imposed by the theatre upon Mr. Archer, who was compelled to keep down the dialogue so that it could be rendered in about two hours and a half. The novelist is a gifted person who brings to her task skill gained from considerable experience, for this is the fourth book which she has made out of a play.

The only Indian who counts in the plot—whether he is the hero or the villain I shall leave the reader to judge—is a young Raja whose State—Rukh—is situated somewhere on the Indian frontier, just where, neither the playwright nor the novelist tells us in geographic detail. "Cosmo Hamil-on"—a friend and admirer of Mr. William Archer and of George Arliss, who acted in the title-role in the United States as well as in England,—has, however, just published a volume of reminiscences in which occurs this tell-tale passage:

"William Archer suddenly took it into his head to prove his infallibility by writing a play himself, which, oddly and wonderfully enough, is a most remarkable success... exciting, dramatic, having an original idea and a finely drawn leading part which is played by George Arliss in his most suave and subtle manner.

"When after seeing *The Green Goddess* in New York, where it was beautifully produced by Winthrop Ames, I went round to congratulate Arliss on its performance, I found that he had fitted up his rooms behind the stage, like those of a rajah, so

that he might get into the proper Indian mood while dressing to go on. He does not carry his artistic thoroughness so far as actually to color himself all over every night; but, metaphorically, he is as thoroughly and completely Eastern as Kooch Behar during every performance, and even his wife must find it difficult to recognise in him the gentle, cultivated, charming Englishman that he really is."

Whether or not the suggestion respecting the Rajah's identity which this writer so cleverly conveys is based upon fact, I have no means of verifying. Whether a caricature of a real personality or a purely fictitious figure, the Raja of Rukh is made out to be a man without conscience. To show, how thin is the veneer of Western civilisation acquired at Cambridge, which covers a festering soul, the following plot is woven.

Upon Rukh descend two Englishmen and an English woman in an aeroplane crash. They find the Raja dignified but not ridiculous "for all his satins and silks and glut of hanging jewels," standing "in front of his temple where the goat's heads still dripped sacrificial red and his people about him." He talked as calmly about sacrificing "white goats" to the Goddess as if he had been discussing the weather in England.

The Englishmen were surprised to find that "his unexpected barbarian" read the *Statesman* and the *Pioneer* and spoke perfect English. He had taken "a pretty good degree at Cambridge, in Moral and Political Science."

The Raja's stay at Cambridge had not, however, been altogether pleasant. Though rich and brilliant, he was there "on tolerance, and that had been torment." And yet, he was sometimes "more than half home-sick for the old v'arsity—its life, its human give and take, the town at its ever-ribboned feet." He prided himself upon the fact that "Europe had made a superficial but accomplished cosmopolitan of him—he knew that at core he was all Oriental still." But the

"West had infused itself with him more than he dreamed. Cambridge had made something of a half-caste of the high-born, absolute ruler of Rukh, an intellectual half-caste. He had studied a few Western masters profoundly, he had dabbled, and still dabbled, in abominably many. But your true cosmopolitan is born, not made. He is very rare. Europe had given Rukh's Raja Gogol and Herbert Spencer, Byron and Aristotle, Goethe and Ben Jonson and Macaulay, the philosophies of Greece and England, the cultures of France and Spain, the flairs of Mayfair and Rome, but it had taken away more than it had given, had cramped even more than it had developed."

The Raja had "come to believe that the Superman would be "generated from some

high fusion of the East and the West." And "since he himself could not be world-eminent as the first Superman, he was keenly minded to beget him." The thought "set all his sensitive nerves dancing to delicate music."

This belief added zest to the passion the Raja instantly conceived for the English woman who had fallen down from the skies. Aided and abetted by an English valet and Major-domo who was completely in his power, he killed her husband (not that he was much of a loss, either to his wife, or to the Indian army or to the Empire), and delivered the woman and her lover—a doctor in the Indian Medical Service—to the tender mercies of the fanatical priests, who proposed to cut off their heads and throw their bodies to be trampled by elephants, in retaliation for the killing of three of his brothers by the British Administrators of India for sedition. At the last moment he proposed to spare the lover if the woman would give herself to him. Before she had time to announce her decision an insignificant looking representative of the British Empire descended from on high in an aeroplane and single-handed rescued the prisoners from their desperate peril.

Not a picture which will raise a Western-educated Indian in the estimation of a Western reader or promote the brotherhood of man!

### III

In *Expectancy* a young Indian enters the story to serve as a villain. He is an agitator from the Punjab—"fellow named Gopi Nath"—

"Government had him safely locked up after the Lahore Business. What must they do but let him go. Amnesty for political prisoners, you know."

After his release he goes to "Shahgarh" (in the Himalayas) and begins working on the gullibility of the hillmen employed as coolies on an estate belonging to an Englishman who has married an Australian.

The owner of the estate is furious. "This is only one phase of the process of signing away India," he declared, and continued:

"This is the freedom of speech' phase. We're not supposed to know what's good for our own coolies. The agitators must have their say, though. On no account must *their* liberty be interfered with."

"Oh, no... mustn't on any account restrict the liberty of a subject—even if he does happen to be poisoning your labour and squeezing you out of the country by inches. India's finding herself. Coolies are being taught to think!"



Then follows a description showing how easy it is for the Englishman who understands the "natives" to deal with them. The estate owner got word that Gopi Nath had arrived from Almora and was planning to hold a mass meeting in the coolie lines. He lost no time in reaching the spot—about half-a-mile down the road. He found the coolies collected there—fifty or so of them—"squat, stalwart hill-men with scarred faces and dingy loin-clothes." Some of them salaamed him in a shamefaced sort of way. He went straight up to the agitator, who scratched his large, unshaven jaw. Though the Indian was standing on a platform quite three feet above the Englishman, the latter, of course, "looked the bigger man. And he kept quite still—hands in pockets, chin stuck out." Surely the coolies "had the sense to know the better man." Gopi Nath's eyes dropped. He fidgetted with the paper in his hands when the Englishman ordered him off the premises, threatening to kick him off if he did not go of his own accord, and smiled insolently, (for the benefit of the coolies). Then the "Sahib" took a step towards the platform and, with watch in hand, gave him just one minute to clear out:

"For perhaps a quarter of that minute not a soul moved. Then the champion of the oppressed got down from the platform, and pushed his way through the coolies. After about ten yards his gait miraculously altered from a slink to a strut as a few hangers-on joined him. After twenty yards he looked back over his shoulder and spat."

This sort of twaddle pleases the British public, into whose ears for generations has been dinned the slogan: "bully the 'native' and crumple up his opposition."

Though in this respect quite old-fashioned the author of *Expectancy* has at least one new suggestion to make to his people. He calls their attention to the hills where Britons can settle down, not as mere birds of passage, but permanently, because the climate permits them to rear their children there, and they can derive a comfortable income by growing fruit and making it into jam, and engaging in dairying and poultry raising.

How far the British people will utilise this suggestion remains to be seen. The author has done his bit by pointing out the opportunity to his countrymen.

#### IV

The third book, *A passage to India*, is, of an entirely different character. Not that it refrains from showing up the weak traits in the Indian character. On the contrary, it

gives the impression that there is no such thing as an Indian, for the Muslim disdains the Hindu and is in turn hated by the Hindu and Hindus and Muslims alike are slack, prevaricating, not quite honest, unreliable, sexually loose—in a word, inefficient from every point of view. The author is, however, not content with such an expose but mercilessly tears away the gaudy vestments and gewgaws which Anglo-Indians, or "Europeans" as they prefer to call themselves, have draped about themselves and displays a sight which will revolt some persons, shame others and enrage still others.

The scene is laid in a small civil station probably in Behar and Orissa, where the universe revolves round the Collector. His assistant, who is also the City Magistrate, the District Superintendent of Police, and the Civil Surgeon, a Major in the Indian Medical Service, constitute his satellites. The only Briton who does not kow-tow to him, or care to associate much with the others, is the Principal of the Government College.

Into this "little England" enter the City Magistrate's mother and the girl who has come out from "Home" to look him over and decide whether or not she wishes to marry him. They insist upon knowing the "real India", and since the people among whom their lot is cast loathe and despise India and Indians, they have to seek the good offices of the teacher-man, who is the only "European" who associates with the "natives."

The one Indian—the Assistant-Surgeon (Dr Aziz)—with whom these two ladies become really acquainted, is a little later accused by the younger woman of attempted assault. He is promptly locked up by the Collector; the District Superintendent of Police works up a case against him, and denies the Principal of the College, who believes in his innocence, the opportunity to see him, the elder Englishwoman, who also believes him innocent, is packed off lest she may complicate matters for the prosecution. The City Magistrate's fiancée however realises in the middle of the trial, that hysteria had led her to make the charge and withdraws it.

Dr. Aziz has become so embittered by the treatment which he has received at the hands of the British Colony that he resigns his position and takes service under a Hindu Raja. The Englishman in the Educational Service, who had stuck to him during his days of trial even at the expense of ostracism from the Anglo-Indians, pays a visit to that State, accompanied by his wife (who

happens to be a step-sister of the City Magistrate) and her brother. Aziz avoids him because he is an Englishman, and he has had enough of them.

Chance brings them together, however, and an attempt at reconciliation is made but proves useless, because the iron has sunk too deep into the Muslim doctor's soul, while the Englishman, now an Inspector, has himself become an Anglo-Indian.

The plot, though quite thin, has enabled the author to accomplish two purposes. It has first of all given him the opportunity to show how the British in India despise and ostracise Indians, while on their part the Indians mistrust and misjudge the British and how the gulf between the two is widening and becoming unbridgeable. It has further given him a chance to demonstrate the utter hopelessness of expecting any improvement from the efforts of Englishmen of superior education who arrive in India at a mature age, because they can resist the bacillus of Anglo-Indianitis only for a time, and even then not completely, and in the end fall victim to it.

The author's pictures are faithful and vivid. That is particularly the case in regard to the Anglo-Indian characters he has created.

In making that remark, I do not mean to suggest that the Hindus and Muslims depicted by Mr. Forster are not faithfully sketched. On the contrary, there are unquestionably young Muslims in India like Dr. Aziz who, despite the advantages of education they have enjoyed, look down upon Hindus and belittle their culture, and fall below even a reasonable standard of truthfulness and efficiency. There also are Hindus like Professor Godbole and Dr. Panna Lal, who return the compliment to men like Aziz and are not his superior either in respect of truthfulness or efficiency.

There are, however, Indians who are neither full of religious prejudices nor the footling muddlers that Mr. Forster has painted. Perhaps his limited opportunities did not permit him to come in contact with them, or possibly the plan of his book did not permit him to introduce them into it. Unfortunately, however, the British reader, as a rule, is so ignorant of India of our day that he is likely to take Aziz and the others as typical of all modern Indians, and, therefore, become confirmed in his prejudices. Such as the notion that India is a congeries of clashing races and creeds, that the Indian standard of morality is low, that Indians cannot dispense with the British crutches, and the like.

Any harm, which the book may do to the Indian cause by laying such emphasis upon our shortcomings will, however, be more than counterbalanced by the good that may result through the expose of Anglo-India by an Englishman who has evidently taken the trouble to study it and who possesses the moral courage to tear from it all the sham trappings which a spirit of self-adulation had wrapped round a hideous skeleton.

The head of the district is described as a man who "knew something to the discredit of nearly every one of his (Indian) guests at the bridge party" (not the game "but a party to bridge the gulf between the East and the West"), and was consequently perfunctory. "When they had not cheated, it was *bhag*, women, or worse, and even the desirables wanted to get something out of him". He had had twenty-five years' experience in India and had "never known anything but disaster result when English people and Indians attempt to be intimate socially. Intercourse, yes. Courtesy, by all means. Intimacy—never, never." The whole weight of his authority was against it. "When he saw the coolie asleep in the ditches or the shopkeepers rising to salute him on their little platforms, he said to himself, 'You shall pay for this. you shall squeal.'" "He longed for the good old days when an Englishman could satisfy his own honour and no questions asked afterwards." As it is, not only the Indians, but "the Government of India itself also watches—and behind it is that caucus of cranks and cravens, the British Parliament." In India "the Turtons (the Collector and his wife) were little gods; soon they would retire to some suburban villa, and die exiled from glory."

The City Magistrate is made out to be a man who lives up to the principle that the British are not in India for the purpose of behaving pleasantly. They are there "to do justice and keep the peace." "Here we are, and we're going to stop, and the country's got to put up with us," he declared. He was out in India "to work, mind, to hold this wretched country by force." He was "not a missionary or a Labour Member or a vague sentimental sympathetic literary man..... Just a servant of the Government." The British, he said, were "not pleasant in India" and do not "intend to be pleasant." His task was a difficult one. "Every day he worked hard in the court trying to decide which of two secretive accounts was the less untrue, trying to dispense justice fearlessly, to protect the weak against the less weak, the incoherent

against the plausible, surrounded by lies and flattery. That morning he had convicted a railway clerk of over-charging pilgrims for their tickets, and a Pathan of attempted rape. He expected no gratitude, no recognition for this, and both the clerk and Pathan might appeal, bribe their witnesses more effectually in the interval, and get their sentences reversed." When the day's work was over, he wanted to play tennis with his own kind or rest his legs upon a long chair. He frankly did not like the "natives". Soon after he came out, he had asked one of the Pleaders to have a cigarette with him. He found afterwards that he had sent touts all over the bazaar to announce the fact—had told all the litigants that Vakil Mahmoud Ali was "in with the City Magistrate". And he believed that "whether the native swaggers or cringes, there's always something behind every remark he makes—if nothing else, he's trying to .....score." He did not consider it worth while to conciliate the educated Indians. They would be no good to the British in case of a row, and so did not matter."

The District Superintendent of Police was the most reflective and best educated of the officials in the place. Himself born at Karachi, his theory was that "all natives are criminals at heart, for the simple reason that they live south of latitude 30," and that "when an Indian goes bad, he not only goes very bad, but very queer." His attitude was, "Everyone knows the man's guilty, and I am obliged to say so in public before he goes to the Andamans." And in the end he, a married man, was caught in a lady's bedroom and divorced by his wife—and probably "blamed it to the Indian climate." According to him, there was nothing in India but the weather—it was the Alpha and Omega of everything.

The Civil Surgeon, a Major in the Indian Medical Service, was full of the "details of operations which he poured into the shrinking ears of his friends. The boredom of regime and hygiene repelled him." He was not well disposed towards his Indian Assistant, considering that he had "no grit, no guts," and was not any better disposed towards him when by operating he saved an English lady's life. It never occurred to him that "the educated Indians visited one another occasionally. He only knew that no one ever told him the truth, although he had been in the country for twenty years." He "put the fear of God into them at the hospital." As he described to his fellow "Euro-

peans" at the club the appearance of the grandson of the leading Indian loyalist:

"His beauty's gone, five upper teeth, two lower and a nostril. . . Old Panna Lal brought him the looking glass yesterday and he blubbered. I laughed; I laughed, I tell you, and so would you: that used to be one of these niggers, I thought, now he's all septic; damn him, blast his soul—er—I believe he was unspeakably immoral—er—. He subsided, nudged in the ribs, but added, 'I wish I'd had the cutting up of my late assistant too; Nothing's too bad for these people.'"

The womenfolk of these persons, as described by Mr. Forster, are a vulgar lot. They were amazed when the heroine and the lady who expected to be her mother-in-law expressed a desire to see Indians. "Wanting to see Indians!" they exclaimed; "Natives! why fancy!" and they explained that "Natives don't respect one any the more after meeting one." The kindest thing one could do to a native was to let him die.

When the Collector gave a "bridge party," his wife refused to "shake hands with any of the men unless it has to be the Nawab Bahadur." She reminded the strangers that they "were superior to every one in India except one or two of the Ranis, and they're on an equality." She "had learnt the lingo, but only to speak to her servants, so she knew none of the polite forms and of the verbs only the imperative mood." She was more distant with Indian ladies who had travelled in Europe and "might apply her own standards to her." She told the men that they were "weak, weak, weak." The Indians ought to be made "to crawl from here to the caves on their hands and knees whenever an English-woman's in sight, they ought not be spoken to, they ought to be spat at, they ought to be ground into the dust, we've been far too kind with our Bridge Parties and the rest." No wonder her husband thought that "After all, it's our women who make everything more difficult out here."

Then there was the wife of the District Superintendent of Police, who, at her husband's bidding, gave purdah parties until she struck; and the lady who was visiting her, who was companion to a Maharani in a remote Native State, who had taken leave "because she felt she deserved it, not because the Maharani said she might go." She burgled the Maharaja's motor car at the junction, as it came back in the train from a Chiefs' Conference at Delhi. "Her Maharaja would be awfully sick, but she didn't mind, he could sack her if he liked." "I don't believe in these people letting you down," she said. "If I didn't



snatch like the Devil, I should be nowhere. He doesn't want the car, silly fool! Surely it is to the credit of his State I should be seen about in it at Chandrapore during my leave. He ought to look at it that way. Anyhow he's got to look at it that way. My Maharani's different. . . my Maharani's a dear. That's her fox-terrier, poor little devil. . . Imagine taking dogs to a Chiefs' Conference! As sensible as taking Chiefs, perhaps, she shrieked with laughter." She it was in whose bedroom the District Superintendent of Police was later caught.

The Anglo-Indians are not used to being talked about in this manner. They will hate Mr. Forster for giving them away.

I wonder if the book will open the eyes of the British people. I see that it is being

widely reviewed in the London and the provincial press, and the critics are writing of it in glowing terms. I have not seen it pointed out anywhere, however, that the author has come to realise that the Anglo-Indians are acting in the manner in which he has described them as acting because they are determined to hang on to India and because they feel that that is the only way they can hang on. The problem, in other words, is not social, but political, and therefore, no end of homilies can have any effect upon improving the manners of the British in India. The political elevation of Indians is the only remedy which can cure them of their habit of looking down upon us—of belittling our past and our capacity—of desiring to keep us at a distance.

## THE PROBLEM OF AGRICULTURAL LABOUR IN INDIA.

BY DR. RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE, M.A., P.R.S., PH.D.

### [THE LOWER ORDERS]

THE economic distribution of wealth is to be judged from the broad division of population into agricultural industrial, economical, professional and other classes. A closer examination would require in the first place the differentiation of industrial workers from agricultural labourers (farm hands etc.) and general low-grade labourers of the miscellaneous and casual type who are on the margin of work and life, and secondly, the isolation of the fixed wage-earners from the rest. It is on the landless classes and the receivers of fixed incomes that the vicissitudes of the times deal their hardest blows.

The professions representing more or less the affluent sections of the community form a microscopic minority. The fixed wage-earners also form a very small section. The unskilled labourers are now seen to increase decade after decade. The following table shows their number in 1911 and in 1921 :—

	1911	1921	variation per cent.
Farm servants and field labourers.	41,246,335	37,924,917	— 8·1
Labourers and workmen unspecified.	8,273,650	19,300,105	+12·4

Hired labourers in India, unlike those on the farms of north and north-west Europe, are not whole-time professional labourers but part-time day labourers. They usually own a little land themselves, and would like more but there is also a growing class of landless labourers whose employment is uncertain.

Every circumstance which has weakened the economic position of the small holder, has increased the supply of agricultural labourers—the loss of common rights in the rural economy, the disuse of collective enterprise, the sub-division of holdings, free mortgaging and transfer of land and the decline of cottage industries. The growth of population in this century has been so great and the holdings have so much been reduced in size that they have often become uneconomical, compelling the peasants to supplement the proceeds of their holdings by outside work, or to sell their lands to middlemen or to more prosperous peasants. It is noteworthy that the populations on the margin of life engaged in occupations that entail heavy physical but little mental energy are endowed with larger families than the higher and the more intellectual sections of society. In a normal decade with no epidemics or other disturbing

factors, such sections of the community may be expected to increase faster than the rest. The last two decades have been unusual, and the mortality which is always the heaviest from these lower orders has been particularly heavy. Mr. S. V. Mukerjee who in his Baroda Census Report discusses this question shows that the number of agricultural labourers has been progressively decreasing since 1901; but on the other hand, the number of cultivators and receivers of rent from agricultural land (with their dependents) has progressively increased (from 970,675 in 1911 to 1,058,182 in 1921). The Punjab Census Report similarly records an increase of the number of persons living on income from rent of agricultural lands from 626,000 in 1911 to 1,008,000 in 1921. On the other hand, the number of farm servants and field labourers has actually decreased from 1,192,000 in 1911 to 1,134,000 in 1921. In Madras there is a similar tendency throughout the last 20 years for cultivating land-owners and labourers to lose ground to the cultivating tenant and the non-cultivating rent-receiver or rent-payer. Does this imply, asks the Census Superintendent, that the man who farms his own land is being forced to relinquish it to the non-cultivating money-lender from whom he will cultivate as a tenant? In the United Provinces, the number of ordinary cultivators has increased from 28,712,015 to 29,843,168. On the other hand, the number of farm servants and field labourers has decreased from 4,552,043 in 1911 to 4,035,887 in 1921, the decrease being 11.3 per cent. In Bengal also the number of ordinary cultivators has increased from 29,748,666 to 30,547,557, and the number of farm servants and field labourers has diminished from 3,660,000 to 1,805,502, the decrease being 50 per cent.

It is doubtful whether this increase in the number of cultivating owners is an un-mixed good. Where the agricultural labourer as a result of the rise in prosperity sets up as a peasant proprietor, we may hope he turns his land and his own life to good account with the magic of property around him. But he is mostly without staying power and his holding is more often than not too small to be economic. By a selective process the superior cultivator is driving the more thriftless of his brethren to the marginal areas. Thus the extension of cultivation results, if at all, in a gradually diminishing return to an increasing amount of labour and expense. It is noteworthy that the figures of the transfer

of land by agriculturists to non-agriculturists show that the tendency of the latter to take possession of the agriculturist's land is to a certain extent increasing synchronously with the tendency to rent the land rather than cultivate through hired labour. In Bengal ordinary cultivators number 9,274,927, workers and the farm servants and field labourers number 1,805,502. There is thus only one hired labourer on the land to every five who cultivate land of their own. In Dacca and Chittagong divisions, there is only one hired labourer to eight ordinary cultivators. In the United Provinces there are 16,092,000 cultivators (workers) while the farmers and field labourers total, 4,035,887. Here there is only one hired labourer to every four cultivators (workers). In England and Wales there are by contrast, well over 3 hired labourers to every farmer. It may be said generally that the holdings in the United Provinces, Behar and Bengal are so small that the cultivation of them is hardly ever too much for their owners themselves to accomplish unaided.

#### THE UNECONOMICAL HOLDING

And in fact the greater the pressure of the agricultural population on the soil and the more uneconomical in size the holding becomes as a result of minute sub-division, the less will be the tendency to employ hired labourers in the fields, who will have to seek employment in the rural tracts as earth-workers and road-menders or migrate to industrial towns and plantations. At present the conditions of the casual agricultural labourers are miserable and are being rendered worse on account of the competition amongst them. They vary from practical slavery to comparative independence, but such is the custom of the country that the master nearly always contrives to get his servant into his debt, and thus obtains a powerful hold over him in case he thinks of leaving his service. Sometimes these servants are paid a fixed annual quantity of grain, sometimes all they can claim is a specified share of the yield of their master's land; in other regions these methods are combined. Among many of the depressed castes of south and western India such as the Puleyas, the Holiyas, the Dubas and Kolis, serfdom prevails to a limited extent. Most of these families are serving from several generations practically as bond-slaves to their masters. They received money in advance for their marriage and orally bound themselves to serve till they paid off their debt. They are fed and clothed by

their masters. The first agreement may be for a term of years but this term usually leads up to another and that to a third, till in the end all hope of redeeming the advance is gone. With the increasing pressure on the small holding the economic conditions discourage the employment of inefficient semi-slave or hired labour while the rise of prices increases the cost of maintaining it on the land. Thus in many provinces there is an exodus of agricultural labour from the holdings of cultivating land-owners. There is no doubt that as in many provinces there is very little of cultivable land left unoccupied, the best cultivators will not usually care for it and, as each additional area is leased for cultivation, there being less and less demand for agriculturists, more and more of these landless labourers drift in to take it up, others drift to the mines, factories or plantations in the country or go abroad. In some provinces, however, agricultural labour is starving and agriculturists feel bitterly their want for the field labour and apprehend a fall in the value of land in consequence of a demand for the same. This has been felt, *e. g.*, in some parts of Madras and Bombay. In Madras in particular the immigration to Burma, Ceylon or the Straits from the East Coast has long been a source of the depression of agricultural labour. Thus the peasant proprietor in different parts of India is encountering contrasted conditions of the supply and demand of field labour. On account of the sub-division of land and an ever-increasing pressure on his meagre resources, cultivation cannot be efficient and economical in many parts of the country by the employment of the present quota of hired labourers. On the other hand, in other parts, land cannot be efficiently cultivated on account of the scarcity of agricultural labour due to the diversion from the original pursuits by absorption in factories, mines and plantations or by emigration. Thus both in India and Japan we are already witnessing the transition phenomena of a change from the regime of intense devotion of national energies to agriculture to a period, in which the people driven by their misfortune from their passionate attachment to the soil, will strive to seek more and more in a varied industrial life the requisite relief for the pressure of an increasing population on their means of subsistence. In the co-operative movement, however, there is the hope that agriculturists will find the ready capital and organisation, which will increase their net profits. Both agricultural co-operation

as well as the use of labour-saving appliances of scientific agriculture will be rendered inevitable in India in the coming decades when the employer of general labour will be able to offer to the increasing classes of landless labourers more attractive wages than what the farms can offer.

#### [ THE RENT-RECEIVING CLASS ]

If the economy of the small holding be not revolutionised in India, and the cultivators do not break down their many prejudices and false pride which prevent them from turning to many remunerative forms of labour, land will pass more and more to the hands of the non-cultivating, rent-receiving and middleman class while an increasing class of field-labourers recruited from an inefficient and impoverished peasantry which works on meagre resources will cease to be supported by agriculture. An agricultural situation similar to this has arisen in Japan, where in spite of her most remarkable advances in scientific agriculture, the distribution of agricultural interest is fraught with grave social perils. Of the 5,500,000 households engaged in agriculture, 31 per cent. cultivate their own land only. The remainder nearly 70 per cent. are dependent to some extent on rented land. Of this 70 per cent., 30 per cent. are pure tenants, owning no land at all. The remaining 40 per cent. combine tenantry with the cultivation of some land of their own. The number of owners who possess less than one and a quarter acres is just a little larger than the number of farmers who cultivate their own and some tenanted land. This causes the suspicion that a very large proportion own very little land. The actual farming population is being more and more divorced from ownership in the land it cultivates. Those families which own all the land they work are becoming not only fewer in proportion to the whole, but fewer absolutely. In the last 10 years there has been a loss of 100,000. Correspondingly there has been a marked increase in the proportionate and absolute number of those dependent entirely, and those dependent partially, upon rented land. Thus the entire increase in agricultural households is an increase in tenants or partial tenants. And besides this, 100,000 who owned the land they cultivated have become tenants. Thus the condition of the majority of the farming population, represented by the tenants and smallest owners is miserable.\*

\* Buchanan, *The Rural Economy of Japan*, in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, August, 1923.



### THE REGULATION OF AGRICULTURAL LABOUR CONDITIONS ]

A relief to the surplus of agricultural labour is found in emigration. And, indeed, annual migrations of agricultural labourers from one district of a province to another and from one province to another have been going on for a long time. Thus in the United Provinces, there is seasonal migration from the Terai to the rice-fields of the plains, in Bengal towards the north-east. There is also the continuous exodus of unskilled labourers to the towns, mines and industrial centres which offer an expanding field of domestic service and industrial employment. Further, there is an overseas emigration of peasants who find market for their labour in the mines, plantations and industries of the lands of their settlement. The Indian emigration overseas has been subjected to a restrictive policy in recent years. In those regions where the number of day-labourers exceeds the demands of industrial employment on an adequate remuneration, the problem of an agricultural proletariat becomes acute. This has been the case to a certain extent of the Punjab, the United Provinces, Bihar and Bengal, which therefore resemble the non-industrial countries like Italy, Spain, Hungary and other parts of Central Europe in which there is a surplus of agricultural labour which cannot find adequate employment. Great Britain and Germany on the other hand have developed an industrialised farming and the amount of labour engaged in it is considerable; while in France, in spite of the pulverisation of holdings which has given rise to the great and unsatisfied need for the re-stripping of holdings, the mortality of the war has combined with the rural exodus to make a plenty of available land and a dearth of agricultural labour. The problem in Continental Europe has already been tackled by legislation, but this presents numerous difficulties. Schemes of insurance against agricultural unemployment in Europe do exist, but only in a few countries of Northern Europe, not where they are most needed. Again, the statutory regulation of hours of labour would seem purely to depend on the question whether a capitalised system of agriculture has given rise to a class of land workers who have succeeded in attaining some degree of organisation among themselves, as, for instance, in Germany, Spain, Czecho-Slovakia, and north Italy (only in the rice-fields); but such regulation is often wholly lacking just where it

seems most required, or yet again, protection by insurance against accident is apparently a benefit enjoyed most securely by those agricultural workers who happen to live in an industrialised country; the advantages of the industrial system have been extended to such agricultural workers, while in a non-industrialised country they may have to go without them. In India the question whether or how hours of agricultural labour might be fixed has now been raised. In Europe, in the northern countries where arable farming is associated with stock-raising and there is distribution of employment over the whole year for a permanent staff, it has been found practicable to limit hours of employment. Such a uniform system is not true of Indian farming, where the hours of labour are unequally distributed between different seasons and where both in the sowing season and during the harvests labourers must work long on account of the nature of their work and the special difficulties of Indian agriculture. Yet there cannot be any doubt that the casual hired labourer is made to work for very long hours under most trying conditions and has no organisation like the English Agricultural Labourer's Union and the Agriculture Section of the Worker's Union which have met with striking success in securing better terms for hired labourers.

### [ LAND ADJUSTMENT IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE ]

Another device which is common to most European countries for the establishing or improvement of agricultural labour conditions in Europe is land settlement. The end of the big land holdings came quickly, rudely and without system in Russia. With the outbreak of revolution the peasants simply seized the land, appropriated the neighbouring estates and divided them among landless and landholding peasants according to the will of the Soviet or perhaps in certain cases according to the right of strength. They did not wait for formal methods, for laws and decrees and officials from Moscow. The question of compensation to the owners was not raised. The Central Bolshevik Government at Moscow had the theory that the big estates should be made into communal farms, but the peasants did not fall in with that way of thinking. A limited number of communal farms were put in operation, but their efficiency proved very low and many of them have since ceased to operate. The general upheaval may ultimately result in a thorough-going

regrouping of the land holdings such that each peasant will get his land in a single piece. Comparatively little has thus far been done in this direction since the Revolution.\* In Germany an owner's property in excess of 247 acres has become liable to confiscation. In Hungary the Act states that he may retain enough land to enable him to farm on a scale consistent with good agriculture. In Bulgaria he may keep only 75 acres of arable land or 125 acres of forest and pasture land. In Roumania five million acres had been expropriated at the end of 1919 and the large farms between 100 to 500 hectares which cannot be exceeded legally cover only 8 per cent. of the country's territory and they will be capitalised farms which will be models for the peasants. In Poland a law providing in principle for the breaking of the big estates was passed in 1919, and about 1½ million hectares are to be parcelled among the small peasants and the landless men. The maximum area of the peasant holding thus formed or enlarged is placed at 34 acres in Poland; at 21 in Hungary where, however, there are also to be 4 acres labourer's settlements. In Yugo-Slavia the maximum legal area of property varies with districts from 50 to 500 hectares. In Czecho-Slovakia an owner may retain 150 hectares of agricultural land or 250 of land of any sort.† There have thus been sweeping agrarian reforms in Central and Eastern Europe all of which have had the same scope: they have expropriated large land-owners and divided up their estates among peasants and landless men. The maximum area which an individual continues to hold without liability to sequestration, varies. Three principles are recognised: (1) that the expropriated owners have a right to compensation; (2) that the new small holders should pay by easy instalments, at least part of the price of the land they acquire and (3) that the new holdings are to be such as can be farmed by the owner and the members of his family. In Scotland, Acts have been passed protecting tenants who hold no more than 50 acres of land and pay a rent of no more than £50 a year and empowering the Board of Agriculture to constitute new small holdings and enlarge those in being, either in agreement with the landlord, or in execution of a compulsory order of the

Scottish Law Court. Like the Scottish reforms and those made in Continental Europe since 1917, Acts have been passed in Ireland which have made many rack-rented farmers into small owners and, together with the active and efficient co-operative societies, into thriving owners. In the almost purely peasant countries like Scandinavia, Denmark, the Low Countries and Greece, there is no Green Rising because the land is already almost all held up by prosperous small farmers. There is an actual shortage of agricultural labour in Sweden, while in Denmark cultivation is so highly intensive that it absorbs the available supply of labour. It will take a long time to develop scientific agriculture to that extent in India, while the efficiency of village trade unions and success of collective bargaining which have indirectly contributed to good farming and a high rate of agricultural production cannot be expected in India within a few decades. Rural syndicalism has permeated the land-workers in Spain and Italy while the success of agricultural co-operation has given rise to schemes which propose that the land of the country should be nationalised, and that the state cede the usufruct of the land to land-workers' co-operative societies. This will mitigate the evil of bureaucratic control and management of land which is responsible for the failure of agrarian communism in Russia. A co-operative organisation as the Co-operative and the Collectivist Society in Italy which encourages peasant farming by giving expert direction of cultivation, buying and selling has a greater future, because it solves the problem of an inequitable distribution of land resources without minimising individual initiative.

#### [ SOCIAL RISKS ]

As long as there is no radical change in the rural economy of India through land adjustment, agricultural co-operation or scientific farming, the problem of the landless peasants will become more and more acute and there will be a tendency for this class to come in line with the industrial proletariat of the cities. That will portend social upheavals which will be full of grave consequences to the agricultural civilisation of India. In Europe at present there are few countries in which there is no state machinery for providing landless peasants with land. In peasant countries where the services of the hired labourer are normally only wanted for special seasonal work, there is an almost universal tendency for this class to have a small holding on,

\* Durand, *Agriculture in Eastern Europe*, Quarterly Journal of Economics, 1922, pp. 193-94.

† *Vice Manchester Guardian Commercial*, August, 1922 and Irvine. *The Making of Rural Europe*.

which they can fall back. In countries where large numbers of such labourers are also employed by capitalist agriculturists there are similar proposals so that the worker's total resources from land and labour should be such as to make it unnecessary for the whole family to take part in field work and migrate from home for a season for that purpose, so far as possible, such seasonal work should be undertaken by adult males, preferably at an unmarried age. The land hunger is far more acute in India than in the West and this pas-

sion is at the root of most of her rural discontents. Remedial measures will be mere palliatives and nothing will check the tide of agrarian unrest than a forward land policy and a series of measures which will protect the small holder from being weakened in his economic position by all those circumstances that have been associated both in India and in Europe in the 19th century with a change from peasant proprietary to peasant proletariat.

## IS EUROPE CIVILISED?

MR. H. G. WELLS' ARRAIGNMENT OF EUROPEAN CIVILISATION

LOVE STORY AS VEHICLE OF CRITICISM

By ST. NIHAL SING

### I.

THE type of civilisation which has been evolved in Europe—especially in Britain—places so much emphasis upon the acquisition of wealth and power that it practically destroys the sense of self-criticism. The men and women cast in its mould who go out of their own country in quest of money, career, adventure, and that peculiar form of excitement and exaltation which comes from dominating other people, are particularly incapable of looking within themselves, and discovering that something is radically wrong with them and needs to be rooted out of their nature, otherwise they will perish.

The great war released such lust for blood and villainy all over Europe as to jolt the more thoughtful people of the Western world out of their pitiful self-complacency. A few daring men published papers and pamphlets in which they pointed out that Europe had achieved nothing better than a veneer of civilisation barely covering the brute. Held back by the leash of inhibition, the barbarian leaped out at the first opportunity.

Hardly had the Occident come out of its bath of blood when such statements—never very vocal at any rate so far as the general public was concerned—began to be lost in the jabber set up by noisy "statesmen," who told their people that they were ready with their schemes to rebuild their country so that they would be "fit for heroes to live in". But a few months were needed to prove that they were mere charlatans who would say anything that would enable them to catch votes, and who were as completely bankrupt in statesmanship as they were in principles. Their tragic inability to restore order even in the sense in which it existed before the outbreak of hostilities, much less to create anything better, however, did not prevent the self-complacency of Europe from asserting

itself. The Western peoples have indeed gone back with a vengeance to their pre-war occupation of proclaiming their superiority over the non-European.

### II.

Mr. H. G. Wells is one of the few men in Europe who have managed to escape from being sucked into the vortex of this soul-destroying conceit. Knowing that his people would not read his message if he used an essay as the vehicle of criticism, he has created a love story to serve that purpose. "The Dream" as he calls it, has been published by Messrs. Jonathan Cape Ltd., of 11, Gower Street, London, W. C. 1, at 7s. 6d. net. It deserves to be widely read by lovers of fiction as well as thoughtful persons, for both as a novel and critique it is unquestionably a masterpiece.

In writing this book Mr. Wells has projected himself into the world as he fancies it will exist 2,000 years hence. He does not, however, attempt to give us a pen picture of life and institutions as they will exist at that time.

From such glimpses as he provides we learn that in the world to be, human beings will not have undermined their bodies by the manias of so called civilisation, and, therefore, they will not have to carry on their backs a heavy load of clothing to keep them warm; and that there will be "guest houses" in charge of "guest masters," to which they can repair for refreshments and rest. There is a hint that cooking in individual homes, as practised to-day, will be over, and that all such work will be done in communal kitchens. Children will be sent to a "garden" to be prepared for the business of life, where they will be "trained so subtly" that they will hardly know they are being trained. They will be taught "not to be stupidly competitive, to control jealous impulses, to live generously, to honour the young." They will not have so much a moral code as a moral training.



and religion will involve "no strain on reason or instincts."

The author depicts phases of life of our day—or in the words of cinematography, he unwinds the reel backwards and enables us to see things as they are in England to-day, with captions composed by the men and women of to-morrow. In this way he gives us not one, but at least two love stories, with glimpses of others, and also a running criticism of the blindness and futility of what Western Europe calls civilisation.

The principal story is that of the hero of the novel, who, while abiding in the world of our day, was known as Harry Mortimer Smith, but in the world of 2,000 years hence bears the name of Sarnac. The heroine, in her previous incarnation, was given the name of Hetty Marcus, changed it to Mrs. Mortimer Smith, and later still to that of Mrs. Sumner, and is known to the people of twenty centuries hence as Sunray.

Smith is born in a poor home in England, which is supported partly out of the profits from vegetables and fruit stolen by his uncle from the estate on which he is the head gardener, and sold by his father. His sister runs away with a wealthy man who is already unhappily married. He himself has to go to work early in his teens, but studies hard in his leisure and finally gets a job in a publishing house through the kind offices of his sister's paramour. Hetty, whom he marries during the war, is taken advantage of by a soldier named Sumner while her husband is away "somewhere in France." When he finally discovers her single act of infidelity he casts her off and marries again. Hetty walks back into his life and he assists her to get away from Sumner, whom she has wedded and found to be a rotter. The curtain is finally rung down when Sumner, enraged at his inability to discover his wife's whereabouts, shoots Smith, who dies from his wounds.

The whole story is told as if it were a dream which Sarnac relates to his companions of 2,000 years hence after paying a visit to the ruins of a small town and a Railway tunnel which have been discovered by the archaeologists of that age. The tunnel, we are told, had apparently been blocked by explosives, and trainloads of soldiers and refugees had been entombed in it. Later the town itself and all its inhabitants had been destroyed by poison gas which had had a pickling effect, so that many of the bodies had been preserved. Later still a landslide had blocked the valley and banked back the waters so as to submerge the town and cover it with a fine silt and seal up the tunnel completely.

As Sarnac describes his life in the world of to-day, tells of his upbringing at home, his attendance at day school, and church and Sunday school, his life in a lodging house in London, and his experiences in a chemist's shop, in a publishing office and at the war, and as he narrates his own love-making and that of his sisters and brother, the author skilfully finds opportunities to criticise the economic, social, moral, religious, political, and intellectual conditions of our time. As one would have expected, some of the English critics, while highly complimenting Mr. Wells on his achievement as a novelist, criticise him for assuming the role of a prophet—or really a critic. They say that his story would have been better if he had not chosen the particular form of narration he has employed—namely, putting the words in the mouth of a man living 2,000 years hence, with interjections

now and again, from his listeners, to whom he tells his "dream." Some of these critics, are personal friends of mine, for whom I entertain great respect. I, however, differ from them completely in respect of this criticism.

For my part, I am convinced that the role of prophet-critic which the novelist has assumed is eminently suited to him. Such condemnation of modern civilisation as he has introduced into the story has been worked in with an artistry which, even for this great artist, is a high achievement. Never before has propaganda been woven into the strands of a love story with anything like such skill.

### III.

There is hardly a side of Western civilisation which escapes castigation at Mr. Wells' hands. He begins at the very beginning—by attacking the manner in which boys and girls are ushered into the world, the training which they receive in their homes and at school. And the way they are rushed into blind alleys of occupation, set to do work which leads nowhere. With the art of a master he depicts the servility of the common people in Britain and the exploitation of the rich and the poor alike by a few men who possess the cunning to gain control over the organs which manipulate public opinion.

The arraignment though of necessity in the nature of a brief inter-lude, is of a thoroughly uncompromising character. No one can read these pages thoughtfully without realising that the Western peoples, despite their boasts, live in a "disordered age" or the "Age of Confusion" as Wells calls it.

The chief reason why the novelist-prophet condemns this civilisation is because he finds that the human mind of our day is "always complicating and overlaying its ideas, forgetting primary in secondary considerations, substituting repetition and habit for purposive acts, and forgetting and losing its original intentions." The people, instead of living, are only trying to earn a living. Every thing in the world is disorganised—things good, bad, and indifferent just happen. In the "casual, planless, over-populated world" there is no such thing "as security or social justice"—nothing but "universal ramshackle insecurity."

The whole world, indeed, floats "economically upon a cash and credit system that" is "fundamentally fictitious and conventional, there" are "no adequate protections against greedy abuses of those monetary conventions, no watch kept over world-production and world-consumption, no knowledge of the variations of climate year by year, and the fortunes not only of individuals but of states and nations" fluctuate "irrationally and uncontrollably. . . . People" are "born haphazard, gladdened, distressed, glorified or killed haphazard, and no one" is "ready for either their births or their deaths." It is a world in which life is almost as unsafe for men and women as it is for "a field mouse or a midge, which is never safe from one moment to another in a world of cats and owls and swallows and the like." There is "distressful bearing-down to death through want, anxiety, and illness ill-attended and misunderstood." One death devastates a dozen or more lives. A woman in the death of her husband loses not only her lover but also her living.

What is worse still in the world of to-day, squalor and confusion are accepted "as being in the nature of things" instead of men recognising that they are the result of a system of education which

is given to children, and which distorts them mentally.

## IV.

Mr. Wells takes great pains to describe in detail the process by which "children in England" are "mentally distorted." According to him, "teachers and priests and doctors and rulers abound, but guide no one." He tells of "ill-equipped and understaffed schoolhouses" and "underpaid and ill-trained men and women who" do "the first rough popular teaching," who "had to handle enormous classes and" do "most of their teaching by voice and gesture and chalk upon a blackboard." Their equipment consists of "a stock of dirty reading books, bibles, hymn-books, and a lot of slabs of slate in frames" upon which the children write with a slate pencil in order to economise paper—nothing to count with and no geometrical models, and hardly any pictures "except a shiny one of Queen Victoria and a sheet of animals," and very yellow wall-maps of Europe and Asia twenty years out of date." In spite of the strenuous efforts of the teachers, the children learn little and learn it very badly. They were taught "nothing of the beginnings of life and the ends of life, of its endless delights and possibilities." That is left for the church to do.

In the Sunday School myths are taught about creation whereas Lucretius, the "old Roman poet, who lived and died 2,000 years" ago, "gave an account of the universe and of man's beginnings far truer and more intelligible than the old Semitic legends" taught there. The people sit in their pews of a Sunday "in a state of confirming inattention, not really thinking out what they" are "doing feeling rather than knowing significances and with" their "thoughts wandering like water from a leaky vessel." They watch the people about them furtively and are acutely aware that they watch them. They stand up, half kneel, or sit, as the ritual of service requires them to do. Except for the discourse, all the service follows "a prescribed course set out in a prayer-book."

## V.

Social stratifications serve to preserve all sorts of evils. Persons born outside the aristocratic caste are constantly trying to ape their "betters." A delightful picture is drawn of the gardener-uncle of the hero who had selected a notorious artistocrat as his prototype, and "bet heavily in imitation of his model."

The amusements of the rich—horse-racing, gambling at bridge, hunting, or the wholesale massacre of birds, are held up to scorn. They stand "in a line along the edge of a copse, with brow-leaved trees and a faint smell of decay and a touch of autumnal dampness in the air," and shoot "lead pellets at birds." The beaters drive "the pheasants towards them." At certain seasons of the year "the great majority of the gentlemen of England who" are "supposed to be the leaders and intelligence of the land, who" are "understood to guide its destinies and control its future" go "out into the woods or on the moors to massacre birds of various sorts with guns, birds bred specially at great expense for the purpose of this slaughter. These noble sportsmen" are "marshalled by game-keepers; they" stand in rows, the landscape is "animated with the popping of their guns, the highest in the land" participate "gravely in this national function and"

pop with distinction. The men of this class are "in truth at just that level above imbecility when the banging of a gun and the thrill of seeing a bird swirl and drop is inexhaustibly amusing. . . . It is not "mere killing," because in that case these people could" assist "in killing the sheep and oxen and pigs required by the butchers." When the noble Lord is "not killing pheasants or grouse" he shoots "in the south of France at perplexed pigeons with clipped wings just let out of traps. Or he" hunts—"not real animal hunting, not a fair fight with bear or tiger or elephant in a jungle, but the chasing of foxes—small stinking red animals about the size of water-spaniels, which" are "sedulously kept from extinction for this purpose of hunting; they" are "hunted across cultivated land, and the hunters" ride "behind a pack of dogs."

When not hunting his Lordship plays bridge, and goes about from race course to race course, dressed with great care. He dines "with comparative intelligence, erring only a little on the excessive side of the port." He consumes three or four cigars a day. He reads "a newspaper but not a book, being incapable of sustained attention; after dinner" he commonly goes to "a theatre or music hall, where women" can be seen, "more or less undraped."

The women-folk of "these assassins of frightened birds, these supporters of horses and ostlers, these peepers at feminine thighs and shoulder-blades," sympathise "with their gunmanship, call their horses "the dears," cultivate dwarfed and crippled breeds of pet dogs," and yield "the peeps expected of them."

The lower orders admire them greatly and imitate them to the best of their ability. "The tenant farmer, if he" can "not shoot pheasant," shoots rabbits, and if he cannot "bet twenty-pound notes at the fashionable race-meeting at Goodwood," puts "his half crown upon his fancy at the Clifftone races or the Byford Downs—with his hat cocked over one eye as much like Lord Bramble and King Edward as possible."

The poor people like the father and mother of the hero, do not wash "all over." They are "all so unhealthy, they" cannot "stand the least exposure to wet or cold." They bear "children by accident," and live queer lives, "with abnormal, ill-prepared food in a world of unchecked infections." The "very tissues of their bodies" go wrong and break out into the queerest growths—cancers, tumours, and the like. The community is "too under-vitalised to put up a real fight against these miseries." The "priests and journalists and so forth, the common opinion-makers," are "jealous of scientific men." They do "their best to persuade people that there" is "nothing hopeful in scientific research," they do all "they can to discredit its discoveries to ridicule its patient workers and set people against them," their minds have not been "trained to comprehensive thinking. Their thinking" is "all in compartments and patches." They have no "clear, thought out ideas about such things" as love and sex. They have "fears and blank prohibitions and ignorances."

"London." Mr. Wells describes in letters of fires. "Within a radius of fifteen square miles a population of seven and a half million people, are gathered together, people born out of cue time into a world unready for them and born mostly through the sheer ignorance of their progenitors, gathered together into an area of not very attractive clay country by an urgent need to earn a

living"—a "nightmare of multitudes, a suffocating realization of jostling and discomfort and uncleanness and of an unendurable strain on eye and ear and attention."

## VI.

The author is even more critical of the political than of the social and economic institutions of our day. "A formal king, and ignoble nobility and a fraudulently elected gathering of lawyers and financiers and adventurers," he says, sit in the Parliamentary house and take "upon themselves, amidst the general mental obscurity . . . a semblance of wisdom and Empire." Not far from where they sit and legislate stands an obelisk "stolen from Egypt." All the European capitals, he adds, "being as honest as magpies and as original as monkeys, have adorned themselves with obelisks stolen from Egypt."

Mr. Wells traces the transfer of power from "landlords who had ruled the Empire through the House of Lords" to the "new industrialists, men who employed great masses of people for their private gain in the iron and steel industries, cotton and wool, beer and shipping, and from these again to a rather different type who developed advertisement and a political and financial use of newspapers and new methods of finance." He relentlessly exposes the devices employed by the Britons who have made their fortunes in Fleet Street—"men of great thrust and energy" who have created a "roar-

ing factory of hasty printing." The world of to-day, he says, is "choked with printed rubbish just as it" is "choked with human rubbish and a rubbish of furniture and clothing and every sort of rubbish; too much of the inferior grades of everything, and good grades incredibly rare."

The men educated at Oxford and Cambridge,—the men who are supposed to be educated, and from whose ranks the rulers of the British Empire are largely recruited do not escape grilling at Wells' hands. These men, he says, are frauds who cannot teach, cannot write, cannot explain, who are "pompous and patronising and prosy; timid and indistinct in statement, with no sense of the common need or the common quality."

Wells sums up his views of modern civilisation when he says that the proud men and women of our day are "halfway back to crude nature." It is "essentially a world of muddle-headed sophisticated children, blind to the universal catastrophe of the top-heavy and collapsing civilisation in which they play 'their parts.'" It is "a mad world which makes boots at hazard without looking at the feet that" have "to wear them."

I have only tried to give a very rough idea of Mr. Wells' indictment of the ways and institutions of our day. No one who is interested in trying to unravel the tangled threads of life in a world turned topsy-turvy can afford not to read this book, which dissects so many social corpses and lays bare the very skeleton of human society.

# IMPROVISATION AND INITIATION IN MUSIC

By DILIP KUMAR ROY

I PROPOSE to deal now with the question of repetitions in our musical improvisations. For this I could not do better than take into consideration the complaints of laymen against the same and try to examine if there is any validity in their objections. I will place all Europeans, whether *connoisseurs* or not, under the category of laymen, in as much as their music is so different from ours both in outlook and line of development, that an intimate knowledge of the former can stand them in little stead when they take it into their heads to appraise the real merits of our music on the strength of their knowledge of their own art.

Laymen often lay the charge of monotony at the door of our classical improvisations. They find our music pleasing enough up to a point after which it succeeds in affording them but little inspiration. For then they find that our musical phrases tend to repeat

themselves. The result is that the sum total effect falls on them. While admitting the validity of this charge with regard to what so often passes for high-class music, I venture to submit that the same thing can scarcely be said of the really high-class Hindustani music. (Unfortunately for us such music is becoming more and more rare in our country, thanks to our good professionals refusing to teach their art for fear lest they should be excelled by their pupils, as also for other reasons). In such music it will be found that what smacks on the surface of repetitions is not really so at bottom, there being subtle, but real, variations each time a musical phrase is repeated. The difference between a real artist and a so-called *ostad* is, that while the former knows how to make the repetitions subtle in their beauty of form, the latter can but make them hair-splitting that is to say not substantially differ-



ent. The latter thus makes the musical appeal more technical than otherwise, or than is justified. But leaving aside the case of unmitigated repetitions for the present—for subsequent treatment—it must be urged that subtlety is intrinsically a part and parcel of refined music, specially in the Indian conception of refined music. A great deal of the beauty of our refined music depends therefore on the different colourings or suggestions of these very repetitions—that is of course when they are redolent of this subtle suggestiveness, and not marred by the persecution of a lack of imagination as in the case of repetitions with no substantial variety in them. But even in the former case, one must initiate oneself to a certain extent, if not religiously, in order to be able to receive these subtle suggestions.

Now initiation in art has been subjected to a great deal of controversies. Tolstoy was perhaps the most powerful and able advocate of the view that initiation is all myth, as great arts *ought to be* universal in their appeal, inspiring the cultured and uncultured alike. Thus it will be worth while to examine this view at some length. The criterion of art must vary more or less with men of different tastes, but Tolstoy in his criticism or rather condemnation of what we have loved as great art has positively inveighed furiously against it wholesale in his famous book "What is Art?" Choosing to opine that no art is great unless it appeals to all, he had to be driven to repudiate works of artists like Shakespeare, Goethe, Wagner etc., not sparing even his own productions. One can but express a genuine regret at his unqualified iconoclasm. It is however with mixed feelings that one goes through his powerful invectives against the great artists who have always proved in history the guides as well as moulders of our conceptions of art. For while on the one hand his reaction against the superciliousness of the artist who condemns all simplicity enlists our sympathy, we have on the other hand to recognise that this simplification of art without reckoning altogether with the master artists may also be made a fetish of. I will explain what I mean a little more fully. Just as it is obvious that the grammar of a language could not have been composed before the language itself was developed up to a certain point, so, it is idle to start with *a priori* theories as to the requisites of great arts without reckoning with the master-artists. It is the works of the great artists which

should prove the only touch-stones to what constitutes great art as Matthew Arnold so aptly remarked. Now the works of master artists like Shakespeare, Shelley, Beethoven and their kin are *not* found to appeal to all, but only to a certain number of men who have attained at least a certain level of intellectual culture. So it can hardly be argued even with plausibility that such equipment is altogether unnecessary to any true appreciation of great arts, unless one were to throw these artists to the four winds as Tolstoy did.

I may come now to the positive value of initiation in artistic appreciation. I have said that a certain cultural equipment is a necessary condition of any true artistic enjoyment. I am fully aware that this might be stretched to mean, by comparatively little sophistry, that the artist wants to make the appeal of art more or less restricted in its scope. For the artist does sometimes suffer from such loss of perspective with the result that he arrogates to his art a sort of stand-offishness which is regrettable. In deprecating this tendency in art Tolstoy was doubtless in the right. But while admitting that the esoteric claim of art may, like everything else be carried too far (as in fact it has been with respect to our classical music) it must at the same time be urged that, all superior enjoyments presuppose a more or less long-standing familiarity on our part with the things enjoyed. For instance a man, who has not trained himself in philosophical speculations will hardly recognise, far less realise, the truth of such profound statements as: "The true philosophic contemplation, on the contrary, finds its satisfaction in every enlargement of the not-Self, in everything that magnifies the objects contemplated and therefore the subject contemplating."\* So also it would be utterly beyond the comprehension of the man in the street were he to be told that science is of value to mankind not by virtue of its practical utility but by reason of the outlook it engenders, the kernel of which consists in "the refusal to regard our own desires, tastes and interests as affording a key to the world."† It would be difficult to convince such people that there could, after all, be some sense in disinterested culture or impersonal thought in human aspirations. It is only those that have tasted of such joys

\* The Problems of Philosophy. Essay on Value of Philosophy . . . Bertrand Russel

† Mysticism and Logic, Essay on Place of Science in a Liberal Education . . . Bertrand Russel

who know how to appraise their worth in so far as they enable us to rise superior to the ordinary narrow view-point which stands in the way of the emancipation of thought from our mundane cares and preoccupations.

It is just the same with respect to art. One must familiarise oneself to a certain extent with its appeal in order to be able to derive a substantial inspiration therefrom. Ignorance of this condition of all artistic appreciation leads even sensible and otherwise cultured men to sometimes indulge in such unwarranted generalities as: "Art has no language but what is universal" and so forth. While such idealistic theories are undoubtedly true eventually they are true here and now only with large reservations—in the present stage of evolution of our society anyway. I mean that our present society is so full of iniquities, injustices, preventible wastes of human material and so on, that all superior activities whether artistic, scientific or philosophical are within reach of the privileged few alone. The vast majority of mankind enjoys but little opportunities of even knowing what their *raison d'être* may be not to speak of tasting their delectable joys. Consequently sayings like "Art has a universal appeal" and so forth do not seem to hold *here and now* with the mass of mankind which has been given little opportunities hitherto of cultivating the taste for artistic enjoyment. To the uncultured and unthinking man however such platitudes as universality of art and so on appear as obvious truisms, for he finds that the bulk of his kind concurs in responding to what appeals to him. Now it is exactly this wide prevalence of bad tastes (due to ignorance) which, while it makes the philistines agree, is proportionately disconcerting to the thinking and the truth-loving person who cannot but look with regret upon this lack of good taste among the majority of mankind. Consequently while it is easy on the one hand for men of unevolved tastes to be complacently agreed as to the appeal of art and so forth—from the datum of the wide appeal of bad arts—it becomes proportionately difficult for the man of refined tastes not to draw the contrary inference therefrom, namely that of a limited scope of appeal of the higher arts. For when he sees that the mass of mankind undoubtedly delights only in low forms of art such as rag-time music, vulgar dances, stupid pictures execrable novels, cheap sensations—that is, in trash pure and simple of every conceivable sort—how can he help doubting the truth of

such generalities as referred to, to end eventually in despairing of an ultimate solution to such apparent antinomies.

The appeal of the higher arts *cannot* therefore be held to be universal—in the present state of our society anyway. For the great majority of mankind cannot, properly speaking, appreciate the loftier arts so long as it is not allowed opportunities to cultivate the tastes therefor, and our society as it is may be roundly declared to be indifferent—to say the least—to the granting of such opportunities to the masses. The question then naturally presents itself to the disillusioned and pained mind that if it be so, then must art be termed an essentially egoistic or aristocratic activity? As to the former point it may be urged, without exactly venturing into the realm of abstruse philosophy, that though all activities are on the surface egoistic in that they apparently spring from the ego, that circumstance need not necessarily make the activities ego-centric in their nature, if the deeper element of unity in the seemingly different egos in cosmos is once recognised. For after all, do not the touch of the highest arts make men of evolved tastes kin, by sending them into similar ineffable ecstasies? Were it not so, then there would not have been such a general agreement in the world of culture as to the greatness of artists like Shakespeare, Goethe, Raphael, Michael Angelo, Dostoevski, Kalidas etc. Of course, a certain difference of tastes is bound to exist where each of us is subjected to motley forces and influences which are peculiar for each individual. What is so remarkable is not that there should be so much disagreement, in this world of ours of multitudinous forces and impacts, but that there should be so deep a current of unity in spite of them, seeing that each human soul flowers in its own unique way. This fact, serves moreover to give us a glimpse of the millenium when the world would be so infinitely ameliorated by individual as well as collective human efforts at culture and self-expression—that a solution to such seeming anomalies or dualities may not after all be altogether impossible of arriving at.

As for whether great arts must in their very nature be aristocratic—that is meant for the few only—the great likelihood seems to be against this presumption, even though apparently, it is only a handful of men who have enjoyed its benefits from times immemorial. But one realises at once that this is not really an argument as to the intrinsic nature of the arts but as to the drag of inertia



in collective human efforts. In other words, men have, in their ascent from barbarism, had to fight in the teeth of the relentless opposition of Nature, and as such have had perforce to deprive the Majority of leisure in order that a few might utilise the same for the task of developing art, science and thought. As a consequence the majority had to suffer in order that the Divinity of Man in a few might find expression. But later, as now, with the development of labour-saving machines it has become immediately possible for most, if not for all, to cultivate the tastes for art, opportunities for which could be granted of yore only to a handful. What stands to-day in the way of the superior enjoyments of the man in the street is not, as it used to be, an inherent impossibility of affording him such facilities but the callous indifference of the privileged few. Human nature has a natural inclination to resist reforms or changes specially when the latter affect our well-being. Consequently those few who are the holders of power in the world of to-day are averse, due to inertia and callousness, to inviting the destitute to education, culture and superior joys, resulting therefrom since this can be done only by improving their economic condition. Thus if the great arts like superior poetry or higher music is not to-day a source of inspiration to all, it is not the fault of the art itself but that of an ill-ordered society. Hence if great arts are to be made the common property of all, what is necessary is not (as Tolstoy dangerously advocated) a dwarfing of the same for the sake of immediate popular comprehension, but the substitution of a better-ordered society for the present one, thereby granting all what has hitherto been the exclusive privilege of the few. Thus it can be seen on reflection that for the better and wider appreciation of great arts it is not the artist alone who is responsible. Human Society is cosmic in its nature and the work of every member tells. "*Tout se tient.*" Only the artist must remember that while the attendant circumstances may help him only indirectly in affording him a favourable atmosphere for creation, for direct impetus he must turn his eye inward within himself to incarnate what is best in him in his self-expression.

To take up the thread where I left off, it is therefore unquestionably necessary and advisable for the auditor to cultivate his taste for the subtle and the fine in our classical music in order that he may be better enabled to grasp the supreme beauty of its

wonderful suggestiveness. Laymen (like Europeans) may glibly opine that such subtleties sound almost identical to them in repetitions of our classical music, without anybody being the wiser for their offering such views. For they have to be reminded that the power of appreciating the beauty of the subtle and the fine bespeaks no little evolution in the realm of one's aesthetic development. Besides if it is a fact—as it is—that such subtle variations in what are seeming repetitions to them are a source of joy to those who have learnt to love them gradually, then it is by no means an insignificant datum in the artistic experience of mankind. For our conceptions of art grow and crystallize largely by the help and in the light of such very data or experiences and not irrespectively of them. In our classical music specially in its later developments such as Kheyal, Tappa, Thoomri etc., the wonderful scope for subtlety and finesse is a thing to be proud of. For we in India have thus explored depths of beauty in melody, little suspected by Westerners, they having divested the best part of their musical genius along channels of harmony to the consequent impoverishment of their melodic music.

Is there then no justification whatsoever in the charge—of laymen though it be—that our repetitions tend to tiresome prolixity due to their containing little variety? I should say 'yes', but qualifiedly. I should plead guilty, that is, with reference to the sort of music that so often masquerades in the skin of the classical, (really soulful classical music being at a sad discount now-a-days). Such music falls properly speaking under the category of decadent art, in that it strives to preserve the body at the cost of the soul. Most of our present-day ostads have inherited the old traditions of our glorious music, without feeling called upon to pay any attention to the importance of inheriting *pari passu* the divine spark of life which characterised our best kind of music in the past. Consequently they go on eternally turning out only mechanical repetitions in blissful oblivion of the fact that such prolixity is little compensation for obvious lack of imagination in art. As in literature, so in music when one has little to say, one does nothing, but to mask one's poverty of ideas by uselessly spinning out one's none-too-glorious quota of inspiration thereby achieving little else besides mediocre prolixity.

Of course every one cannot be a great



artist. But everyone can avoid becoming a pedant. The simple question that naturally presents itself to the mind is: Why must one sing eternally—as our mediocre ostads so often do—when one is not particularly flush of imagination? Let him say his say, if it be modest, simply but sincerely and he will have played his part satisfactorily. Is it not exquisite to hear a simple song of a musical child who sings unpretentiously without striving desperately for anything beyond him? And how often does not the ostad try this latter feat with nobody being a bit the wiser for his Herculean efforts. Of the vast number of inarticulates who people the earth only a few try any serious articulation in art. Of these again only a few outshine the rest by a superior exhibition of their command of the technique or of their perception of beauty in art. It is however given to far fewer still to be the messenger of a message through the vehicle of their perfect technique. In other

words, the number of really great artists has ever been extremely small compared with the number of those who have dabbled in art. It behoves therefore everyone of us to be humble in view of the fact that when all is said and done, the great artist cannot properly speaking be made. He is born. Society can only make the atmosphere for his growth favourable so that real talents may not wilt due to the pressure of adverse circumstances. So it is well to bear in mind that it is far preferable to say simply what is given to one to say, to trying the impossible for the sake of effect or pedantry. Sincerity is the key to art. If the average man were to realise that an elaborate pomposity is but a poor substitute for mediocrity of imagination or true artistic impulse, how much easier would it be for the real art to flourish unhampered by an overgrowth of the counterfeit art which so often stifles or crowds out the real.

## THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, CALCUTTA

BY DR. S. K. MITRA AND DR. J. N. MUKERJEE.

### 1. HISTORY OF THE FOUNDATION.

"I HAVE now described to you, in feeble language, the story of the lofty ideals which have animated the promoters of the College of Science, of the munificent gifts by two of our illustrious countrymen which have rendered the realisation of those ideals possible, and of the truly patriotic personal sacrifices, which distinguished Indian scholars and investigators have proved themselves ready to undergo in the search after truth, in the full belief that that which we know is but little, that which we know not is boundless. But although we are constrained to acquiesce in an humble beginning, our hopes are well founded. We confidently look forward to gradual expansion, to a life of steady growth and uninterrupted activity; for our cause is noble, and we are inspired by the invigorating belief that Science in its ultimate assertions echoes the voice of the living God".

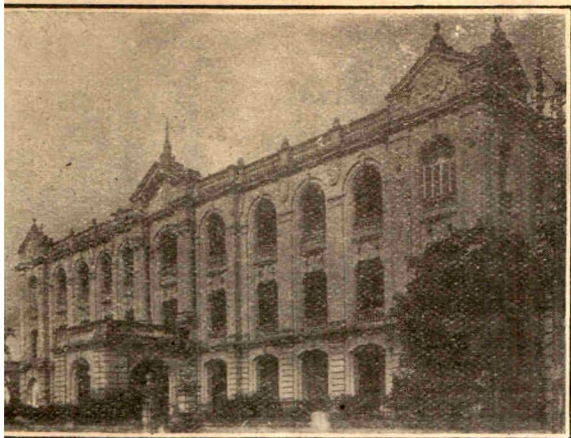
It is just above ten years, in March 27, 1914, that Sir Asutosh with these words laid the foundation stone of the College of Science. He visited the buildings at 92, Upper Circular Road for the last time in March 21, 1924,

when one of the Indian Scholars above referred to was given a reception on his being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

The history of the foundation of the College of Science, though more or less known, is of so unique a character in the educational history of our country that it would bear repetition. When the new regulations of the Calcutta University came into operation, provision was made for appointing University Professors, Readers and Lecturers, with a view to transform the Calcutta University from a mere examining body or even a federation of colleges to a teaching University, and a real centre of the advancement of learning.

The University took the first step towards the realisation of this ideal in 1908-9 by appointing men like Dr. Thibaut, Prof. Schuster, Dr. Holland as readers and also by arranging for lectures to post-graduate





The University College of Science and Technology

students in Pali, Vedic literature and Hindu Philosophy. On the occasion of the visit of Their Imperial Majesties in 1912, the Government of India promised a recurring grant of Rs. 65,000 annually for founding chairs in Economics, in Philosophy and in Mathematics and for promoting generally post-graduate study and research. The University so long could not develop the departments of science on account of lack of funds, the erection and maintenance of up-to-date scientific laboratories being always a costly affair. On the 1st of July, 1912, the University received from Sir T. N. Palit, a princely gift of money and landed property valued at that time at about 7 lacs of rupees. The gift was the first of its kind in the annals of a University in India. The admiration and gratitude of the public which this splendid gift then evoked were enhanced, when on the 8th of October of the same year, Sir Taraknath made a second gift of another 7 lacs for the same purpose. In compliance with the condition of the Trust Deeds, the University founded two chairs, one in Physics and the other in Chemistry. It was expressly stated in the deed that the object of the founder was "the promotion and diffusion of scientific and technical education and the cultivation and advancement of science pure and applied among the countrymen by and through indigeneous agencies." The University on its side agreed to provide from its own funds suitable lecture-rooms, libraries, museums, laboratories, workshops and other facilities for teaching and research.

The efforts of the University to establish a College of Science were further advanced when about a year later, in 1913, Sir Rash-

bahary Ghose made over to the University a sum of rupees 10 lacs. The trust deed provided for the establishment of four chairs *etc.*, in Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics and Botany, in furtherance of the same object as that of the Palit Trust. The University now proceeded to build the laboratories on the grounds of 92, Upper Circular Road left to them by the first Palit Trust. The cost of the new buildings came up to about 3 lacs of rupees which was met out of the surplus funds of the University. About six years later on 22nd December, 1919, Sir Rashbehary Ghose made over to the University a further sum of eleven lacs and forty-three thousands to be applied exclusively for the purpose of technological instruction and research. Two chairs, one in Applied Chemistry and other in Applied Physics were to be maintained out of it, and the balance of the fund after payment of salaries of professors and scholarships was to be applied for the maintenance of the necessary laboratories, museums and workshops. The University was fortunate in securing in 1921 through the efforts of Sir Asutosh a further endowment of five lacs and a half of rupees from Kumar Guruprosad Singh of Khaira for the foundation of five professorships. Three of these chairs (in Physics, Chemistry and Agriculture) were attached to the University College of Science and Technology and the other two (in Fine Arts and Indian Linguistics) to the department of post-graduate studies in Arts.

## 2. OBLIGATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY UNDER THE TRUSTS

These trusts have undoubtedly thrown heavy responsibilities on the University. The University has undertaken to provide from its own funds such recurring and periodical grants or contributions as may be required for the following purposes: (as specified in the trust deeds.)

"For the maintenance and upkeep of the professorships or the chairs in the event of the income of the said properties.....proving insufficient.

"For the maintenance of the libraries, laboratories museums and workshops in such a condition of efficiency as may be required and approved of by the Governing Body, subject to the control of the Senate.

"For the maintenance and repairs of the buildings and structures.....at No. 92, Upper Circular Road.

"For the payment of all rates, taxes and other impositions payable in respect of the premises No. 92, Upper Circular Road.

"For provision for laboratories, museum, workshops, appliances and all other requisites essential for the due discharge of their duties by the Professors and Readers."

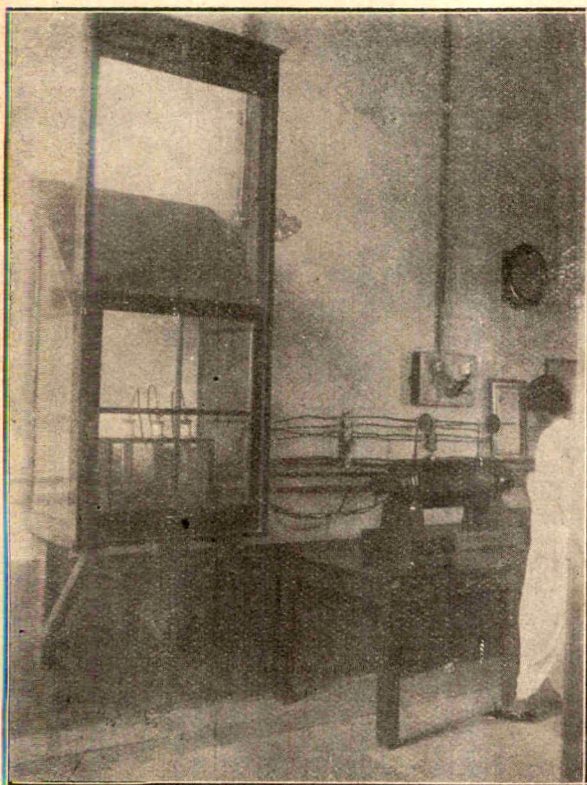
The University has since then frequently



urged upon the custodians of the public funds for financial aid to enable it adequately to meet these obligations. But the only result has so far been a permission from the Government to divert a sum of Rs. 12,000 annually for the maintenance of the Science College from the annual grant of Rs. 65,000 to the University mentioned before. In view of the unique nature of these benefactions it has generally been felt by the public of Bengal that it is the solitary instance where the Government have not encouraged private donations by liberally supplementing them from public funds.

### 3. PRESENT FINANCIAL POSITION AND DIFFICULTIES

The College of Science could have really met the obligations imposed on it by the trustees, if it were possible to spend practi-



A Corner of Prof. Raman's Laboratory

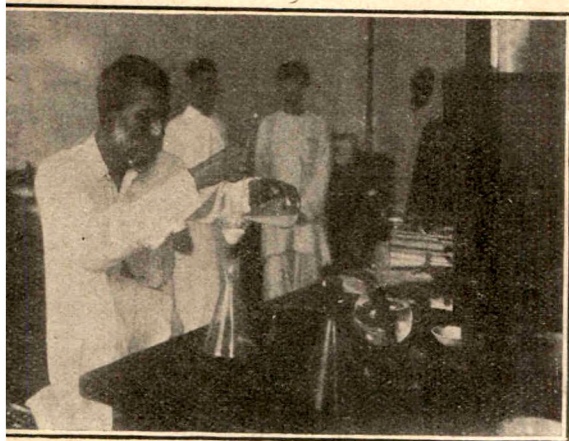
cally whole of its private endowments of 40 lacs towards the building and equipment of its laboratories, and, if the recurring grant for maintenance of the staff, laboratories and workshops were supplied from public funds. The grounds at 92, Upper Circular Road and the

grounds and buildings at 35, Ballygunj Circular Road representing capitalized value of about 6 lacs have been respectively utilized for erection and maintenance of University laboratories. The rest, after making provisions for two chairs some assistant professors and a few studentships does not leave anything for the maintenance of the laboratories not to speak of any research grant to the professors. The first Ghose Trust cannot even meet the full pay of the professors and the University has to contribute towards the maintenance of the laboratories and the pay of the professors. The second Ghose Trust, which has got to be utilized solely for the purpose of developing the technological departments, is somewhat better off. It provides for the salaries of two professors, one lecturer, one draughtsman, one mechanic and has a surplus of about 20 thousand rupees. It must be mentioned that there is no provision for lecturers or assistants for the department of Applied Physics and that the Applied Chemistry department is also undermanned. We have also to remember that the opening of applied science departments always necessitates large capital expenditure for establishment and equipment of laboratories and workshops with modern apparatus and appliances. Though inaugurated in 1920 these departments have not been able to make much headway owing to lack of funds. Chemistry department has been partially opened but the Physics department is hopelessly underequipped and is unable even to make a start. The Khaira Fund, founded from the donation of Kumar Guruprasad Singh, out of which three professorships and two research studentships are maintained in the College of Science leaves no surplus at all, though, the University contributes Rs. 6,000 towards the pay of the professors. There are two professorships in Botany, and the Ghose Trust can only provide for one on Rs. 500 a month from its fund and the University maintains from its own funds the other chair on Rs. 1000 per month. There is also a chair for Zoology on Rs. 800 (at present vacant) maintained by the University. The University College of Science (both at Upper Circular Road and at the original Palit Buildings at Ballygunj) undertakes the post-graduate teaching in Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, Botany, Zoology and the undergraduate teaching in Physiology. The staff, the establishment and the laboratories for this purpose in Physics, Chemistry, and Mathematics, together with the whole of the departments of Zoology and Botany, for which there



is practically no endowment, are maintained from the University fee fund.\*

The financial stringency and the hopeless inadequacy of the fee fund of the Calcutta University to meet all its requirements have been well known for some time past. The effect of continual strain on the university funds is felt in the workings of the College of Science, inasmuch as for want of adequate help, not only the opening of new departments is out of question, but even the existing departments are made to starve and the barest requirements both as regards the emoluments of the teachers and the equipments and running of the laboratories cannot be properly met with. The University cannot rely on a definite income from



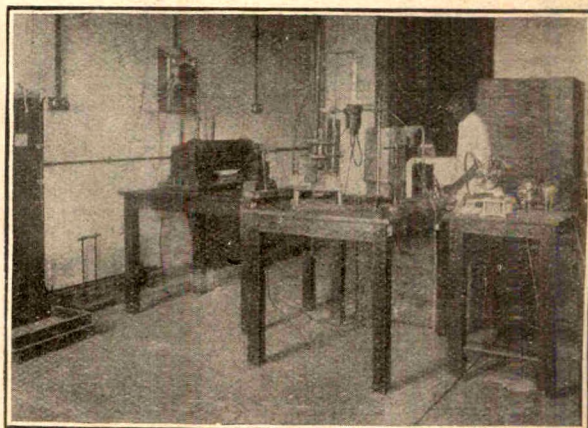
Sir P. C. Roy at Work

the fee fund and has not been able to make a fixed recurring grant to the College of Science. The budget is provisional only for the year and the appointments of teachers have also to be made from year to year. This system has continued for about 9 years. The financial prospects offered by Govt. departments, by other universities and educational institutions all over the country including Bengal are more than double of that offered by this University for the same type of work. When terms of appointments are so insecure and unsatisfactory, and prospects not on par with what obtained in other places, it is no wonder that members of the staff would accept

appointments elsewhere offering secure and incomparably better conditions. In 1916 when the college was started there were, apart from professors, 18 lecturers assisting the professors in the post-graduate teaching work distributed into the departments of Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, Botany and Zoology. This number has been reduced to 11 in 1923, the vacancies occurring could not be filled up owing to lack of funds. Since 1919, altogether 10 members of the staff, whose pay ranged from Rs. 200 to Rs. 400 per month were offered and accepted appointments on pay ranging from Rs. 400 to Rs. 1250 in other places, e. g., Govt. Meteorological department, other newly founded universities, Govt. research laboratories and the department of His Majesty's Mint. Vacancies occurring in the endowed chairs were of course filled up by new recruits (who in their turn not infrequently left us when better prospects were offered) but in most cases, as indicated above, vacancies in lecturerships could not be filled up. Difficulties arising out of dearth of workers, were sometimes avoided by creating posts, which, though going by the names of assistant to professors, were in reality posts of lecturers for doing only post-graduate work.

#### 4. SOME IMMEDIATE NEEDS.

The public will have an idea of the extent to which we are hampered in our work if they care to know the actual state of affairs. The buildings at 92, Upper Circular Road, erected in 1914-15 were never put to repairs; with the result that small faults here and there



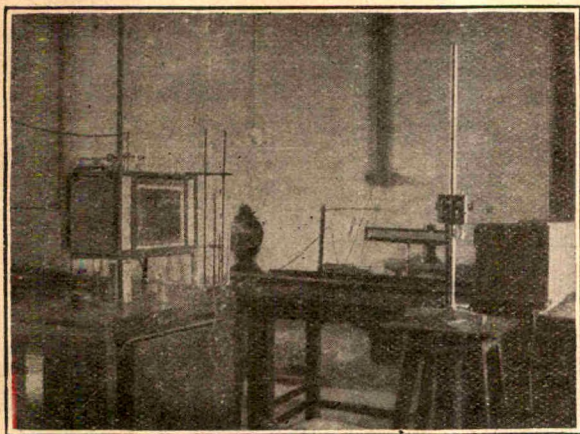
Studying the Structure of Crystals by X-ray

\* When the post-graduate departments were started, it was resolved to set apart for their maintenance one-third of the examination fees realised from the Matriculation, Intermediate and B. A and B. Sc. candidates. This constitutes the fee-fund of the post-graduate departments.

have developed into large cracks to such an extent that some imminent mishap is not impossible. A thorough repair of the buildings



is necessary for which the University engineers have estimated the cost to be Rs. 36,000. The University sanctioned last year Rs. 30,000 for repairs, but this money was not available for expenditure. An amendment to provide a similar sum this year has been moved and carried in the last budget meeting of the Senate and has gone to swell the already deficit budget of the University. We do not know if it would be possible for the university to sanction this expenditure as actual cash may not be available. For want of funds the teaching work is suffering no less, and we feel very strongly the awkward situation in which we are placed when, for example, for want of a few thousands of rupees, our water-supply fails for hours together day after day with the result that all types of works have to be suspended. Sinking of a tube-well has been suggested but that is again a matter of expense. Then again, there is the question of centralization of the whole science department at one place.



Physical Chemistry Laboratory

The grounds of 92, Upper Circular Road were originally intended to be such a centre, but owing to insufficiency of accommodation in the existing buildings, the Zoology and Botany departments have been located in the Palit Buildings at Ballygunj to the great inconvenience of the management and the students. Then, there is the department of Experimental Psychology, which, though belonging to the department of Arts, is housed here because no accommodation for it could be found in the university buildings. It is expected that when the buildings on the fish market site are complete, sufficient room would be available for the Experimental Psychology department

to be transferred there. In the meantime, for want of space rooms cannot be spared even for so necessary a purpose as a library and a reading room for the College of Science. We need hardly argue the point that the absence of a suitable and moderately equipped library and reading room in a way defeats the purpose for which this institution has been founded; but unfortunately this is the situation. All the laboratories are ill provided with apparatus and appliances. We cannot even provide for essential experiments which it is our duty to do, if the proper standards have to be maintained. Students have to be taken out to other institutions to show them the apparatus they would have used if we had them. We were so long carrying on with apparatus lent to us by the St. Xavier's and Shibpur Engineering Colleges. Recently we had to return those apparatus as we cannot keep them indefinitely on loan, and we have not been able to replace them. We need not tire the patience of our readers with further details of all our urgent needs such as lecture-halls, quarters for menials etc.

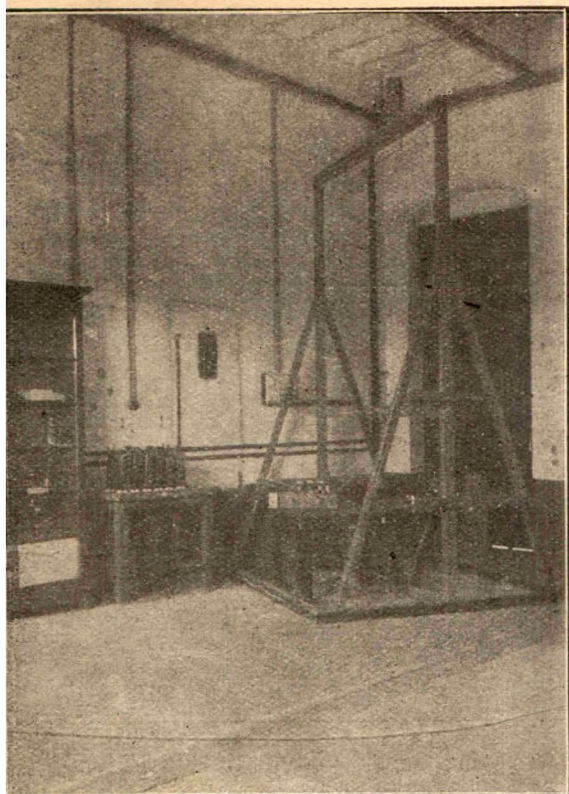
To bring together all the departments and thus secure unity of control it has been suggested in some quarters, that the present building and grounds of 35, Ballygunj Circular Road be sold out, and a part of the sale proceeds be utilized for adding a new wing to the buildings at 92, Upper Circular Road and the rest invested in capital account. It of course depends on the Palit Trust and the Governing Body of the Science College to decide what to do.

We have tried to give an idea of our needs and it is our belief that the public of Bengal will see to it that the great ideal for which Sir Asutosh laboured so much and for which these great sons of Bengal have given their all will be preserved and achieved.

#### THE UTILITY OF MAINTAINING INSTITUTIONS LIKE THE COLLEGE OF SCIENCE.

We would like here to make a few comments on the utility and the need of maintaining well-equipped centres of higher research in the country. The industrial greatness of any nation lies in the facilities it can afford to competent men to develop, invent and perfect industrial processes. It is simply impossible to do so unless a number of our youngmen can devote themselves to such a task and unless we can give the requisite training in science and in scientific research. These pursuits are of a highly technical nature and are always costly affairs but yielding later a hundredfold return.





Automatic Recorder for Studying the 'Atmospheric'  
(under construction)

One of the most essential responsibilities which all modern universities have to undertake is to afford adequate facilities in this direction. Mere book learning or an acquaintance with the ordinary laboratory methods does not make an individual fit to discharge his duties as a university teacher. He has of course his useful place as a teacher imparting knowledge already acquired, but he cannot take a share in guiding young men in making any advancement in science, which is certainly one of the essential tasks of a University. Unfortunately in the whole of Bengal we have only three centres which to a certain extent offer facilities for making definite contributions to human knowledge by scientific research, namely two in Calcutta (the Presidency College and the Science College) and the third at Dacca. (University Dept. of Science.) These institutions have never received that amount of public support to which they are entitled. The greatness of the donors to the Science College, lies in their foresight and clear vision, and the public will do well to dwell upon the reasons which led these great men to bequeath their all for such a purpose.

We would draw the attention of the public to the efforts which are now being made by other countries. Most modern nations have well organized departments which keep a record of the research organizations in their own and other countries. In England, we have such an organization in the Advisory Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. They have issued a series of papers on this subject which have been published by His Majesty's Stationery Office in London and we would request those who want to enter into a discussion in this subject to read them. Industrial research in modern countries is undertaken by manufacturing corporations, associations of manufacturers, universities and colleges, national institutes, commercial laboratories and scientific societies. Most of these countries spend crores of rupees annually on research in pure and applied sciences. But they are not satisfied with what facilities they have provided for research as they feel that in order to keep their industries going they require more. Dr. Whitney, the Director of the research laboratories of the General Electric Company, in an address (The Engineer March 16, 1917, pp. 245-6) deplored the neglect of true scientific research in universities and Colleges of the United States and pointed out how essential researches in pure science always are to industrial advance (Science & Industry). Lord Milner in his book on "The Elements of Reconstruction" lays great emphasis on the necessity of the United Kingdom to readjust "its sense of 'scale' in dealing with the problems of industry and among them research". If this is true of England and America after the colossal efforts already made there in this direction, can we justly say that "we are doing the least that we ought to do in the matter here in India?"

We quote the following lines from "Science & Industry" a pamphlet by Prof. A. P. M. Fleming, M. I. E. E., who is one of the founders of wireless telephony.

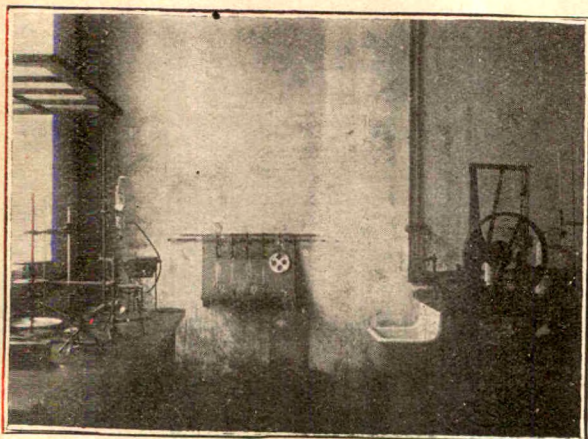
"Among the most progressive firms there is a growing appreciation of the fact that almost every discovery in science ultimately may have its influence on industry. Such firms devote increasing attention to research of this character, and in some cases special laboratories have been installed quite distinct from the ordinary research laboratory for this purpose \* \* \* "Industry is the basis of national prosperity, and every resource should be used to facilitate its progress \* \* \* In this respect research is of the utmost importance, and it must be regarded as an indispensable weapon \* \* \* The success, however, of any comprehensive scheme of research depends largely upon the attitude of the



manufacturers, and it is therefore of high national importance that they should not only appreciate the value of the application of science in industry, but also cooperate in assuring that it is applied systematically and sufficiently. Among the questions that arise immediately out of the need of industrial research is that of the education and training of men for all grades of industrial employment. \* \*

\* It is not less necessary to give attention to the scientific training of those who proceed to the higher positions in industry from the universities, and particularly to impart to such students a thorough knowledge of the fundamentals of manufacturing economic. The development of research on a large scale, and the consequent possibilities of absorbing and lucrative employment, will tend to attract to the ranks of industry many of the ablest young men who now a days enter non-productive professions \* \* Such measures cannot be introduced successfully unless they are supported by public opinion, and a great need therefore exists for bringing continually before the public the necessity of industrial research, with its possibilities and benefits. \* \* \* A new phase in industrial and economical life is commencing, and its development will be governed very largely by the extent to which new scientific knowledge is obtained and turned to the benefit of mankind. It is by the progressive use of research, every advance of which opens up ever wider industrial possibilities, by the fullest employment of the nation's inherent manufacturing capacity, and by the wise cooperation of labour and capital, that the prosperity of this country can be assured".

We realise that we cannot maintain so many institutions on the scale which the United States or the United Kingdom can afford. We simply plead for maintaining the



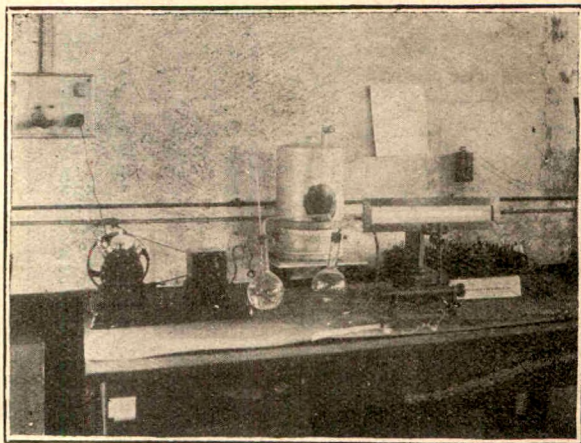
Organic Chemistry Laboratory

few institutions we have in a state of efficiency. We believe that the public will agree with us that it is a very modest proposition that we are laying before them and will realize the fundamental importance of such

institutions in making our industrial regeneration possible.

#### 6. SCOPE OF OUR PRESENT ACTIVITIES.

The activity of the present institution is twofold. On the one hand it provides facilities for research for members of the staff not only to enable them to keep abreast of the latest progresses in their respective subjects,



Studying the effect of electrostatic field on aerosols

but also to contribute their own quota towards the advancement of science, and on the other hand, it gives that basic training to students which is essential for anybody intending to enter an industrial career. A worker not conversant with the scientific principles underlying the industrial processes and not acquainted with the method of research, can be useful only to a very limited extent. He can seldom go beyond the work as laid down in his routine to initiate anything new, his outlook is not wide, and he practically comes down to the level of an ordinary labourer, where, he ought by virtue of his training to be the guiding force always improving and inaugurating.

The possibilities of an institution like this where both the pure and the applied sciences are studied side by side is perhaps not apparent to all. As mentioned above the great industrial concerns of the West spend immense sums of money to maintain research laboratories and trained staff of scientists, (not necessarily experts in any particular branch of industry) who devote their time and energy towards the solution of industrial and manufacturing problems. They make innovations, bring about improvements, and not infrequently



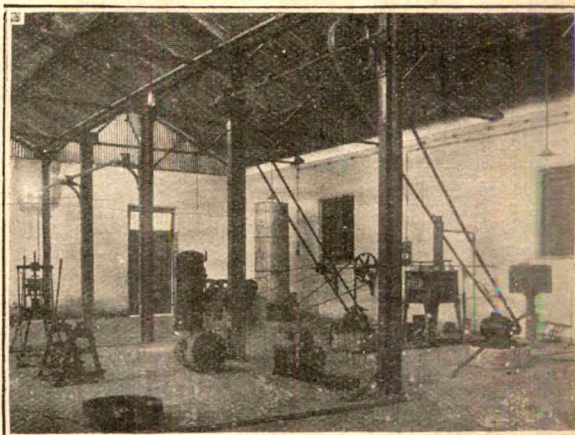
make discoveries which bring back, literally, a millionfold of the money spent on them. It cannot of course be expected of our young industries that they would spend large sums of money for maintaining laboratories and research staff, and it is here that an institution like this can be of real help to them if the resources that are there are properly utilized. The trained staff of research workers here can always take up and study scientific problems offered to them by industrial concerns, and can give valuable advice as to the directions in which improvements are to be sought.

This institution has already proved its usefulness in these respects. Advice has been sought with profit by a number of firms and as the institution becomes more known and its utility is realized more fully by the public, we believe it will be able to render substantial service in this respect. Students trained here have already made themselves useful in various capacities, such as analyst, works chemist, technical adviser, teacher in technical institutions, manufacturer, research chemist and electrical engineer.

As regards the class of research work carried out here, utmost efforts have been made, in spite of many difficulties, to keep up the name and prestige of this institution as a centre of learning. Research in various subjects like Scattering and Diffraction of light, study of 'alpha' ray tracks, structure of crystals by X-ray, physico-chemistry of colloids, effect of electrostatic field on aerosols, studies in heterocyclic ring formations etc. have been taken up and successfully carried out here, and have won for this institution not only a name in India but also abroad. A systematic study of the "Atmospheres" which cause so much disturbance to wireless reception in this country is also being taken up, but cannot make much progress for want of funds.

During our stay in Europe, we had occasion to visit a great many important Universities and Laboratories in England and on the continent. In all these seats of learning nothing made us feel a respect for ourselves as Indians more than the appreciations which the work of our Indian scientists in recent years received everywhere. It was with a sense of pardonable pride that we noticed that contributions from our fellow workers in Calcutta University were regarded as valuable additions to science in its various branches and also to find that the names of some of our colleagues were held in esteem.

We were repeatedly asked how was it that scientific research of such a high and permanent value, and in such abundance too, could be done by alumni of an Indian University like that of Calcutta of the very existence



Workshop of Applied Chemistry

of which European savants and scientists were ignorant a decade ago!

#### 7. - SOME SUGGESTIONS.

In conclusion we would like to place before the public certain concrete proposals which would go a long way to place this institution on a sounder and stabler basis. The institution ought to be placed above the depressing sense of doubt as to the recurring expenditure which it experiences in the beginning of each year. A definite annual recurring grant ought to be provided by the university, consistent with its financial resources, to supplement the income from the donations. We shall then know where we are, and the Governing Body of the College of Science can then frame its own draft budget. During the last few years the university has contributed on an average 72 thousand of rupees from its fee funds. If the University can afford to sanction this amount as a recurring grant, then a recurring grant of another lac and a half of rupees will be necessary to run the institution as it is in a state of efficiency. Capital expenditure to the extent of 10 lacs of rupees are simultaneously necessary to meet urgent commitments. The donors have given nearly 45 lacs of rupees, the university has spent about 10 lacs of rupees (including 3 lacs, the cost of erecting the buildings), spread over a period of 10 years. (out of which Rs. 1.20



000 represents Government contribution), Is it too much to expect that the modest demand we have made would be met by the Government and the public ?

Lastly, we would like to add that this institution, occupying a tender spot in the hearts of the people of Bengal, ought not to be judged only from a materialistic standpoint. A nation does not live by bread alone. The cultural side, which characterises the civilisation of a nation, if neglected, leads to stagnation. A nation which lies idle while other countries are devoting their men and money for search after truth, is bound to lose

in the estimation of others as well as in their own. This institution, during the eight years of its existence has tried, in its own humble way under most trying circumstances, to raise the status of our country by proving that we as a nation are no less capable of making advancements in the realm of science.

India no longer would be a mere silent spectator of the forward march of western countries in search after truth. She can now hope to take her place among them, fully conscious that her efforts would ultimately go towards increasing the bounds of human knowledge.

## JESUS AND THE GOSPELS

IN the July issue of the *Modern Review* (1924, pp. 80-85) Father P. Turmes (S. J.) wrote an article under the heading, "In appreciation of Christ's Character", with the object of combating my views.

(1)

His first complaint is that I have not judged Jesus by the standard of Jesus. But how can we judge him by the Galileean standard of some 2000 years ago when he is being preached to us now in the twentieth century ? We must judge him by our own standard and whether he is worthy of acceptance. He might have been great among the backward and illiterate peasants and fishermen of Galilee. But the question now is—"Can he be considered great according to the highest modern standard ?"

If every one is to be judged by his own standard, why does not then Father Turmes judge our judgment by our own standard ? Why does he judge Buddhism by the Christian and not by the Buddhist standard ? Why does he preach Christianity to Hindus, whose religion is the best according to their own standard ? Why do so many Christian societies send missionaries to different parts of the world to preach Christianity to non-Christians, who consider their own religion to be the very best ?

Fools are not fools and mad men are not mad according to their own standard.

If Father Turmes' principle were adopted, even thieves and murderers could be proved to be quite innocent. According to their own standard, they are not only not guilty but many of them are benefactors of the world.

(2)

Jesus used to drink wine. Father Turmes defends it by saying that Jesus mixed with everybody and pleased them all. His object was not to repel any soul but to attract them all by the kind-

ness of his ways.' But did he try to attract the Pharisees ? Hence he drank wine. "Besides," asks the Jesuit Father, "is it wrong to drink wine ?" We refrain from commenting.

(3)

Father Turmes says that Gotama 'ate the pork and died of it.' The Pali word rendered 'pork' is 'Sukara-maddava.' In his latest book (1910), Rhys Davids translates it by the phrase "a quantity of truffles" (*The Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 137). In a footnote he writes : "Dr. Hoey informs me that the peasantry in these districts are still fond of a bulbous root, a sort of truffle, found in the jungle and called 'Sukara-kanda'. Mr. K. E. Neumann, in his translation of the *Majjhima* (1896), p. xx., has collected several similar instances of truffle-like roots or edible plants having such names."

(4)

Father Turmes asks : "Ought we to despise all that has been done by our fore-fathers ?" Certainly not. But does that mean that we are to perform bloody sacrifices, as our fore-fathers did ? He asks us to show that the slaughter of animals is morally wrong. But at the same time he says : "bloody sacrifices have no place in Christian worship and this by order of Christ." The first part is true, but it is against the precepts and example of Jesus ; the second part is a misrepresentation : he never spoke against bloody sacrifices.

(5)

Father Turmes' interpretation of the Kingdom of God is quite arbitrary. If all the passages bearing on the subject be examined, the conclusion will be that the K. of G. has not the same meaning in all the places. But the predominant idea is the Messianic Kingdom (our third meaning : M. R. 1923, Aug. p. 197). The following quotation from



Pfleiderer will clearly explain our position: "The Reign of God or future age, will begin soon and suddenly, its appearing being visible to all. It will be a crisis, a terrible shattering and reversal of the present condition of the world, only comparable to the flood or the rain of brimstone on Sodom and Gomorah (Luke xvii, 22ff.). How soon that catastrophe will occur is not more closely defined. On one occasion it is said that some of "those which stand here" shall see the Reign of God come with power (MK IX. 1=MATT. XVI. 28). According to Matthew X. 23, the disciples will not have finished preaching the gospel in the cities of Israel before the Son of Man comes. In both passages therefore the time is fixed for the appearing of the Reign of God and of the Messiah within the life-time of the generation of Jesus' contemporaries" (*Primitive Christianity*, vol. ii : p. 412).

But in some other passages, the time and hour of the advent of the K. of G. is declared to be unknown. "But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son but the Father" (MK. XIII. 32 ; also MATT. XXIV. 36). The subject has been discussed by B. Weiss (*Biblical Theology of the N. T.* Vol. i. chapter vi). His conclusion about the different sayings of Jesus on this point may be summarised in the language of Charles :—

"It will be within the next thirty or forty years but I am not acquainted with the exact day or hour." *Ency Bib* ; Col. 1374.

Of this Kingdom of Heaven we can never assert, as Father Turmes has done, that "*the Heaven of the Historic Christ was no other than the 'facie ad faciem' of the Radiant eternal vision of God.*" There is not a single passage in the Gospels by which this can be substantiated. The passages he has referred to (Matt. xxviii. 18-20 ; and parallels ; Matt. xxiv. 9, 14 ; Mk. xii. 25, etc.) are all irrelevant. Moreover, the God of Jesus lives in a place called Heaven (*M. R.* 1924 January : 14-15) and is necessarily a limited being. The seeing of such a God has been compared in our country to the seeing of an ox, *i. e.*, any finite creature like the ox. We cannot see God as we see an ox. God-vision is altogether different.

(6)

#### THE LAW OF KARMA.

Father Turmes says :—"In any system rewards are bound to follow the performance of duty."

But there is what is called the Law of Karma in India and what Father Turmes has condemned "as an Atheistic system" (p. 83). What is extolled in defending Christianity, is denounced while condemning Buddhism!

(7)

Father Turmes admits that many Biblical passages mean "Do good . . . rewards will follow." But he has not understood the implication of this admission. When the idea of further reward or punishment becomes a psychical factor, it transforms and vitiates the very character of the actor and the action. There is a difference between [i] 'Do good' and [ii] 'Do good . . . rewards will follow.' But there is practically no difference between [i] 'Do good . . . rewards will follow' and [ii] 'Do good for the sake of rewards'.

But there are in the Gospels many passages which explicitly say that we are to do good for the sake of rewards and avoid evil deeds with a

view to avoiding punishment. Many passages have been already quoted (*M. R.* 1923, Aug., 194-195). A few more are added.

A man must love his enemy. But why? Jesus says, "If you love them which love you, what reward have ye?" (Matt. 5-46).

Here evidently it is for the sake of rewards.

"Take heed that ye do not give your alms before men . . . otherwise you have no reward". Matt. vi. 1.

Have also—"for the sake of rewards."

A man must be reconciled to his brother and agree with his adversary. Why? Not because love and fellow-feeling are good in themselves but because they might otherwise deliver him to the Judge and the Judge deliver him to the officer and the officer cast him into prison (Matt. v. 25).

"Whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgment" (Matt. v. 22).

A man must not be angry. But why? Not because anger degrades him but because the angry man shall be in danger of the judgment.

"Whosoever shall say to his brother 'Raca' shall be in danger of the council." Matt. v. 22.

"Whosoever shall say 'Thou fool' shall be in danger of hell-fire." Matt. v. 22.

In these two precepts also we find that an evil course is to be avoided not because evil is evil in itself and is therefore to be avoided, but because the evil-doer will be punished by the council and thrown into hell-fire.

It is useless to multiply examples. We can positively say that Jesus asked his followers to act righteously, not for righteousness' sake, but for the sake of rewards ; he asked his followers to refrain from evil deeds not because evil is evil in itself, but because evil-doers are punished with hell-fire.

(8)

Father Turmes thinks that the Gospels, nay the N. T., is an organic whole and that there is a unity in the character and in the precepts of Jesus. He has advised us to understand this unity. There we differ. The different books of the N. T. were written by different authors and from different standpoints. Each Gospel was written with a definite and not always wholly worthy purpose. Even in the synoptics, there are interpolations, some Petrine, some Pauline and some of other persons. How can then there be any unity in the character and in the precepts of Jesus? On some points Loisy was right, and on other points Harnack was right and both were wrong on many other points.

The Bible should be read from the historical standpoint and not in the interests of any school of theology. We are not creed-bound and so we can accept Loisy and Harnack and other scholars when they are right and reject them when they are wrong.

(9)

Our Jesuit Father has defended the anger of Jesus, which he has exalted by using the term "passions." This point has been dealt with in some of our precious articles (*M. R.* 1923, p. 195-196 ; 1924 : 175-180)

(10)

#### PESSIMISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

According to Father Turmes, Christianity is optimistic. The claim is astounding. Whether we consider the Christian theory of Human Nature, or of the world or of the other-world, we must

pronounce the doctrines of Christianity to be a system of thorough-going Pessimism.

According to Christianity human nature is radically bad. The doctrine of original sin is a characteristic of Christianity. The nature of man has been thoroughly depraved by the sin inherited from Adam. Man is sinful by nature. Christian writers and missionaries continually harp on the sinfulness of man. 'Sin, sin, sin', 'Sinners, sinners, sinners'—this is the favourite theme of their discourse. The result is that the people have been led to believe that they are, really and by nature, sinners. They can never believe in the dignity and divinity of man. If a man believes and continually thinks that he is a sinner, he becomes a sinner and remains a sinner; his whole life becomes vitiated and embittered; he always looks to the dark side of human life and can never enjoy the sweets and the beauties of the God's world. True Christians can never be optimistic. If some of them become so, it is in spite of their Christianity.

The human organism also is, according to Jesus, radically bad. If a man wishes to enter the K. of G., he must be a eunuch (Matt. 19. 12). Origen actually castrated himself. Sometimes it is necessary to pluck out the eye and to cut off the hand and the feet (Matt. 5. 29, 30; 18. 8. 9; Mk. IX. 43, 45, 47).

Can this system be called optimistic?

If the above-mentioned precepts be considered to be a hyperbole, still it shows which way the wind blows. It blows to the region of Pessimism.

The world itself is, according to Jesus, evil. If any one wishes to enter the K. of G., he must renounce the world; must leave father and mother, brother and sister, friends and relations, house and wealth—nay, he must hate father and mother and wife and children and brethren and sisters (Luke XV. 26). Those who enjoy earthly prosperity cannot enter the K. of G. (Lk. VI. 24; Matt. XIX. 24 and parallels: The Parable of the rich man and Lazarus. Lk. XVI. 19-31). Those who are poor, those who hunger and weep, those who are hated and persecuted here are entitled to enter that Kingdom (Lk. VI. 20-33). Earthly enjoyment is a curse and must be avoided.

Poverty, hunger, weeping and persecution are real blessings. Can this theory of the world and the scheme of salvation be called optimistic?

The advent of the K. of G. does not mean a gradual improvement of the world. This world must be destroyed. After the destruction of this world there will be inaugurated the K. of G. Jesus has in many places described how it will be destroyed (Matt. XXIV. 29-31 and parallels).

The theory of Jesus was neither optimism nor meliorism but pessimism pure and simple.

Jesus is extolled as the "Man of Sorrows". Does this mean he was optimistic?

This earth cannot, according to Jesus, be the K. of G. and His will is not done here. Hence Jesus asked his followers to pray saying:

"Thy Kingdom come, thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth" (Matt. vi. 10.)

If the world we live in be not the Kingdom of God but the Kingdom of the Evil one, if God's will be not fulfilled here and if the will of the Evil one be predominant on this earth, where is the safety? Where is the consolation? And where then is optimism?

( 11 )

Even if we consider this world to be the King-

dom of God, still there is no safety. There is the doctrine of Predestination. Many are called but few chosen (Matt. xxii. 14). Who is then safe? Everything is uncertain; everyone is in suspense; every one may think himself to be in danger of eternal damnation. Where is peace? Where is optimism?

But the crowning point of Christian Pessimism is the theory of Eternal Damnation. When a kind-hearted man thinks of the eternal torture of the damned, he himself feels the pain of that torture even on this earth and in this life. Who are they that will be tortured in the Eternal Hell? They are our own brothers and sisters, and our Father's children. Had they been our enemies our agony would have been none the less. But enemies we have none; every one of them is our beloved brother or sister, beloved children of our beloved Father.

Then think—how many were damned by Jesus. He damned all his enemies and all the non-believers whom he called goats. He would deny all who denied or would deny him. Who were to be saved? Only the sheep,—the believers. But how many believers were there. Very few; even Peter—the Rock-disciple—denied him and the other disciples too forsook him and hid themselves. There might still have remained some faithful followers. But their number must have been very limited. These few only will be saved and all others (including Peter who denied him) will be thrown into Eternal Hell. There they will be tortured throughout eternity. Had there been hurled only one man into that Eternal Furnace to suffer eternal punishment, even that would have melted the heart of all sympathetic men. But think of the torture, the agony, the weeping, the gnashing of teeth, not of one creature, but of innumerable children of God. Is this religion optimistic?

Father Turmes unconsciously admits that Christianity is pessimistic. He writes: "*Take up the cross every day and follow me, thy crucified saviour, that is Jesus*" (p. 81). *Italics* not ours.

The very idea of *taking up the cross* and that *every day* is extremely pessimistic. Why should we consider our duties as troubles and afflictions? We have been allowed to do our duties—that itself is a privilege and blessing and enjoyment. How can we call it a burden or the cross? 'Bearing a burden', 'taking up the cross', all these are pessimistic ideas. In the world of Love, there is no burden and no cross; every work there is delightful and blissful: *The Religion of the cross is a religion of Pessimism.*

( 12 )

#### OPTIMISM IN BUDDHISM,

Father Turmes has thoroughly misunderstood and misrepresented Buddhism. He says that he himself sat at the feet of an orthodox Hindu to learn Hinduism. But from whom has he learnt or rather mis-learned Buddhism? Certainly not from an orthodox Bhikshu versed in the Pali scriptures. His authority seems to be Keith and other anti-Buddhist Christians. We are not Buddhists and hold no brief for Buddhism. But for truth's sake we are bound to protest when historical facts are misrepresented.

Father Turmes says:—"*The desire to live* is bad according to Buddha." First, it is not an exactly correct translation of the Buddhist text. Secondly, the original text of which the above is a mis-translation, is a half-truth, and half-truths are more dangerous than untruths.

The Pali word which has been translated as 'desire' is *Tanha* (*Sanskrit Trishna*). It means thirst, craving, hunger for excitement, the fever of unsatisfied longing. (P. T. S. Pali-English Dictionary). One group of *tanha*, is (i) *Kama tanha*, (ii) *Bhava tanha*, (iii) *Vibhava-tanha*. *Kama tanha* means 'craving for sensuous pleasure. The other two have been each interpreted in two ways:—

(i) *Bhava* means either rebirth or existence. Then the meaning of *Bhava tanha* would be either 'craving for rebirth or craving for existence.'

(ii) *Bibhava* means either no-rebirth or non-existence. *Bibhava tanha* would mean either craving for 'no-rebirth' or 'craving for non-existence.'

According to the Buddha *Tanha* must be destroyed. The thirst for existence is as bad as the thirst for non-existence.

So our Jesuit Father has misled people by misrepresentations and half-truths.

( 13 )

#### SUMMUM BONUM

According to Christianity the highest aim of life is the enjoyment of happiness in the Messianic Kingdom or in heaven. It cannot be attained in *this* life and in *this* world. We have already seen that this enjoyment is rather sensuous.

The Buddhist idea of *Summum Bonum* is altogether different. It is a state that can be realized even in this visible world (*ditthe dhamme*; or *ditthe va dhamme*).

Here I shall quote the remarks of Rhys Davids, the great Buddhist scholar. In the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Ed. XI) he quotes the following passages on Emancipation:—

'Just as the great ocean has one taste only, the taste of salt, just so have this doctrine and discipline but one flavour only, the flavour of emancipation' (Vinaya, IX.14).

Again:

'When a brother has, by himself, known and realized and continued to abide, *here in this visible world*, in that emancipation of mind, in that emancipation of heart, which is Arhatship,—that is a condition higher still and sweeter still, for the sake of which the brethren lead the religious life under me' (*The Dialogues of the Buddha, Mahali Suttanta*, vol. i, p. 201; cf. 204).

Then he remarks:—

'The emancipation is found in a habit of mind, in the being free from a specified sort of craving that is said to be the origin of certain specified sorts of pain. In some European books this is completely spoiled by being represented as the doctrine that existence is misery and that desire is to be suppressed. Nothing of the kind is said in the text' (Vol. IV. p. 743. Col. 1).

Then he says:—

'To have realized the Truths [*Fourfold Truths*] and traversed the Path [*Eightfold Path*], to have broken the Bonds [*ten bonds*], put an end to the Intoxicants [*Four Intoxicants*], and got rid of Hindrances [*Five Hindrances*], is to have attained the ideal. Fruit as it is called of Arhatship. One might fill columns with the praises, many of them among the most beautiful passages of Pali poetry and prose, lavished on this condition of mind, the state of the man made perfect according to the Buddhist faith. Many are the pet names, the poetic epithets bestowed upon it,—the harbour of refuge, the cool cave, the island amidst the floods, the place of bliss, emancipation, liberation, safety, the

supreme, the transcendent, the uncreated, the tranquil, the home of peace, the calm, the end of suffering, the medicine for all evil, the unshaken, the ambrosia, the immaterial, the impishable, the abiding, the farther shore, the unending, the bliss of effort, the supreme joy, the ineffable, the detachment, the holy city, and many others. Perhaps the most frequent in the Buddhist text is Arhatship—the state of him who is worthy—and the one exclusively used in Europe is *Nirvana*, the dying out; that is the dying out in the heart of hell fire of the three cardinal sins—Sensuality, Ill-will, and Stupidity (Samyutta. IV. 251, 252).

'The choice of this term by European writers, a choice made long before any of the Buddhist canonical texts had been published and translated has had a most unfortunate result. These writers did not share, could not be expected to share, the *exuberant optimism* of the early Buddhists. *Themselves giving up this world as hopeless and looking for salvation in the next*, they naturally thought, the Buddhists must do the same, and in absence of any authentic scriptures to correct the mistake they interpreted Nirvana in terms of their own belief, as a state to be reached after death. As such they supposed the 'dying out' must mean the dying out of a 'soul'; and endless were the discussions as to whether this meant internal trance or absolute annihilation of the 'soul'. It is now thirty years since the right interpretation founded on the canonical texts has been given, but outside the ranks of Pali scholars the old blunder is still often repeated. It should be added that the belief in salvation in this world, in this life, has so appealed to Indian sympathies that from the time of Buddhism down to the present day, it has been adopted as a part of general Indian belief and *jivanmukti*, salvation during this life, has become a commonplace in the religious language of India' (vol. IV, page 744).

Rhys Davids rightly says that the views of the early Buddhists were an '*exuberant optimism*.' It is madness to say that every phase of the world is ideal. The question is not whether there is misery in the world but whether the misery which is here, is removable. Here Jesus was a pessimist and Gotama, an optimist or more correctly a meliorist. Jesus said that the existing world could not be improved and must, therefore, be destroyed. According to Gotama, every man can destroy misery and obtain perfect peace in this very world and in this very life.

( 14 )

#### INTERPOLATION. [ Lk. 23-34 a ].

In one of the issues of the M. R., we said that Luke 23-34 is an interpolation and this has angered many of our Christian friends. This has so much upset Father Turmes that he has not hesitated to declare that "Mr. Ghosh rejects with facility 'as unauthentic' texts that do not suit his purpose, when even the most ruthless hyper-critics have never dared to touch them." M. R. July, 1924 p. 83

May we ask our Jesuit Father—"How many texts have we rejected?" If we mistake not, we pointed out only one interpolation, whereas there are about twenty interpolations in the 'Western' text [vide Ency. Bib. Col. 4989].

We might have mentioned another instance, viz., Lk. 17-21 ["The K. of G. is among us"], while commenting on the passage, [M. R. 1923 Aug. 197]



which Pfleiderer considers to be an interpolation. *The Primitive Christianity*, 169-170.

Secondly, we have no theological purpose to serve. We can reject whatever is immoral, irrational, infra-rational, unspiritual and untrue and can accept from any religion and every religion what is moral, rational, spiritual and true. We are not creed-bound.

In the last part of his remarks, Father Turmes betrays a lamentable ignorance of the present state of Biblical scholarship.

His summary of Westcott and Hort's views is inaccurate and misleading. He has given no reason why 'the opinion of Tischendorf and of Soden seems far more probable'. And, in fact, the whole article is a tissue of inaccuracies, misrepresentations and dogmatic assertions. But the subject is very important: so we must discuss it patiently.

### TEXTUAL PROOF:

#### [a] AGAINST THE PASSAGE.

The passage is not in the oldest Greek manuscript, the Vatican [B]; nor in Beza's D; nor in Aleph (a); it is not in 38, 43, 82, 435. In E [Cod. Basileensis. viii], it is marked with an asterisk. In Aleph it was enclosed in curved brackets by an early corrector [A]. So according to [A] the passage is an interpolation. The brackets were again removed by a later corrector. It is inserted in D by a corrector who is pronounced by Dr. Scrivener to be not earlier than the ninth century. It is omitted by three old Latin manuscripts, by two Bohairic Codices, by Sahidic version, and by the newly-discovered Sinai-Syriac.

Cyril of Alexandria is said by Arethas to have regarded it as spurious. [vide Nestle's Textual Cr. of the G. T. p. 278. Westcott and Hort. N. T. in Greek: vol. ii. Appendix p. 67-68; Plummer's Luke: p. 545].

#### [b] FOR THE PASSAGE.

The passage is richly attested by many ancient authorities. It is given by great numbers of manuscripts, some uncials and old. It is found in Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Ethiopian and Latin versions. The Century Bible says:—

"We meet with it in Irenaeus and Origen, men who lived more than a century before our oldest MSS. were written, though only in later Latin translations of those fathers—a fact which weakens their testimony". 1922, p. 319. ours.

### CONCLUSION.

It is found in many manuscripts but not in the oldest manuscripts B and D. It is found in many translations but not in the oldest translations like the Syriac translation recently discovered on Mount Sinai. Hence the conclusion must be that the passage is an interpolation.

Prof. W. B. Smith says:

"Its presence in any number of MSS. and other authorities is easy enough to understand even if it were not originally in Luke's Gospel; but its absence from so many of the very oldest is impossible to understand if it had been originally there. It would seem that some copyist invented it in the second century after the Gospel according to Luke had taken form and become current. It was inserted by some copyist in some MSS. and not inserted by others. Hence it appears in many but not in the

very oldest MSS. and translations" (*The Open Court*, 1912, p. 247 and 179).

The same writer continues:

"Of course, one must not forget, neither wonder, that the Burgons rage (*Revision Revised* p. 83) and the Millers imagine a vain thing (Scrivener's introduction, fourth Revised Edition, ii, 356-358, but what is the *only* argument they adduce? Simply a catalog of the MSS. versions, Fathers that attest the words in question", "And there being several thousand—but this story why pursue?" What does a whole "forest" of such testimonies avail? What signify? Merely that the sentiment pleased the prevailing Christian consciousness. Were the witnesses strewn thick as autumnal leaves in Vallombrosa, it would mean no more. If the Associated Press should send out an idle rumour, would anyone seek to prove it authentic by heaping up copies of the 'Dailies' in which it appeared? Yet such is the method of the critics who 'burn with indignation' against the thoroughly orthodox editors, Westcott and Hort, declaring that the system which entails such consequences is hopelessly self-condemned." *Ibid.*, p. 249.

"The general theory contained in Westcott and Hort's New Testament in the original Greek has formed the starting point for all subsequent investigation of the textual history of the N. T., whether by way of defence or of criticism" (Burkitt: *Ency. Biblica*. Col. 4983). They are the leading authorities on the text of the N. T. We quote below their views on Lk. 23. 34 a.

"The documentary distribution suggests that that text was a Western interpolation of limited range in early times, adapted in eclectic texts and then naturally received into general currency. Its omission on the hypothesis of its genuineness, cannot be explained in any reasonable manner. Wilful excision on account of the love and forgiveness shown to the Lord's own murderers, is absolutely incredible. Few verses of the Gospels bear in themselves a surer witness to the truth of what they record than this first of the words from the Cross, but it need not therefore have belonged originally to the book in which it is now included. "We cannot doubt that it comes from an extraneous source." The N. T., in Greek. ii. Appendix p. 68. Italics ours.

"This admission", says Prof. W. B. Smith, "by the chief English Editors is decisive and of the farthest reaching importance." *The Open Court*. 1912. p. 248.

Lachmann, the eminent text-critic, has put it in brackets [ ] in his edition of the N. T., thereby showing that the passage is an interpolation.

Wellhausen says that it is "without any doubt interpolated" (Quoted in the *O. Court*, 1912. p. 248).

Dr. Carpenter also says that it is an interpolation (*The Three Gospels*. p. 25, 293).

The Twentieth Century New Testament has placed the passage between square brackets [ ], thereby showing that it is an interpolation.

Burkitt writes in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* that "there are about twenty of these 'Western' interpolations in the Gospels". Col. 49. 89. He cites 10 examples of which Luke 23. 34a is one.

Nestle says:—

The verdict must be, as it seems, that they do not belong to the earliest form of the Gospel of Luke, but were inserted in some copies in a very

early time, not later than the second century" (*The Open Court*, 1912, p. 178).

Moffat, the well-known Biblical scholar and translator of the N. T. into Modern English, writes: "[Luke] 23. 34a is . . . probably a *non-Lucan* fragment of genuine tradition which has floated into this section of the Gospel, although there are almost as strong arguments for its omission from the original, apart from the difficulty of seeing why neither Mt. or Mk. received the honour of its addition." *Introduction to the Literature of the N. T.*, p. 275.

Moffat's qualifying phrase will be considered later on.

Burton and Mathews say:

"Vs. 34. It seems a pity that the manuscripts do not allow us to regard these beautiful words as a genuine part of Luke's narrative" (*Life of Christ*, p. 269).

Plummer has approvingly quoted the remarks of Westcott and Hort (Luke, p. 531). After mentioning the authorities for and against the passage, he remarks:

"The omission in such witnesses would be very difficult to explain, if the passage had been part of the original text of Luke" (Luke, p. 515).

Salmon, though very anxious to retain the verse, is constrained to say—"There is no saying of our Lord's which we should more regret to lose than this one, yet it is imperfectly attested, I do not know whether the letter of Vienne and Lyons, A. D. 177, is not to be added to the evidence against the verse. At least I think that Stephen, the perfect martyr, would not have been cited as an example of a martyr praying for his murderers, if the writer had known that therein Stephen was only following an example set by our Lord Himself." *The Human Elements in the Gospels*, pp. 517-518.

Dr. Wright says that the passage "has been falsely inserted into Lk. XXIII. 34" (*The Composition of the Gospels*, p. 56).

Lewis.

Dr. Agnes S. Lewis of 'Syr-Sin' fame, writes:

"The most beautiful of our Lord's sayings usually found in [Luke] XXIII. 34 . . . is omitted [from Syr-Sin]. . . Dr. Hjelt considers the omission of this saying a strong proof of the Sinai text. It is in the Diatessaron and if the Old Syriac version (Syr-Sin) had been made subsequently to the promulgation of that Harmony, all Syriac Christians would have resented the omission of a saying with which they were, after the year A. D. 170 at latest, already familiar. The only way in which we can account for its absence from the Sinai text is, that when the translation, which is behind that document, was made, the most gracious of our Lord's sayings was as yet unknown" (*Light on the Four Gospels from the Sinai Palimpsest*, pp. 126-127).

Thus we see that the passage is non-Lucan and was interpolated in Luke's Gospel.

(15)

#### CURIOUS ARGUMENTS.

Of all the biases, the theological bias is the most dangerous. It makes scholars unscholarly, critics uncritical, the cautious dogmatical, the sober unbalanced, and the logical mind illogical. This is well exemplified in the present case. The passage is not found in the oldest MSS. and the oldest versions. Hence

the natural conclusion is that the passage is an interpolation. Non-Christians are perfectly satisfied with it. But the Orthodox Christians consider it derogatory to Jesus, the Gospels, Christians in general and the church.

It is derogatory to Jesus, because such a beautiful passage was not his saying; derogatory to the Bible, because it was not originally in the book and the Bible contains forged passages; derogatory to the Christians because one of them forged it; derogatory to the church because the church has been using it as genuine. Every orthodox Christian will hang down his head, when he will think of this forgery. So it is necessary to forge some reasons to remove this slur of forgery. We give below some of the specimens:—

Nestle says: "The acknowledgment that the passage does not originally belong to the book in which it is now included, is compatible with the assumption that it is a true record of what Jesus really said from a source of which the origin is no longer known." *The Open Court*, 1912, p. 178.

Prof. W. B. Smith replies: "But how can this be? Since admittedly the sentiment was so popular that its interpolation found early and widespread adoption, why was it omitted and disregarded by all the earliest authorities, by Matthew, by Mark, by Luke, by John, by the Apologists, by all Christian writers down to Irenaeus\* for 150 years [more correctly about 250 years] after the words were supposedly spoken? Less than a century separates us from Waterloo [written in 1912]. Suppose that in some new edition, by some unknown revisor, of Siborne, or Montholon, we should find "inserted" as pronounced by either Duke or Emperor at the crisis, some extraordinary elsewhere-unmentioned-saying similar to some familiar utterance under similar conditions, of Turenne or Marlborough, would Nestle or any other critic accept it as authentic? Would he not dismiss it as a manifest invention? Would he not regard the silence of a century and of all who were in any position to know, as decisive? Why then refuse to apply to the New Testament the principles followed in dealing with other documents?" (*The Open Court*, 1912, pp. 249-250).

Another curious argument is that advanced by Sadler. He writes:—

"Judged by the Divine character of the utterance and the weight of the evidence of all parts of Christendom in its favour, its omission from any manuscript must be its utter condemnation." Luke, 597.

It means:—

As the saying has a divine nature and as Christendom wants to retain the passage, the interpolated edition is to be preferred to the original edition and the original edition is to be condemned.

Another orthodox commentator says:—

"The verse itself is its own attestation [*Petitio principii*]. It has the ring of genuineness [*why not the brand of interpolation?*], and is undoubtedly history [*why not myth?*]. (*The Westminster Comm.* Luke by Ragg, p. 299).

While admitting that the passage is an 'interpolation', Plummer says:—"But... internal evidence warrants us in retaining the passage in its traditional place as a genuine portion of the evangelic

\* More correctly 'the Latin translator of Irenaeus' *Vide Supra*.

narrative. That point being certain, it matters comparatively little whether we owe this precious fragment to Luke or not." (Luke, p. 545).

The question of internal evidence will be discussed later on.

Adeney says:—"...it is not likely to have no foundation in fact [*why not?*]; it speaks for its historicity [*Petito principii*]. Nobody would have imagined or invented it [*why not?*]" (*The Century Bible*, Luke, p. 319).

Blass has invented a curious theory. According to him Luke himself issued two editions—the 'Alexandrian' being the first and the 'Western' being the second and the passage was inserted by the author himself in the second edition. Somehow or other the genuineness of the passage must be proved. In this connection it may be mentioned that the Western Text is characterised by '*Paraphrase*', '*Interpolation*' and '*Assimilation*' (Westcott and Hort, *Ibid.* vol. ii. 122-24).

Zahn thinks that the passage was omitted from D by mistake. That the most beautiful passage should be omitted is incredible.

There is another curious reason. The passage was, according to some apologists, really in the original text. But some section thought that the murderers of Jesus were unworthy of the love and forgiveness shown to them by Jesus. Hence they expunged the passage. *Vide* Westcott and Hort's remarks (*Supra*).

All these hypotheses are puerilities of orthodoxy. They start with the assumption that the passage is genuine and then they fabricate hypothesis after hypothesis to prove its genuineness and to account for its omission from the earliest MSS. and versions. Their very hypotheses shew how desperate their case is. Moreover, what does a hypothesis prove? It can prove nothing; it cannot prove actuality; it can, at the most, point to a possibility.

### (16)

#### INTERNAL EVIDENCE.

Of the seven sayings of Jesus from the Cross, one is recorded by Mk. and Matt., three by Luke and three by John. We quote below these sayings:—

(1) Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani? That is, my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? (Matt. 27-46; Mk. 15-34; Mk. has Eloi, Eloi).

(2) Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do (Lk. 23.34a).

(3) Addressing one of the robbers who were crucified with him, Jesus said—"Verily I say unto thee, today shalt thou be with me in Paradise." Lk. 23, 43.

(4) "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." Lk. 23, 46.

When Jesus saw his mother and the disciple standing by whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, "*Woman, behold thy son.*" Then saith he to the disciple, "*Behold thy mother.*"

From that hour the disciple took her to his house (John 19. 26-27).

(6) I thirst (John 19.28).

(7) "It is finished" (John 19. 30).

Forgetting for the time being, the verdict of the original text, we raise here the question—Are all these sayings genuine?

Orthodox theologians will naturally fight for every one of these sayings, and pile hypothesis upon hypothesis to harmonise them. But what is

their evidence? Their only evidence is that these are recorded in the Gospels. Let us discuss the record. The fourth Gospel is the most unreliable. Its single purpose here "is to point John as the genuine successor of Jesus appointed by the testament on the cross—as the guardian of the community represented by Mary...as the leader of the Church, superior to Peter and James the brother of Jesus" (Keim, *Jesus*, vol. vi. p. 158).

"None of the relatives and friends of Jesus stood under the cross, least of all his mother—who was unbelieving—with him and John was still too dependent to possess a house into which to receive her" (*Ibid.*, p. 158). So the *fifth saying* is quite unhistorical.

The *sixth saying* may or may not be true; its theological significance in the present case is *nil*.

The *seventh* and the *fourth* sayings are not genuine; both of them are said to be his last saying but they contradict each other and both of them contradict Matt. (27. 50) and Mk. (15. 37), according to whom it was simply a loud-cry. Moreover the fourth saying is taken from Ps. 33. 5 and the fourth has been explained to mean the accomplishment of the messianic prophecies and therefore both of them are thoughts of later times.

The conversion of one of the robbers and the *third saying* of Jesus contradict earlier records where they blasphemed (Matt. 27. 44; Mk. 15. 32).

Pfleiderer says: "Of these seven sayings of the Gospels as a whole, only that reported by Matthew and Mark seems to rest upon genuine reminiscence. In favour of its genuineness are, the Aramaic wording, the curious misunderstanding of the bystanders, who thought that Jesus was calling for Elias, which could scarcely be invented; and more especially, the consideration that the cry of despair, conveying the sense of being abandoned by God is from the point of view of the Christian faith, so strange that it could hardly have been put into the mouth of Jesus if it had not been given by tradition; it is this strangeness which caused it to be left out by Luke and other sayings given in place of it (*Prim. Christianity*: ii. 81).

If any of the utterances be genuine, it is this saying. But even that has been considered doubtful by Strauss (*Life of Jesus*; pp. 687-688), Keim (*Jesus of Nazareth*, vol. VI, pp. 159-160) and many other scholars. Now let us consider the *second saying* (Luke 23. 34a.), which is usually the first saying. Regarding this utterance Strauss says:

"During or immediately after the crucifixion" Luke represents Jesus as saying: "*Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do*"; an intercession which is by some limited to the soldiers who crucified him, by others, extended to the real authors of his death, the Sanhedrists and Pilate. However accordant such a prayer may be with the principles concerning love to enemies elsewhere inculcated by Jesus (Matt. V. 44) and however great the internal probability of Luke's statement viewed in this light; still it is to be observed, especially as he stands alone in giving this particular, that it may possibly have been taken from the reputed Messianic chapter Isa. LIII, where in the last verse, the same from which the words "*he was numbered with the transgressors*", it is said "*he made intercessions for their transgressions*" (*Life of Jesus*, pp. 681-682).

Kiem says:

"The words of forgiveness spoken by Jesus in Luke are wrongly ascribed to the first hour. After



the crucifixion was completed Jesus is made to cry : "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!" This utterance, repeated in the history of the sufferings of Stephen and of James, is quite in the spirit of Jesus which enjoins forgiveness and the rendering of good for evil, although there is nothing in the passages in which the teaching is found to suggest that his forgiveness would obtain forgiveness from God. But those Evangelists have written *more correctly* who have represented him as keeping silence in this moment of extreme physical and mental torment, rather than exhibiting a reaction of violent superhuman heroism foreign to his sound human nature and as being full of Old Testament reminiscences. Moreover the utterance does not accord with the concrete situation. It cannot apply to the Roman officials, the blind instruments ; yet it must refer to them, for no other stood near and it was only they who at this moment drove in the frightful nails which impelled him to speak. If it is intended to apply by a kind of abstract act of thought, to the real authors of his sufferings, the Jews, as Schleiermacher holds, had it not a moment before happened that Jesus made to the Jews, even to the women of Jerusalem, a dark announcement of divine Judgment ?" ( Jesus. Vol. VI, 155-156 ).

In a footnote Keim writes :

"Luke XXIII. 34 ; Acts iii. 17 ; vii. 60 ( is original in contrast with Luke and perhaps primitive : "Weigh not their sins against them"). *Ibid.* p. 155.

Even if it were possible to consider the passage to be a Western non-interpolation, still it would not be possible to say that it was a saying of Jesus. Everyone of the seven sayings is suspicious and seems to have been invented to serve a theological purpose.

( 17 )

### III. PSYCHOLOGICAL EVIDENCE.

Whatever precepts might have been attributed to Jesus he was incapable of praying for the welfare of his enemies at the time of crucifixion.

Pusillanimity was a grave defect in the character of Jesus. Whenever there was opposition or apprehension of danger, he hid himself or fled from the place ( M. R. 1924, January, p. 18.) Even in ancient times he was accused of cowardice. Celsus said he "tried to escape by disgracefully concealing himself" ( *Origin Con. Cel.* II, 10.) Can a man who is so anxious to save his life, think of the welfare of other persons when his own life is in danger ? Think of the scene at Gethsemane. It was but natural that he should think of his own self and weep and groan when he was on the cross. That is exactly what happened according to the two earliest Gospels. He cried—"My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Matt. 27. 46, Mk. 15. 34.

During his life-time he never loved his enemies. He showered upon them the most opprobrious epithets ( M. R. 1923, Aug. pp. 195-196 ) and threatened them with eternal damnation. Even on his way to Gol-

gotha he predicted the terrible doom of the city. Can a man who never, throughout his life, showed love to his enemies, who took pleasure, consciously or subconsciously, in thinking of their future weeping and the gnashing of their teeth in the Eternal Hell—can such a man, while suffering excruciating pain on the cross, think of the welfare of those very persons who were the cause of his painful death ?

From psychological analysis also, we arrive at the conclusion that Luke 23. 34a cannot be a saying of Jesus.

( 18 )

### MOTIVE

But what was the motive of this interpolation ? The prayer recorded in Matt. 27. 46 and Mk. 15. 34 was a prayer of despair and was considered unworthy of the Messiah. So it was thought necessary to substitute a worthy prayer. ( Pfeiderer : Primitive Christianity, vol. II, p. 81, 185 ).

The following passage is found in Isaiah 53:12 :—"He was numbered with the transgressors and he bore the sin of many and made intercession for the transgressors." It was thought necessary to prove to the Jews that Messianic prophecy was fulfilled in the death of Jesus. ( Vide Strauss : *Life of Jesus* p. 682 ; *New Life*, vol. II, p. 378. Keim *Jesus*: vol. VI, 155-156 ; Renan, *Life of Jesus*, chap. 25, etc.) Hence the interpolation.

Lycurgus forgave, loved and reformed Alexander. But Jesus never loved his enemies but denounced them in season and out of season. Hence it was necessary to show to the Greeks that Jesus also loved his enemies like Lycurgus and Socrates.

When Stephen was stoned to death, he prayed, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge". Acts VII. 60.

When James was put to death, he also prayed for his enemies. His prayer, according to Hegesiphus was :—

"O Lord, God, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. II, 23.

It was necessary to shew to the Christians that 'a disciple is not above his master, nor a servant above his lord'. Hence the interpolation.

Thus from the evidence of the oldest texts and the oldest versions, from internal evidence and from psychological analysis we arrive at the conclusion that the passage ( Luke 23. 34a. ) is not genuine. We also know what the motive could have been.

We have already greatly exceeded the space placed at our disposal. We, therefore, refrain from commenting on other points raised by Father Turmes.

MAHESHCHANDRA GHOSH.

### Editor's Note.

According to the rule followed by us, this controversy is closed so far as *The Modern Review* is concerned. Of course, Father Turmes and Babu Mahesh Chandra Ghosh are quite at liberty to write on the subject further in other journals.



## SO THIS IS AN AUSTRALIAN STATESMAN

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE,

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**E**XTRAORDINARY men are few in the world; but the friends of the Right Honourable William M. Hughes, recently Prime Minister of Australia, insist that he is extraordinary—tremendously extraordinary. Is he?

As I stepped into his hotel room he greeted me with a smile and shook me by the hand warmly. He was all cordiality. No sooner was I seated than he offered me a cigarette, and lighted it for me himself. A good cigar or cigarette, from the flare of the match to the reluctant last puff, is thought to be a first aid to companionable intercourse, a stimulant to heart-to-heart talks.

Mr. Hughes is now on a lecture tour in

the United States. He is a dispenser of the British propaganda in general, and the Australian propaganda in particular. He is not the gloomy, sullen, silent diplomat of romance, who looks as mysterious as the Chinese chop suey. Hughes dearly loves to talk, and he talks with the air of confidence, the finality of the omniscient.

The former Australian Prime Minister finds something irresistably comic about the British Labor Government that begins with three Lords and adds day by day to its number. Remarkd Mr. Hughes:

"No doubt this rises through the wide differences of circumstances between England and Australia. Even a knight in an Australian government would damn it irretrievably. Probably we shall end up by seeing a prince in the British Labor party."

Mr. Hughes, who has been until recently a member of every labor government in Australia since 1904, is an example of stubborn ambition. He began his life as a backwoodsman: he has been sheep shearer, a railroad laborer, a boundary rider, a brush cleaner, a fence builder, and a cattleman. Then he studied law, was admitted to the bar, became a politician, and a member of the Australian Parliament. Finally, circumstances conspired to make him the Premier. His career from 1891 until the close of the great war was not lacking in dramatic thrills.

Mr. and Mrs. Hughes spoke to me of having met Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and his wife in Australia. The Hughes' account of Sastri appeared, however, very complimentary, running over with nice sugary phrases. Did Hughes and Sastri form a little mutual admiration society of their own? Neither of them are shrinking violets. They both like notice, power, huzzahs.

Mrs. Hughes is a beautiful, graceful, rather intelligent woman. Presently she excused herself from the room.

Mr. Hughes is an impassioned advocate of the sacred dogma of "the white Australian policy," which is that Australia should bar all Asians from its doors and become exclusively a white man's land. Said the



The Hon. William M. Hughes, Recently Prime Minister of Australia.

ex-Premier: "The policy of exclusion rests upon just principles and is dictated by wisdom, and is necessary for the economic well-being of the Commonwealth of Australia."

Now Australia, in its physical area, is as large as the United States, or twice as large as India. The first English settlement began in 1788, when England sent to New South Wales 565 male and 192 female prisoners condemned to transportation for life. Since then England kept on sending shiploads of *convicts*, from time to time for fifty years. This was the beginning of the colonization of Australia, which started its career as a convict camp.

"The loneliest continent," even now, is comparatively an empty land. It has a little more than 5,000,000 inhabitants, five-sixths of whom live in the south-eastern corner of the country. In other words, the whole of Australia has a smaller population than London. This vast area, according to its own official spokesman, could support 100,000,000 people most comfortably. Others, who are not natives of Australia, have ventured further. But what is being done to use and develop its resources? Only 16,000,000 acres—about one per cent of the whole area—are under crop. Climatic conditions are unsuitable to white settlements, nearly one-third of Australia being in the tropics. If Australia is to develop, and its vast resources are to be brought to the service of humanity, the one prime need of Australia is immigration, Asian or European. But, points out Professor Gibbons in his *Introduction to World Politics*.

"By the most generous calculation of increase, Europe, if she directed all her immigration towards these dominions, could scarcely fill their needs for a hundred years."

Is one nation justified in withholding from use, for an indefinite period, a large area capable of supporting a large population? The fiat has gone forth that no Asian should land in Australia, which is to be held as an advance reservation for the expansion of the Anglo-Saxon tribe. If this is not an exhibition of crude tribalism, of pure dog-in-the-manger selfishness, the words have lost their meaning.

Mr. Hughes explained to me that the admission of persons into Australia is regulated by the Immigration Act, 1901-1920. "It scrupulously avoids giving offense to the national pride of other nations. It is not directed against any particular country or people." It is a farce!

While the law does not specifically mention any race color, or country, it excludes all but whites. This is accomplished by imposing a language test upon any applicant for admission to the country. The operating section of the statute empowers the immigration inspector to require the candidate for admittance to write correctly, from dictation, a passage of fifty words in any language. The language chosen for the dictation can always be the one with which the applicant is not familiar, Swedish, Jewish, Gaelic, or Welch. Obviously, any one can be excluded under such a test, and all Indians are excluded. *Indianapolis News* comments:

"Though the law does not discriminate, there is discrimination as the result of a dishonest application of it and such discrimination is intended, though not avowed."

It is a bare-faced trick, and how long does Australia expect to get away with such a fraud and deception?

Carrying on conversation with Mr. Hughes is not particularly pleasant. He is almost stone deaf. He cannot hear a word across the table without an electric megaphone. For an interviewer it is the better part of strategy to let Mr. Hughes do most of the talking.

The former leader of the Australian politics considers himself a Christian, a bearer of the "white man's burden." Naturally he finds nothing in the Sermon on the Mount which rejects army and navy, quantity production, stock markets, economic imperialism, and many other things which have come to the world as concomitants of higher Christianization. Not for him are visions of world-wide human brotherhood or efforts to realize the *City of God*. His philosophy, in so far as he may be said to have any, is the cultural philosophy of "go-getter-ism" and "make-all-the-world-as-thyself-ism."

"There are certain people who believe that to secure peace," remarked ex-Premier Hughes, "there is nothing necessary except to wish for it. When you say that you want peace, if you really want it with all your heart and soul, you can have it to-morrow. And so can all the world. But is peace so great that you will sweep aside all your traditions and ideals for it? Is a nation willing to have its honor defiled rather than to take up arms?"

"What is the world to hope for in attaining peace?" Continued Mr. Hughes. "In order to secure peace first, some tribunal for settling of world disputes is absolutely necessary. Secondly behind that tribunal there must be



some force, for a law is nothing unless there is some force behind it. The day has not come for universal peace."

That there is great value in conflict, he illustrated by the fact that it has been largely through wars that the United States has secured liberty. Beginning with the War of Independence, the United States later progressed to the Civil War, and the World War in the pursuit of liberty. "There are great causes for which nations should stand firmly." These are challenging remarks, which ought to interest our home-grown pacifists accustomed to theorize with their eyes and ears shut to historical truths.

Mr. Hughes mentioned the fact that the Pacific is fast becoming the commercial and economic centre of the world. Formerly the centre of the world's activity centered about the Mediterranean, but with the increase of the world's population and the growth and prosperity of the Western world, this centre has shifted.

The ex-Premier did not wrap his thought in ambiguous diplomatic words, but projected it in blunt, homely words, saying :

"One of the greatest problems which concern the world at the present time is the increase in Asiatic population. It is a disease."

Despite the fact that man has greatly improved his methods of food manufacture, the eastern world is still clamoring for more room and more food. This is especially true in the case of India, China, and Japan. "The awakening of the East comes on one hand bringing gifts," was the nub of the matter, "and on the other hand, is something of a menace." Apparently the golden days of Asian witch-hunting are close at hand.

A thin smile creased his pale waxen face, and he leaned back in his chair. Mr. Hughes is small-statured, slender, smooth-faced, a little cynical and nervous, and on this afternoon a little the worse for the interminable cigarettes.

I do not know exactly how old he is. I judge he is a man of fifty and upwards. His ideas about world politics are fixed absolutely. No one need take his valuable time to chloroform a man of this type ; he is already petrified. To me he stands like a gravestone, lonely and forlorn.

The Hon. W. M. Hughes is an imperialist to the core, and believes that the destiny of the human race depends exclusively upon the British. He does not wish to see either India or Australia pull out of the British empire. He wants a close federation of the constituent members of the empire. In his native land,

he is hymned as the rally-round-the-Union-Jack statesman.

"Well," I asked, when some of the preliminary fencings were over, "what do you say in explanation of the Indian exclusion ?"

"I admit that India is an integral part of the empire," quickly responded Mr. Hughes without hem and haw. "India has in theory the same right to exclude Australians, as Australia has to exclude Indians. The right to exclude is unchallengeable. No right is more clearly inherent in a *free* nation than to determine who shall come into their own country. To deny that right would leave nothing of liberty but the shrivelled husk. It is the right of every *free* man to say who shall come into his home, and what is inherent in the free man must belong to the free nation. A partnership in the free British commonwealth does not involve the abrogation of the birthright."

The logical implication of the argument is abundantly clear : "The free British commonwealth" is one in which the non-whites outnumbering the whites by six to one must inevitably remain in perpetual subjection. Moreover, since India—"the richest colonial plum"—is not free, Indians have no right to shut their gates against the offending intruders. That right may come only when India finds its way to real independence. Does not the brain of the shining prodigy from Australia work in a circle ?

"We, in Australia," observed Mr. Hughes solemnly, "are profoundly convinced that the East and West cannot meet and live together as one people. Our country is not only white but ninety-seven per cent Anglo-Saxon. To water down the blood stream of our racial life is to invite irreparable disaster."

They may be of Anglo-Saxon descent in Australia ; but the majority of them, it should not be forgotten, are the offsprings of early ex-convicts.

Hughes then lighted another of his cigarettes, and began to toy with the papers on the table before him.

"I am not quite so sure of that, Mr. Hughes. I rather think you are dead wrong," I put in quietly. "But will not a mutually exclusive policy knock the bottom out of the empire ?"

The Australian political headliner winced. I noticed with amusement two patches of fiery red in his cheeks. The look he gave would paralyze a row of street lamp posts. Of course he smiled, but I wondered if he realized that his smile was about as pleasant

as a surgeon's operating table. At any rate, he looked as cheerful as a double funeral.

The Nestor of Australian politics had nothing to say except:

"I do not know what the future of the empire will be. I believe, however, that our policy of exclusion is not only best for us but is best for India, for the East and for the world."

Can it be that the fairyland will come true for William Morris Hughes? His kind of fairyland—a fairyland of farflung whites and subjugated non-whites.

America has become of late a paradise of the European busybody, who have an axe to grind and an advantage to get. They all shed wash-tubful of crocodile tears for the United States. We have had recently a surfeit of British lecturers of this type, and the Hon. Mr. Hughes is just another English lecturer. I shall now drastically telescope the rest of my impressions about the diplomat from Melbourne and his talk.

The conversation then drifted on for a few moments to Japan. "We admire the Japanese people," said Mr. Hughes naively. "We pay unstinted tribute to their wonderful achievements, to their industry and their patriotism. But their ways are not our ways; their concept of life fundamentally differs from ours; their traditions are as far from ours as the poles are asunder. They cannot work by our side without debasing our standard of living; they cannot intermarry with us without destroying the virtues of our race."

A wit once said of David Lloyd George; "I believe Mr. Lloyd George *can* read, but I am perfectly certain he never does."

This remark occurs to me when I think about the Right Honorable Hughes. He knows how to read, but I am sure he has never read the first page of the cultural history of Asia. To argue with him on race problems is superfluous.

Mr. Hughes is also strongly in favor of a capital base at Singapore. It is considered a necessity for the defence of Australasia against Japan, the ominous symbol of Yellow Peril. "In my opinion a majority of the British people want a naval policy adequate to the needs and circumstances of the empire. If that be conceded, then it may be assumed that the Singapore base issue will be put forward again by the government which succeeds the present one."

As may be supposed, Mr. Hughes, an old imperial war-horse, is not losing any opportunity to exploit to the fullest advantage the present strained relation between America and Japan. He is trying to capitalize ignorance, fear, and hatred. As a "live wire of new democracy," he is reaching hundreds and thousands of Americans with his "great message." The idea that he is engaged in selling is that America should go to war with Japan, and wipe that country off the map. A jolly good idea. Obviously, nothing would please the unofficial "ambassador" from Australia more than to get the United States to fight the so-called Yellow Peril.

It is an astonishing situation—this Yellow Peril. It conjures up terrible pictures. I see Australia full of panic-stricken people. They scramble for fire escapes, jump out of windows, hide in drain pipes and chimneys; others scuttle for the jungle. The Yellow Peril!

I think of the irony of the situation. I reflect on the worth of the "sense of white superiority."

The Yellow Peril? It does not exist! The White Peril? It is a reality! Australia is an intrusion of European civilization into Asia.

It was time for me to go. I looked with a keen steady eye at the panic-stricken Australian celebrity. He shifted a little, and then removed his megaphone. The imperial wizard could hear and say no more.

## RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S VISVA-BHARATI MISSION

### I. CHINA

12th April, 1924:

Shanghai.

THE N. Y. K. boat *Atsuta Maru* landed the party consisting of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Miss Green, Prof. L. K. Elmhirst, Prof. K. M. Sen, Prof. N. L. Bose and Dr. Kalidas Nag. The morning was bright and the pier was crowded with the representatives of the various communities who came to welcome the President of the mission, the Poet-representative of India. Mr. Tsemon Hsu, a talented Chinese poet and interpreter of Dr. Tagore, came on board the ship to take charge of the party. He was accompanied by Mr. S. Y. Ch'u M. A., Dean of the National Institute of Self-Government, and other distinguished members of the Chinese community. The Indian residents of Shanghai came to a man to honour their National Poet. They greeted him with repeated cries of *Bande Mataram* and overwhelmed him with garlands and flowers. Escaping somehow from the clutches of camera-men and newspaper reporters Dr. Tagore motored down to the Burlington Hotel.

In the afternoon Dr. Tagore and party were taken outside the city to visit an ancient Buddhist temple and to enjoy the sight of the spring blossoms of cherry and peach trees—mute yet profound messengers of the spirit of Eternal China to the first Poet-guest from India!

13th April:

Early afternoon the poet was welcomed by the Indian community in the Sikh temple of Shanghai. The ladies greeted him with the divine song of *Mira Bai* and an address was presented in Hindi recounting how every Indian man and woman feels proud of their poet for undertaking at this advanced age such a trying journey to preach the eternal message of India to China. They assured their whole-hearted support to the mission of *Visva-Bharati* and expressed their hope that through this mission the Poet would be the precursor of the spiritual unity of Asia and of universal peace. Dr. Tagore spoke in Bengali replying to the address and Prof. K. M. Sen translated his profound speech in elegant

Hindi. The Poet reminded every Indian assembled in the *Gurudvara* what was the eternal message of all the Gurus of India: from Nanak, Kabir, down to this age. It was to liberate our souls from the bonds of the finite into the realm of the infinite, to embrace the whole universe with love and service. Let every Indian remember and practise this great truth so that every people that would come into relation with them would remember the name of India with gratitude.

After this ceremony Dr. Tagore and party went to the garden house of Mr. Carsun Chang, a renowned Chinese scholar and collaborator of the German philosopher Rudolf Eucken. The poet was formally presented to the assembly of Chinese ladies and gentlemen. Mr. Hsu as the mouthpiece of young China welcomed Dr. Tagore with a neat poetic speech. He pictured how the Poet had come to visit China, while she was passing through a veritable crisis, how the prevailing spirit was that of scepticism or of materialism, but he hoped that the radiant personality, the profound philosophy and the irresistible poetry of the Great Messenger from India would dissipate all doubts, disarm scepticism and revitalise the spiritual thoughts of China.

Tagore replied with genial humour that he was nothing but an irresponsible poet, that he had been spoiling time over composing songs whilst he should have written his Chinese lectures! But poets are as capricious as the spring breeze. They come and go without a purpose yet, maybe, the world is not a loser owing to their purposelessness!

After this friendly exchange of greetings the Poet and party were greeted with the demonstration of Chinese paintings and of classical Chinese music played by a distinguished musician on an ancient Chinese harp.

In the morning the Poet and the party were invited to visit the splendid garden house of Mr. Hardoon, a rich and influential Jewish merchant of Shanghai. Tagore's educational activities have roused special interest in Mr. Hardoon who has become a life member of the *Visva-Bharati*.

14th April:

The Poet and the party were taken over to Hangchow and the opening days of the



Indian New Year were spent on the lovely lakes of Hangchow. Prof. Sen, Prof. Bose, and Dr. Nag made a thorough search of the Yin Ling grottos with the sculptures and



Shanghai Port

temples hallowed by the memory of the Indian saint (Bodhi-jnana ?) who lived and died here preaching the divine doctrines of Lord Buddha to his Chinese brethren.

*16th April :*

In the afternoon a big public meeting was organised by the Educational Association of Hangchow. Here Dr. Tagore touched one of the deepest points relating to the unification of peoples. With great feeling and poetic fervour he referred to the career of the Indian saint who so completely identified himself with the Chinese people that he served them spiritually till his death. It is through such loving identification of spirit and self-sacrifice that India could win the heart of China in the past and the poet hoped, would do so in the future. His speech was punctuated with tremendous applause.

At the end of the public meeting, there was a tea party in which many distinguished educationists were present. Dr. Tagore, with his usual magnanimous language introduced the members of his party individually. Prof. Sen made a short speech and Dr. Nag spoke on the cultural collaboration of India and China and its significance on the race problem of history.

After dinner Dr. Tagore was honoured by the visit of the oldest living poet of this area, Mr. Chen-san-li, who was deeply moved to meet his Indian brother poet. It was a touching sight to see the hoary Chinese poet of 75 shaking the hands of Tagore with affectionate awe.

*17th April :*

The Japanese community of Shanghai honoured the Poet in a dinner in which the Japanese consul and many distinguished officers and guests were present. An address was presented to Dr. Tagore honouring him as the Poet-Laureate of Asia and the upholder of the spiritual dignity of the Orient. After dinner the Poet addressed a large gathering in the auditorium of the Japanese school. While thanking the Japanese people for the kind reception and remembering gratefully the splendid hospitality they showed to him when he visited Japan, he reminded them, with a candour that only poets are capable



Two Manchurian Ladies in China

of, how Japan lost her head during the war, and how obsessed by Chauvinism the Japanese totally misunderstood his lectures on



"Nationalism". At the end Dr. Tagore expressed his deep appreciation of the solid virtues of the Japanese people and asked them to remember how all the peoples of the Orient looked up to Japan and consequently she had a great responsibility.

The orientation of the Japanese mind since the great war was amply proved by the tremendous ovation with which they greeted the words of Tagore.

*18th April :*

The poet had the pleasant task of explaining his system of education to the charming girls of the Chinese Women's College. A few specimens of the masterly drawings of Prof. Nandalal Bose were presented to the teachers and students who appreciated them keenly.

In the National Institute of Self-government, on the invitation of its Dean, Mr. S. Y. Ch'u, Prof. Sen lectured on "Some Aspects of Indian Religion". Dr. Kalidas Nag also spoke on the "Unity and Continuity of History".

In the afternoon the poet had to address a monster meeting convened by 25 different societies and communities of China. Here for the first time Dr. Tagore gave pathetic utterance to his anxiety about China and the rest of the Orient infected by the poison of occidental materialism. Shorn of its intellectual character and economic advantage which appertains to the West, this terrible Demon is working havoc amidst the eastern peoples, exploiting them to death, and what is worse, degrading them by robbing them of their age-old instincts of purity and beauty; with the degradation of man comes the disfiguring of the lovely countries by means of vulgar skyscrapers and ugly smoking chimneys. It is a life and death problem to the Eastern nations and they must fight combined with all the spiritual strength that they have inherited with all the moral fervour that they can command.

*20th April : Nanking.*

In Nanking the Poet had a special interview with the military Governor Chi-shi-Yuan who is shaping the destiny of the three large provinces of South-Eastern China. In course of this interview Tagore conveyed to the Governor, the deepest interest and sympathy which India feels for China. He showed further how the basis of the civilisation of these two sister countries was Peace. He expressed his hope that in the future evolution of the history of China she would be the colleague and friend of India in the

great crusade against greed, brutality and murder which are threatening to ruin the world under the cover of scientific progress and modern culture. China should settle all her domestic differences by the magnanimous principle of mutual concession and then emerge strong and self-contained, competent to make her voice felt again on behalf of Pacifism and Progress.

The Governor accepted these profound words of the Poet as benedictions from India which once came as the spiritual monitor and partner of the inner life of China. He agreed with the Poet that peace is the only true foundation of civilisation. He lamented the dangerous legacy of the West in the form of diplomacy and violence. But he hoped that in near future China would settle all her differences and work peacefully with India for the permanent progress of mankind.

On his way back Tagore paid a visit to the Civil Governor, Han-tze-sue. He was agreeably surprised to find that this old Chinese veteran had been following his thoughts through the summaries of speeches given in the vernacular papers. The governor, liked especially Tagore's speech in Shanghai before the Chinese community. He even went so far as to say that the poet's wonderful messages may not be understood, most probably



The President of Lotus Convent, at Tsinanfu

misunderstood by the modern generation, but that a few like him who had the privilege to dive into the depths of Indian spiritual



wisdom as enshrined in the Buddhist scriptures, would ever be thankful to Tagore for bringing that eternal message back to China in the day of her worst depression and degradation.

In the afternoon Dr. Tagore made an impassioned appeal to the younger generation of China in the spacious hall of the Nanking University. The upper balcony was about to collapse owing to overcrowding; fortunately the disaster was averted, and the Poet, all unperturbed amidst that miraculously stopped catastrophe, called the dormant youth of China to arise and to join the Poet in his hymn to Everlasting Life and in his campaign against vulgarity, avarice and violence that threaten the civilisation of man.

*22nd April :*

Dr. Tagore and party arrived in Tsinanfu, the capital of the Shantung province. Prof. Sen, Prof. Bose and Dr. Nag went to visit the "Society for the Revival of Buddhism" organised by Justice Mai, a learned Buddhist. They also had the privilege to visit a Chinese nunnery of the Lotus sect.

In the afternoon the Poet addressed a huge open air meeting: he candidly said that he was almost sure that his message of idealism would not be accepted by the



Mr. Liang-Hsu-Ming, a Great Savant of Peking versed in Buddhist Scriptures

majority. But it did not really matter if it was accepted or rejected. His function was to realise and to pronounce Truth. His con-



Miss Lin, Dr. Nag, Tagore, Prof. Sen and Prof. Bose in Peking

viction was firm that some day people would understand that real progress is not in the path of ugly materialism and deadly selfishness but in that of altruism and creation of beauty.

After this address the Poet was carried, amidst deep applause, to the Shantung Christian University. Here he gave the audience a history of the school of Santiniketan and also the story of its gradual development into Visva-Bharati. The speech was keenly appreciated by the teachers and professors of the University.

*Peking,*

*23rd April :*

In a special train arranged by the governor of Nanking, escorted and saluted by the



guards of the Republic, Dr. Tagore arrived in Peking in the evening. The platform was crowded with visitors, friends and members of the reception committee. A few Parsee and

leader of young China), Mr. Liang-su-Ming (Philosopher, author of the Eastern and

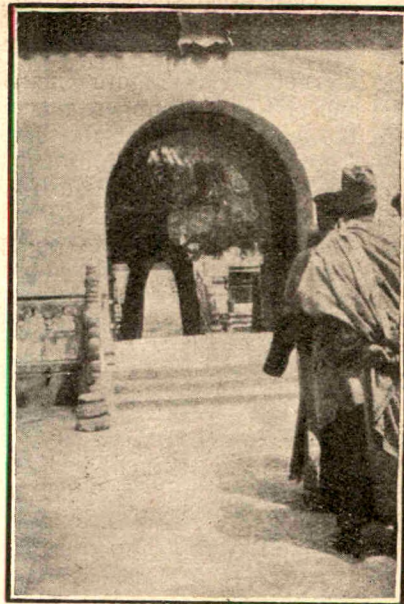


Miss Lin and Tagore within the Palace of the Forbidden City—Peking

Sindhi merchants, that were here, came to pay their homage to their Poet, and garlanded him, whilst the Chinese crowd shouted and burnt crackers. Dr. Tagore and party were accommodated in the Hotel de Pekin.

#### 25th April:

The first formal reception was given to Dr. Tagore and party in the historic Imperial Garden, inside the hall where the former emperors used to receive foreign ambassadors. Nearly fifty distinguished men, ex-ministers, statesmen, philosophers, professors—in fact a sub-committee of the nation-builders of modern China—asssembled there to do honour to the "Grand Old Man" of India: Mr. Hsung-shi-ling (once Prime Minister), Mr. Wang-ta-shi (once Minister of Foreign Affairs and ambassador to Japan), Mr. Fang-yuan-lien (once Minister of Education, now President of the Normal University), Mr. Lin-chang-min (Minister of Justice), General Tsiang, Mr. Tsai-yuan-Pei (Chancellor of the Peking National University), Mrs. Hsiung-shi-ling (President of the Red Cross Society and a great worker in the cause of female education), Miss Y. Yang (President of Women's Normal College), Dr. Hu Shih, Ph.D. (author of the History of Chinese Philosophy and the Intellectual



A Gate within the Palace of the "Forbidden City"—Peking. Beyond the gate is seen another natural gate formed by the coalition of two trees. It is believed that if a married couple pass through that Arboreal Gate they become happy and prosperous

the Western Culture—their respective outlook on life), Mr. Carsun Chang (Collaborator of Eucken in the "Philosophy of Life in China and Europe"). Mr. P. C. Chang (Dean of the Tsin Hue College), Mr. Johnston (Private Tutor to the ex-Emperor and author of



Poet Tagore with the Great Learned man of China, Mr. Liang-Chi-Chao in the Sun-Po Library garden in the "Forbidden City"—Peking



several works on China), Mr. Wilhelm (Professor, Peking University) and many other distinguished personages gathered under the Presidency of Mr. Liang-chi-chao, one of the builders of the New Republic. In welcoming Tagore Mr. Liang-chi-chao delivered a great speech recounting the glories of the past history in which China and India collaborated. He said that the Chinese always looked upon India as an elder brother, and Tagore by offering his spiritual aid at this critical stage of Chinese history had really acted as an elder brother. China would remember this fact with gratitude. He wished that the noble mission of Tagore be fulfilled. Mr. Liang promised to deliver two lectures to prepare the

ciation. The temple bell sounded its rich music and the Poet also in his wonderfully musical voice expatiated on the deathless doctrine of *maitri*—universal love, like a Buddhist saint of yore.

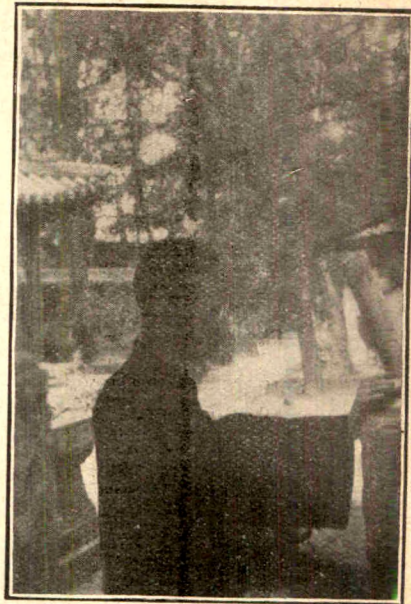


Kaifeng Bell, Built during the Chao Dynasty.  
8th century B. C.

mind of the Chinese public by giving them an outline history of Sino-Indian relations. Dr. Tagore replied in a dignified speech which by its depth as well as by social qualities charmed the heart of his audience. He earnestly hoped that for the future China and India would join hands fraternally and work for the Peace and Unity amongst mankind.

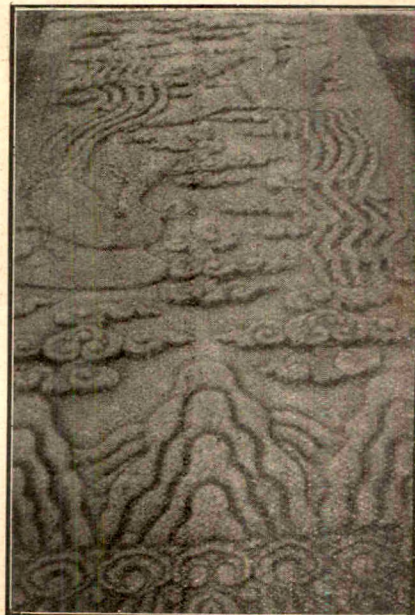
26th April:

The Poet and his party were welcomed by the priests of Fa-yuan-ssu, one of the oldest temples of Peking. Here under the lilac trees Tagore addressed the priests and the members of the Young Men's Buddhist Asso-



The ex-Emperor of China

In the evening Prof. Sen and Dr. Nag had a long talk with Dr. Hu Shih in his splendid library on the various thought-currents of



A Decorated incased Plane between the Staircases in the Temple of Heaven, Peking

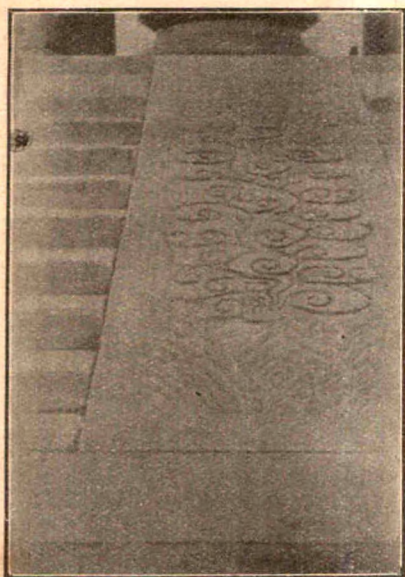


modern China as well as on the possibility of the compilation of the history and philosophy of Buddhism through the collaboration of Indian and Chinese scholars.

27th April :

This morning the ex-Emperor with his empresses and retinue received Dr. Tagore and party in the historic palace of the "Forbidden City." Mr. Johnston, as the master of ceremonies, piloted the whole party. After the exchange of greetings, the Poet offered a few books of his with his autograph to the Emperor and a pair of auspicious Indian bangles to the two queens. They were received with great pleasure and the queens like two lovely apparitions disappeared behind the curtains. The Emperor did Dr. Tagore a unique honour by conducting him personally through that gorgeous maze of Imperial grandeur; massive gates, huge towers, gigantic court-yards shining with the reflected light of the unique glazed tiles, the hall of audience,

in and another photo-duet with the two renowned poets of India and China followed. Lastly the whole imperial party and the Indian mission party were taken in a large group. The Emperor and Empress entertained Dr. Tagore and his troupe with Imperial tea and light refreshment in his private apartments. Thus after over two and a half hours of entertainment the ex-Emperor bade Dr. Tagore and his party a warm farewell presenting a big picture of the Buddha with the Imperial seal on it, as a souvenir of the interview.



A Staircase of the Temple of Heaven in Peking

the hall of ambassadors, the hall of Imperial archives, and last, though not the least, the Throne Room where only a very privileged few could enter. Then taking the Poet down the dream-like gardens, the Emperor showed the Taoist, Confucian and Buddhist temples attached to the Palace. In a quiet corner of the garden the imperial camera party was lying in ambush. A special photo was taken with the ex-Emperor and the Poet standing side by side. Then the court-poet was ushered



Miss Lin, Poet Tagore, Mr. Hsu—a Guide and Companion of Tagore in his tour through China

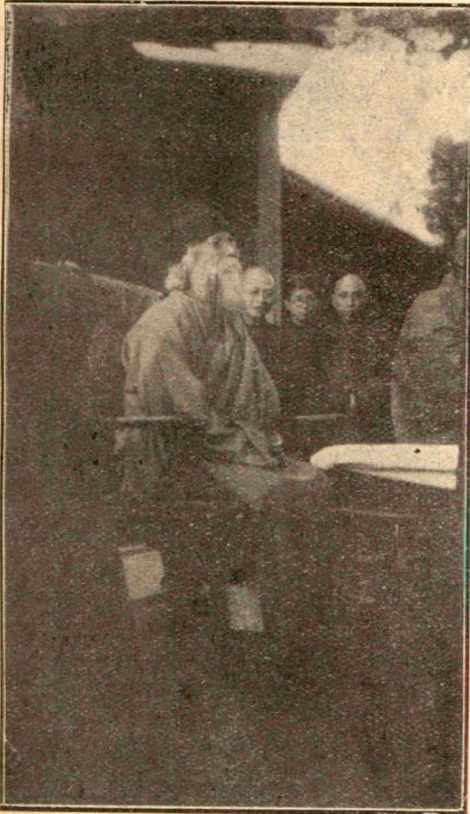
In the evening the Poet and his party were entertained in a "Banquet of Scholars" where some distinguished men of letters honoured the Poet-laureate of Asia. On this occasion Mr. Lin a renowned art-critic delivered a splendid discourse on the "Limitations of Chinese Poetry" and very tactfully provoked the Indian poet to speak as to how he had managed to revolutionise the rigid classicism of Indian poetry. Dr. Tagore spoke with wonderful inspiration, fascinating the audience dwelling on the creative aspect of the



revolution in Bengali literature from the Vaisnava lyrics and the Baul song down] to the compositions of the present age.

28th April :

This afternoon, in the vast temple of Agriculture Dr. Tagore addressed the biggest open



Poet Tagore addressing a meeting in the West Temple in Peking

air meeting in China. Nearly 10,000 souls were present and the Indian seer spoke with rare strength and inspiration on the *Ideals* forming the basis of Oriental life.

Prof. Nandalal Bose was invited by a renowned Chinese painter Mr. King who showed him round the modern Sino-Japanese exhibition in the Central Park. Interesting discussions followed. Prof. Sen and Dr. Nag accompanied Mr. Bose through the exhibition.

29th April:

In the morning Dr. Tagore, Prof. Bose, Prof. Sen and Dr. Nag were received by Baron Staal Holstein, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Peking. The Baron very kindly showed his precious collection of Tibetan and Chinese antiquities, paintings, bronzes



Miss Lin, Dr. Nag, Prof. Sen, Prof. Elmhirst and Poet Tagore



Prof. Sen and Dr. Nag with Baron Holstein, Professor of Sanskrit in Peking University

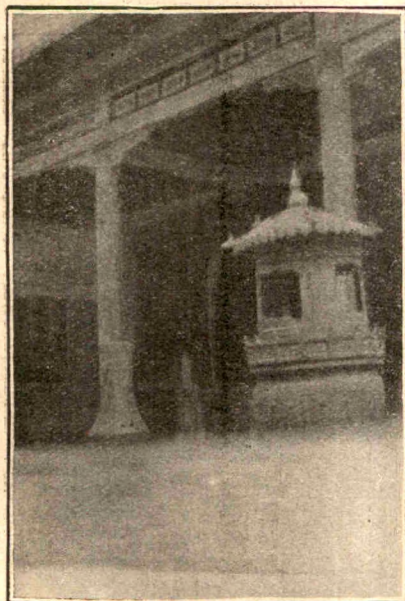
etc., as well as the manuscripts with which he was working. Many important details were



discussed with regard to the programme of the exchange of professors and students between India and China, a programme initiated by Dr. Tagore on the generous support of Mr. Birla. The Baron supported the scheme



An Octogenarian Farmer near Lungmen Hill



A Temple on the Way to Lungmen Hill

whole-heartedly and generously offered every help to the first visiting scholar from Visva-Bharati, Pandit V. S. Sastri.

In the afternoon Dr. Tagore spoke to a group of renowned Chinese painters holding an exhibition. His appeal to establish closer relationship between the Chinese and the Indian schools of painting was warmly responded. To the organisers of the exhibition generously offered to the Kalabhavan of the Visva-Bharati a few pictures as a friendly gift, which were thankfully received.

Later on the Poet and his party were entertained in the residence of Mr. Johnston who kindly showed his splendid collection of books and other objects of art.

[ 30th April :

Prof. Nandalal Bose, Prof. Sen and Dr. Nag were invited to a round table conference: some of the greatest living artists of Peking were present and the veteran painter Mr. Wang-chi-lin as their mouthpiece, conducted a three hours' discussion, in the course of which the Chinese and the Indian scholars



Images in a Grotto on the Lungmen Hill

exchanged their views on art. Mr. H. Mei, editor of the Morning Post (Peking) kindly acted as interpreter. Mr. Bose offered a few reprints and publication of the Calcutta Art Society for inspection which were much appreciated and the Chinese Society in return presented a few Chinese books on painting which were thankfully received.

The first week of May was spent by Dr. Tagore in the Tsin-Hue College, the centre of modern education in Peking and a stronghold



of American influence. Here the Poet was besieged by earnest students who interrogated him from day to day, on diverse questions, e.g., on his attitude towards modern science, his theory on art, etc.



An Image of Buddha

Prof. Sen, Prof. Bose and Dr. Nag escorted by Prof. Chi Li of the Tientsin University, started to visit the ancient relics of Buddhism in the Honan province. On the



The Five Pinnaced Temple in Peking. Built by the Bengalees in the 15th Century

2nd May the party reached Loyang, the centre of Buddhist activities in the Han period. On the 3rd May they explored the famous rock-cut temples of Lung-men contemporaneous with the Gupta period of Indian history. On the 4th May the temple of Paimassu, the earliest centre of Buddhist activities in China was visited and a precious collection of rubbings and facsimiles were collected.



Miss Ling in the Role of Chitra



Prof. Kshitimohan Sen in Peking

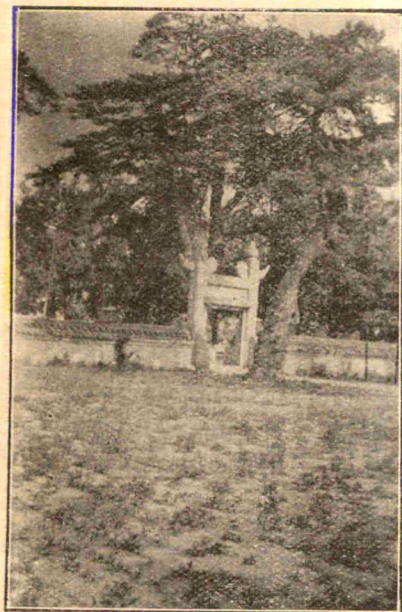
On the 5th May the party came to Kaifeng, visited the ancient temple with its rich library containing the Ming dynasty Tripitakas. The superb glazed-tyled Pagoda and the biggest bronze image of Buddha in the University compound were also seen.



In the evening Dr. Nag was invited to speak on some problems of modern India and he lectured on "the Formative Factors in the History of 19th century India". Starting from the age of Ram Mohan Roy, he traced the history of the social, educational and religious movements that culminated in the works of Rabindranath and his Visva-Bharati.

On the 6th May the scholars examined

flocked to the momentous birth-day ceremony of the great Indian Poet. Mr. Liang Chi



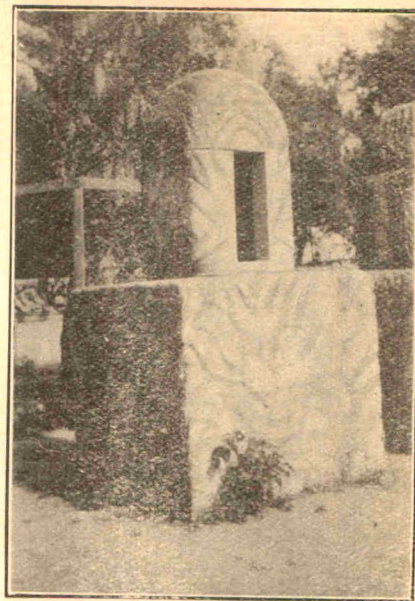
Temple of Agriculture, Peking

the remarkable Chow dynasty bronzes (8th century B. C.) discovered in this area a few months ago. Then followed a group discussion with other Chinese archaeologists on the problems of Sino-Indian art evolution. Facsimiles of important bilingual (Chinese and Brahmi) inscriptions were presented to the party to be deciphered by Indian palaeographers. The authorities of the Museum and of the University, entertained Dr. Tagore's party in a lunch and they had also an interview with the Military Governor of the Honan Province, Chang Tse Hung, who very kindly enquired about Dr. Tagore and his group of professors and expressed his desire to have a sketch from the hand of the Indian artist. Mr. Bose offered the Governor a beautiful work which was received with great pleasure.

8th May:

The Poet and his party were back to Peking.

The elite of the capital of the republic



Temple of Agriculture, Peking

Chao in his opening speech of congratulation presented the poet with a pair of splendid



A Chinese Soldier brandishing Ta-dah (Big Sword) in the Temple of Agriculture in Peking

seals with the new Chinese name given to the Poet! Dr. Hu Shih followed by a warm speech on behalf of the younger generation



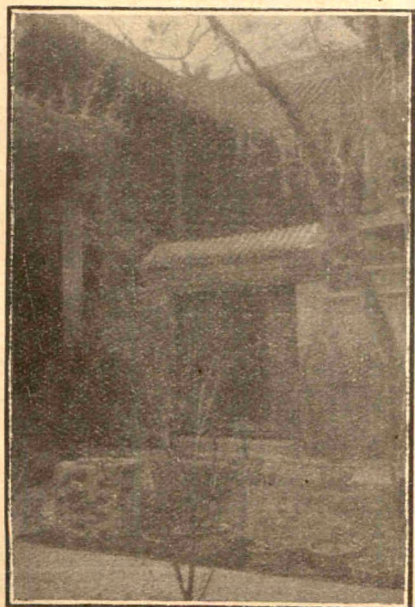
of modern China. Dr. Tagore charmed the audience as much by his noble utterances as by his superb Bengali dress! Prof. Sen recited a Sanskrit benediction and Dr. Nag recited a Bengali poem from the masterpiece of Tagore's Balaka.

After the ceremony, the party was entertained by the representation of Tagore's Chitra by the members of the "Crescent Moon" Club of Peking. The Chinese staging was quite interesting and the interpretation of the main role of Chitra by Miss Phyllis Lin was much appreciated.

Between the 9th and 12th of May, Dr. Tagore delivered his four public lectures from the series which he specially prepared for the Chinese trip. The whole series would soon be published in Chinese translation by the Commercial Press, Shanghai. The English originals also would presently be made public.

After these days of strenuous activities, rather trying for his delicate health, the Poet retired to the Western Hills to recover strength for the return journey.

Prof. Sen, Prof. Bose and Dr. Nag were busy giving the finishing touch to their survey of Peking, the heart of modern China, visiting the important temples, mansions, art galleries, etc., which go to make Peking a veritable treasure-house of Asiatic history.



Temple of Date Palm, a Buddhist Temple in Peking

On the 15th May, Prof. Kshitimohan Sen was invited to speak in the Peking University

on "Hindu Heterodox Systems"—a subject in which he has specialised. Starting from the Rig and the Atharva Vedas, Prof. Sen surveyed the great development of Hindu heterodoxy in the middle ages with great saints like Kabir, Nanak, Dadu and others. The speech was highly appreciated. Dr. Hu Shih acted as interpreter.

On the 16th May Prof. Bose and Dr. Nag had the privilege of presenting before the Peking public, a systematic documentation of Indian art, with the help of the lantern slides supplied by the Indian Art Society of Calcutta. Starting from the earliest aniconic monuments of ancient India Dr. Nag traced the evolution of Indian art through its vicissitudes of growth and decadence till the dawning of



The Temple of General Kwan, an old Chinese Patriot, now worshipped as a War-God; the Bronze lion before the Temple Gate is 8 feet high

the new era in painting inaugurated by Mr. Abanindranath Tagore and his talented disciples. Projections of representative pictures of Mr. A. N. Tagore, Mr. Nandalal Bose, Mr. Suren Ganguly, Mr. Asit Haldar, amongst others, were keenly appreciated. The famous art journal 'Rupam' edited by Mr. O. C. Ganguly and other publications of the Calcutta Society of Art were exhibited to the Chinese public on this occasion.

18th May :

The chancellor and the authorities of the Peking National University bade farewell to



Dr. Tagore and his party. On this occasion the poet pronounced some of his deepest thoughts roused by the actualities of Chinese life. Dr. Hu Shih made a deeply touching speech offering the final vote of thanks to the great Indian seer who came and conquered the heart of young China.

19th May :

Dr. Hu Shih took Prof. Sen, Prof. Bose, Dr. Nag through the Sinological department and museum of the Peking University which proposed to exchange its publications with those of the Visva-Bharati.



Students—old and young—of Tei-nan Buddhist School : The students on the right, Mr. Yu, will shortly come to the Visva-Bharati to study Sanskrit

In the afternoon Dr. Tagore spoke in the International Institute in which every religion of China was represented. Dr. Gilbert Reid, the secretary, introduced Tagore as a great spiritual teacher of modern India, and Tagore gave his spiritual autobiography in his address "A Poet's Religion." Prof. Sen spoke later on about the spiritual discipline of Indian sages and Dr. Nag gave an exposition of the religious and philosophical position in the general evolution of Indian idealism.

Mr. Mai-lan-fong, the greatest living actor of modern China, entertained Dr. Tagore and party by a special representation of "Goddess of the Lo river."

20th May :

Dr. Tagore and party left Peking amidst

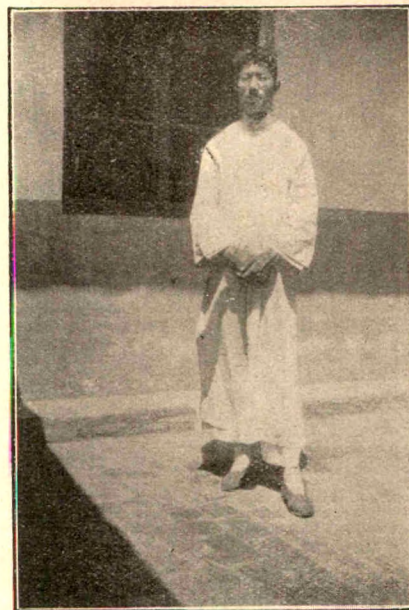
enthusiastic cheers and touching friendly farewell.

21st May :

Dr. Tagore and party, escorted by Mr. Westharp, (Director of the School of Foreign Languages, Shansi) arrived in Taiyuanfu, capital of Shansi.

22nd May :

Dr. Tagore had a long and profound conversation with the learned Governor of the



Mr. D. C. Yu, a prospective student of Sanskrit in Visva-Bharati

Shansi province, Yen-Shi-san. He is one of the very few true idealists of modern China struggling to build the new Republic on some solid moral foundation. Thanking the poet for his kind visit the governor asked several questions on the principles of government and the Indian seer replied with a keenness, a far-sightedness and a grasp of the fundamentals that evoked deep admiration from the Confucian governor. It was a symbolical meeting—between this Hindu seer and the Chinese administrator. Especial facilities were offered for an experimental farm in Shansi to be organised by Mr. L. K. Elmhirst, Director of the Rural Reconstruction Department of Visva-Bharati.

In the afternoon, Tagore addressed the huge audience of Taiyuanfu on the moral basis of wealth and its responsibilities touching the very basis of modern Economics.





Mr. Talati—a Parsee Merchant, Dr. Nag, Mr. Yu and Prof. N. L. Bose—artist

Mr. Elmhirst then gave an impressive address describing the work of Rural Reconstruction in Sriniketan.

At night the governor entertained Dr. Tagore and party to a dinner in his palace.

#### 25th May:

Dr. Tagore and party came to Hangkow and addressed an open air meeting in which he with prophetic fire spoke on *Dharma*, Eternal Verity as the indispensable basis of all human organisations. Deviations from Dharma may be temporarily successful, but the punishment is inevitable in the form of total destruction. He advised China to build on Dharma this bed-rock of all civilisations.

At night Dr. Tagore and party sailed for Shanghai in the river boat "Kut-woo". Nearly 200 Sikh and other Indian residents came to bid the party farewell.

#### 28th May:

Dr. Tagore and party landed in Shanghai. In the evening Dr. Tagore spoke on his Philosophy of Education before a select audience in the house of the Italian friends Mr. and Mrs. Bena who had the honour of keeping Tagore as their guest.

Mr. Sowerby, editor of the China Journal of Science and Art, and a distinguished educationist, paid a warm tribute on the splendid contribution of Tagore in the cause of children's education.

#### 29th May:

This is the last day of Dr. Tagore in China and the day of sailing for Japan. Naturally the day opened with a warm reception in the splendid Japanese College in the suburb of Shanghai. In his address to the Japanese youths Tagore appealed strongly to their time-honoured moral virtues of heroism that was beautiful and a sense of beauty not devoid of strength. His deep appreciation of Japanese culture and character roused great enthusiasm and most important questions were discussed in the lunch that followed in which many distinguished Japanese officers and professors consulted Dr. Tagore on several problems confronting modern Japan.

The Chinese Community bade farewell in the same house of Mr. Carsun Chang where he was first welcomed. In that connection, while thanking his Chinese friends Dr. Tagore made a brilliant retrospective survey of his tour through China.

Lastly the Moslem, the Parsee and the Sindhi communities of Shanghai organised special meetings to bid their Poet a happy return voyage and each community expressed its sympathy for the great work that Dr. Tagore is doing, by presenting a purse for his Visva-Bharati. Tagore made fitting reply to each of these friendly addresses and sailed for Japan in the Shanghai-Maru specially supplied by the Nippon Yusen Kaisha.



# THE AGE OF CONSUMMATION OF MARRIAGE

BY JYOTI SWARUP GUPTA, B. A., L. L. B.

THE Indian Penal Code as originally enacted in 1860 supposed that a married girl who had completed her tenth year was fit for consummation of marriage and further that outside the marital relation a girl above ten years of age had attained sufficient maturity of judgment to give her consent so as to exonerate any man who had sexual intercourse with her from the offence of rape. It, therefore, prescribed that any man, even a husband, who had sexual intercourse with any girl under ten years of age was punishable with the offence of rape. There was a body of opinion at that time which considered that the law did not go far enough and that a higher age should have been fixed. In the eighties of the last century the lady doctors of India sent a petition to the Governor-General in which they expressed their firm opinion that the age was too low and supported their contention by citing a number of cases, within their personal experience, in which irreparable harm had been done to girls between the ages of 8 and 12 by too early sexual intercourse. In 1891 the question was forced upon the attention of the Government by a case of culpable homicide perpetrated by a husband upon his infant wife. The Government instituted inquiries and discovered that there were a large number of cases in which the husband, after marriage, hurried to consummation with the result that wives were at times grievously hurt. An inquiry from the medical men disclosed the fact that in India, the age of puberty was 14, but the Government said "we cannot by one leap raise the age from 10 to 14." Consequently, the Age of Consent Bill of 1891 was passed raising the age from 10 to 12.

A Bill sponsored by Dr. H. S. Gour is now on the anvil of the Indian Legislature which seeks to make it penal for any man to have sexual intercourse with any woman below the age of 14, even if she is his wife. The Bill has passed its second stage and is now before the country for public criticism. Unfortunately there is a great deal of divergence of opinion, as evinced by the various minutes of dissent appended to the report of

the Select Committee, upon this desirable amendment. This difference may manifest itself on the floor of the house, when the Bill comes to be discussed finally at its third reading. It, therefore, becomes necessary to clarify our ideas and come to definite conclusions by a close study of the pros and cons of the question before us.

The majority of the Select Committee has recommended that the age should be raised to 14 but that if the offence is committed by a husband against his wife who is between the age of 12 and 14, the punishment should be considerably reduced. Sir Malcolm Hailey and Sir Henry Staynyon were in favour of a more cautious course and wanted to raise the age to 13 for all purposes. As I shall try to show subsequently, 14 is the minimum age and, therefore, it is not necessary that social reform, like self-government, should come in stages. Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya leads the second and the more popular view. He is quite agreeable to raise the age to 14 years as against a stranger, but within the marital relation he is in favour of retaining the present age of 12 years. In his minute of dissent he says in part :—

"I am also in agreement with the view that even a person to whom a girl has been married should not consummate the marriage until the married girl has completed her fourteenth year... still I think we should not overlook the fact that there is a widespread idea among the people that a young woman becomes fit to live with her husband as soon as she begins to menstruate. I agree with the opinion that this is a wrong idea. I myself think that a woman should live with her husband only after she has completed her 16th year. But in view of the fact that marriages take place before 12 and of the widespread belief prevalent among a considerable section of the people that it is the duty of the husband to live with his wife after she has begun to menstruate, I do not think co-habitation by a husband with his wife should be made punishable by Law... There is a widespread movement in the Hindu community to raise the age of marriage and to delay the period of the consummation of marriage even if marriage takes place earlier than 12 years. I think it will be right at least to postpone the enactment of such a law as is proposed and to leave it to Hindu social and religious associations to educate public opinion regarding the evil results of the consummation of marriage before the age of 14."

There was also a third and the orthodox

view which contends that Hindu Shastras enjoin that the marriage should be consummated when the girl attains puberty, that girls in India attain puberty at the age of 12 and, therefore, it will be opposed to religion, Shastric injunctions and custom to raise the age.

In order to correctly appreciate the position and come to an unbiassed conclusion it is necessary to examine the question from every conceivable point of view. I am presented with the following aspects of the question, which seems to exhaust the list, *viz.* (i) whether any increase in age will be in violation of the Hindu religion, (2) whether sexual intercourse will not be injurious at the age of 12, and (3) whether it is the duty of the State to interfere or should it leave to society to take its own turn? I propose to deal with all these issues seriatim.

It is believed in some orthodox circles that the Hindu religion and Shastras enjoin that marriage should be performed before puberty and that the husband should live with his wife as soon as she begins to menstruate. It will be my endeavour to show that early marriages are due not to any mandate of religion but to the ignorance of religion and to the total disregard of the laws of nature and due to a want of sense of justice towards our sisters' health and constitution. In fact no religion worth its name can teach that marriage should be consummated before the parties to it are fully equipped to carry out the responsibilities of a married life. Indeed, if we turn to the Vedas we find it clearly laid down in Rigveda, mandal I, ch. 179, verse 4 and mantra 1 that

"Men and women should marry after they have attained full growth and strength of mind and body as well as perfect knowledge and moral training and completed the Brahmachari Ashram."

Again Rigveda, mandal 3, chapter 4 mantra 16 lays down that

"Like the cows not milked by anybody, let a perfectly youthful woman undertake the responsibility of maternity after having attained full maturity and marrying youthful husbands."

The protagonists of the religious theory lay the greatest stress on some verses which are found in the ordinances of Manu which can be construed as recommending that marriage should be celebrated before the girl attains puberty. It is doubtful if the supporters of such a contention can lay their hands on any verse which lays down in unequivocal language that the girl should be married before puberty and that marriage should be

consummated as soon as she begins to menstruate and that any deviation from it constitutes a religious offence. Instead of stating my conclusions generally and broadly I propose to substantiate them by a close analysis of the ordinances of Manu as translated by Drs. Burnell and Hopkins. It is curious that the third chapter which is devoted to the consideration exclusively of "marriage and the religious duties of a householder" is perfectly silent about the marriageable age and its consummation. It opens by narrating in great and minute details the qualifications of girls which should be married. It is so comprehensive in the enumeration of details that it lays down that a twice-born should not marry in a family, even though it be great and prosperous, if it has no males or does not possess the Vedas or if the members are hairy or have piles or are afflicted with consumption, dyspepsia, epilepsy, etc. The list is not exhausted, because it goes on to say that a twice-born should not marry a tawny, sickly or red-eyed maiden or one without hair or with excessive hair, or a chatterbox, or one called after a star, tree, river, mountain or bird or one who has not a brother. The chapter proceeds to describe in great detail the selection of the castes and the family of the bride, the forms and rituals of marriage, the nights on which a husband should go to his wife or abstain. It goes on to state how a family prospers if the women are honoured and *vice versa*. How the deities are to be worshipped, daily oblations offered, guests received, Brahmans fed and how in fact all the conceivable duties of a householder should be performed, but it nowhere mentions that one should marry and consummate the marriage before the girl attains puberty. The fourth and fifth chapters deal with, among other things, the "private morals" and "duties of women" and here again one looks in vain for any injunction about the age of marriage or its consummation. When, however, we come to the ninth chapter on "civil and criminal law for the third and fourth castes" we come across the passages relied on by supporters of the religious theory. The verses which have some bearing are quoted below.

"4.—The father who does not give [his daughter in marriage] at the right time is blamable. Blamable too is the husband if he does not have intercourse with her [at the right period].

88.—One should give a girl in marriage according to rule to that suitor who is of high [family], handsome, and of like [caste] even though she has not reached [the age of puberty].

89.—Better that the girl, even if she has arrived



at the age of puberty, should remain at home till her death than that one should ever give her to a suitor lacking in good qualities.

90.—A girl having reached the age of puberty should wait three years [for a husband] but at the end of that time she should herself choose a husband of like caste."

If we construe the fourth verse literally there is nothing to show that Manu enjoined that marriage should be consummated as soon as the girl attains puberty. Indeed the words "right time" are capable of both interpretations. Those who are for the age being raised can say that "right time" does not arrive till the girl is mentally and physically developed, while those who are in favour of retaining the present age can say that the idea underlying Manu was—as interpreted by the later commentators—the age of puberty. If we take the resultant of 88th and 89th verse, we can safely infer that the idea of Manu was that the greatest stress should be laid on getting a proper match. If a suitable match can be found before puberty, the parents should not lose it because the age of puberty is not reached; while if a proper match is not available, the girl should not be married only because she has reached the age of puberty. From the 90th verse it is as clear as day-light that it was not considered indispensable that the girl should be married before puberty. What is strange, however, is that these things are not at all mentioned in the previous chapters which deal exclusively and specifically with marriage and the duties of a householder and women. These rules have been incorporated in the chapter on Civil and Criminal Law meant for the 3rd and 4th castes and it may be that these rules are meant not for individuals to follow, but for the guidance of courts when they have to adjudicate on such points. Be what it may, one thing is clear. Verse 97th of the same chapter says that "women are created in order to bear children and men are created in order to beget posterity." If that is the be-all and end-all of life in the twentieth century and if no one believes in Birth Control Societies, then no wonder that the principles enunciated by Manu in his own time as a check on incontinence (which was in fashion at a certain time) and the dangers to which even innocent girls were subject at one time in the chaotic history of India, can be made applicable and transposed to the year of grace 1924. While I am on this point, I may also mention without either committing myself to that view or admitting that that view if correct detracts from the merits of the ordinances of Manu—

the conclusions to which Drs. Burnel and Hopkins have arrived about the origin and date of this sacred book:—

"In India a high position has been claimed for the book...it is chiefly based on references to Manu in the Vedas, Mahabharat, etc...It is quite certain that the text is called Manava not from the mythical Manu in the Vedas, but from the Manavas, a Brahman gotra and division of the followers of the Black Yajur Veda.....It thus appears that the text belongs to an outgrowth of the old Brahmanical literature, which was intended for the benefit of kings where the Brahmanical civilization had begun to extend itself over the south of India. There are some interpolations, but these are generally of an explanatory nature and are *prima facie* open to suspicion, . . .It also appears highly certain that it was composed about 500 A. D. under the Calukya sovereign Pulakie at Kalyanpur."

If the two doctors have correctly guessed the time, origin and circumstances of the compilation of the book, then it becomes quite easy to understand as to why Manu looked with equanimity and did not expressly forbid early marriage of girls. At that time India was passing through a most critical stage in her history when even the most innocent of unmarried girls was not immune from the danger of being carried away or otherwise molested. Hence Manu was perhaps left with the only alternative of incorporating in the chapter on Civil and Criminal Law that girls may be married at the age of puberty and thus giving legal sanction to what he may have perhaps prohibited in other circumstances. Even if we do not assume the above reading about the date and origin of the ordinances as correct, we can still argue with considerable force that the principles in any book which are based on eternal truths can always be differentiated from recommendations based on facts which exist at one time and may not exist at another. If the facts, which warranted the celebration of marriage on the happening of a more or less uncertain event in the life of a girl, *viz.* the attainment of puberty, do not exist now and are detrimental to her health, then we are left with the only alternative of remodelling our customs so as to ensure the greatest welfare for the parties to the marriage, their future progeny and the nation as a whole. It is quite likely that in the good old days when Manu wrote his ordinances, a girl attained puberty only when she had attained full growth and strength of body and mind and now on account of the too weak physique of children, defective heredity and unhealthy environment, the girls attain puberty much before they are fit, both mentally and physically, to enter upon the duties

of a married life. This explanation is supported by the fact that our mothers and grand-mothers did, in the majority of cases, attain puberty at a later age than our sisters and daughters do and that village girls attain puberty when they are older than their sisters in the cities. If this is so, attainment of puberty at the age of 12 must be looked upon more as a disease than a sign of fitness for entering upon the duties of a wife and mother.

It will not be necessary for me to labour the second issue at any great length. The ancient Hindu books on medical jurisprudence have clearly laid down that "man on completion of 25 and woman on completion of 16 years of age get full development of physical fitness for sexual intercourse." It has also been established beyond any phase of controversy, by the maternity and child welfare organisations in different parts of the world, that excessive infant mortality is almost always ascribable to early motherhood. The ages of both husband and wife have bearing on the future prospects of the offspring. Statistics show that all the countries with a high proportion of wives under age have a high infant death-rate. The appalling infant mortality, which when compared with other countries, is highest in India, is due to a very great extent on the custom of early marriages prevalent here. The children born of immature, and consequently weak, ignorant and illiterate mothers, who survive the first year after birth, are so sickly and weak that they have no resisting power and succumb to the least deviation from normal course of life. Even if God shows them special consideration and they are blessed with longevity, they do not possess that physical constitution, that

mental energy and that manly courage which characterises the sons and daughters of countries where early marriages are not prevalent. The effect of early consummation and early maternity is invariably disastrous for the woman. She is deprived for ever of the advantages of education and pleasure of youth and she passes immediately from childhood to old age. She has no time to store her energy or learn the duties of a wife or mother, with the result that after marriage she plods quite unenergetically on a weary course. If she is attacked by any disease, she has no power to resist and falls a victim to its effect. A slight fever or a mild cough or a little pain or cold, which an energetic woman can shake off at any moment, develop into phthisis, tuberculosis, rheumatic pains, etc., and deprive many a family of a loving mother and wife. True, early marriage is not the only factor of these misfortunes, but undoubtedly it is one of the important factors which cannot be neglected and allowed to do all the harm it is doing.

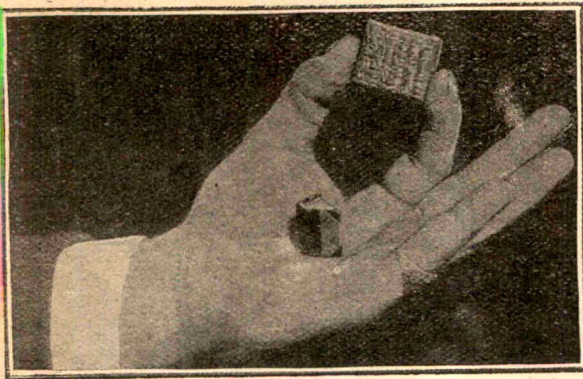
The third issue is plain enough. The duty of the Government does not end with maintaining Law and Order. It has to keep a vigilant eye over the details of the life of its subjects. As guardian of the welfare of its people, it is the paramount duty of the State to interfere by legislation and other effective means, wherever it finds that circumstances are not favourable to the growth of the prosperity of the nation. Had it not been for State interference we might never have been able to eradicate the evil of *Sati*. The chariot of public opinion moves very slowly indeed, if it moves at all, and no State can afford to be a silent spectator to the deterioration and destruction of the nation.



## GLEANINGS

### The World's Oldest and Smallest Books

These two books—one said to be the oldest, the other the smallest in the world—are on display at the University Library in Philadelphia, Pa. The oldest book—about an inch and a half square—is a record of commerce and barter inscribed on stone

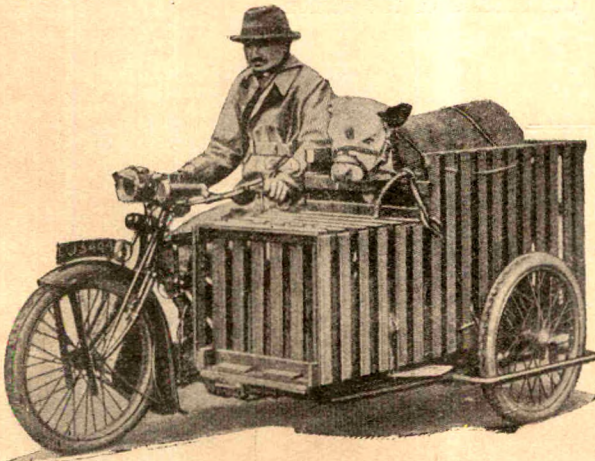


during the Ur dynasty of the Babylonian kings more than 5000 years ago. It is shown between the fingers of the hand above.

The smallest volume, made only a few years ago and containing several hundred pages, rests in the hollow of the hand as pictured above.

### Sidecars Carry Farm Products to Market

Few appreciate how versatile a conveyance a motorcycle can be. In Wales, many farmers who



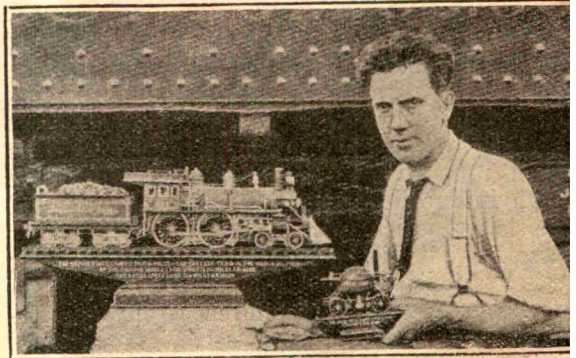
Driving a calf to market on the sidecar

live a considerable distance from the city and cannot afford to purchase trucks, carry their products to market in crates attached to motorcycle sidecars.

Even a partly grown calf, as the picture shows, can be transported conveniently. It will be observed also that besides the calf, the sidecar is carrying a smaller crate just in front.

### Carves Wood Models of Famous Locomotive

With his knife, Ernest Warther, of Dover, Ohio, for years has been recording the history of locomotive building in wood. His astonishingly detailed carved models have been inspected by thousands



including admiring fellow carvers, at exhibitions. Even to the fittings of the pipes that run along the body, and to the smallest detail of the coupling, his wooden miniatures are faithful reproductions.

### The Why, Whence, and Whither of "Twister"

"Typhoons and monsoons are storms covering large areas, hundreds of miles in diameter, and they give rise to straight winds only. The winds of a tornado have a violent rotary motion. The word 'cyclone' refers, correctly, to the great storm areas which pass, week by week, across the United States.

"The weather-man reports a storm; that storm is the result of the approach of a cyclone covering may hap, the entire Mississippi Valley or the Pacific Coast or the Atlantic. A tornado at its largest will be less than 1,000 feet wide at the base.

"Whenever the barometer falls a cyclone is approaching. A tornado may accompany it, provided the cyclone is of tornado character; provided the locality is tornado territory; above all, provided it is tornado season.

"Tornadoes, like roasting ears, come in season. This season, contrary to the general notion, is not July or August! It is not even June, the sultry month





Like "A great thick Rope"—A Nebraska Tornado Funnel Cloud at five miles distance. This photograph by William A. Wood shows also the rolling thunder head from which the funnel drops

summer, but is limited, strangely and fortunately, to March, April and May. April is the month of bumper tornado crops. The hot days of summer are not producers of the funnel clouds.

"The prevailing idea that tornadoes occur during midsummer has crept into text-books but one does



Close-up of the same Tornado. So near that it had to be photographed by Mr. Pickwell on two negatives. Attention is called to the long curved spout, the bend near the foot, and the characteristic boiling dust-cloud at the base

not need statistics to disprove it. With the exception of one, all the tornadoes illustrating this article occurred in April or May. And statistics show that nearly 80 per cent. take form in the first three months of spring.

"The tornado comes usually in the late afternoon or the early evening. They seldom occur outside the United States, and the Mississippi Valley reserves them mainly for itself. Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas and Missouri run neck and neck for funnel-cloud honors. Nebraska easily takes second place. And, closely in order, come Mississippi, Alabama, Iowa, Illinois, the Dakotas and Minnesota. Outside this region the whirling cloud seldom strikes.

"Just as the Mississippi Valley has more tornadoes than other parts of the United States, so some of the States of the valley have a longer list than others, and local, restricted portions of those States will be swept time and again by these 'little' scourges of the air. I recall that near a small town but ten miles west of my old home farm in Nebraska, three tornadoes have passed through the same strip in a short lifetime.

"As a whole, the tornado travels at a tremendous rate also. The funnel never travels less than forty miles per hour and often more than sixty. Last May a tornado descended near Clonmel, Kansas, and stopt a clock at 8.55 P. M. Thirty miles farther it struck Wichita, and stopt another clock at 9.32 P. M. It had traveled thirty miles in thirty-five minutes!

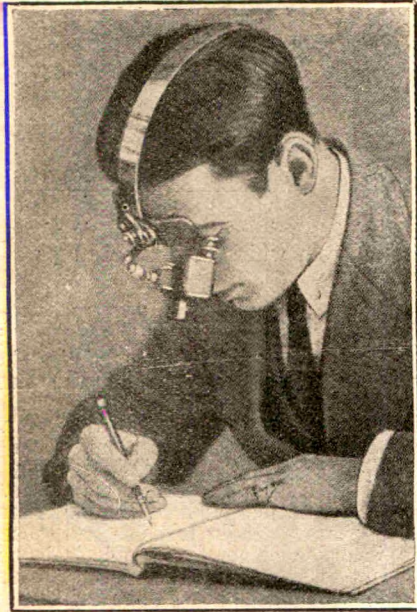
"There is but little to say concerning protection against tornadoes except that the individual danger is not great even in the territories of greatest frequency, for the paths are never wide. Greatest havoc results when a large city is in the path, for destruction is complete wherever the cloud touches. Farmers of the tornado region have 'cyclone' cellars and caves, but one may be caught in the field far from caves. It is hardly possible to outrun the cloud, but it is possible to sidestep it. Knowing that they usually travel from southwest to northeast, one may conduct his steps accordingly.

"It must be admitted that the near approach of this wonderful cloud causes such a panic that few sane ideas ever entertained, and there are some, to be sure, who become so thrilled at so rare a vision that the thought of danger never interrupts their observations.



## Telescope and Microscope in One Instrument

Embodied in this useful combination optical instrument is a prismatic telescope that can be converted quickly into an efficient microscope. All that is necessary to make the change is to attach a small tubular fitting that, like the telescope itself, can be carried in the vest pocket.



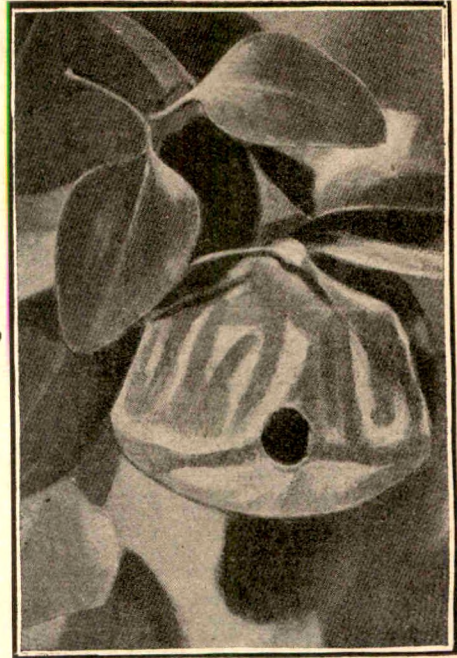
The original telescope insures a three or sixfold magnification, while the microscope amplifies 42, 84, or 180 times.

The same instrument may be used for examining small opaque objects, thus constituting what might be termed a telescopic magnifying lens.

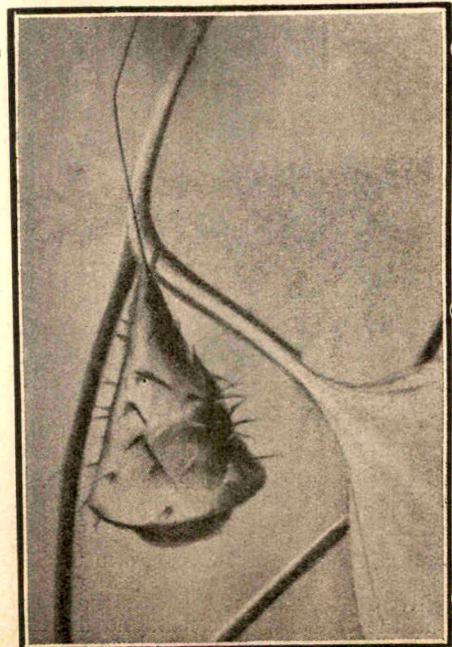
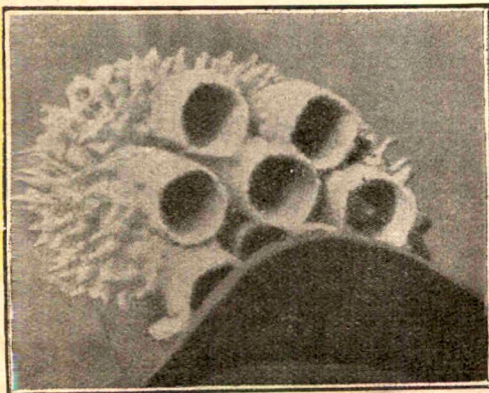
## Masterpieces of Insect Architects

The insect world, like the world of men, has its master architects and builders, its painters and deco-

rators, carpenters, and masons. And many of its odd structures are marvels of economy, safety, comfort

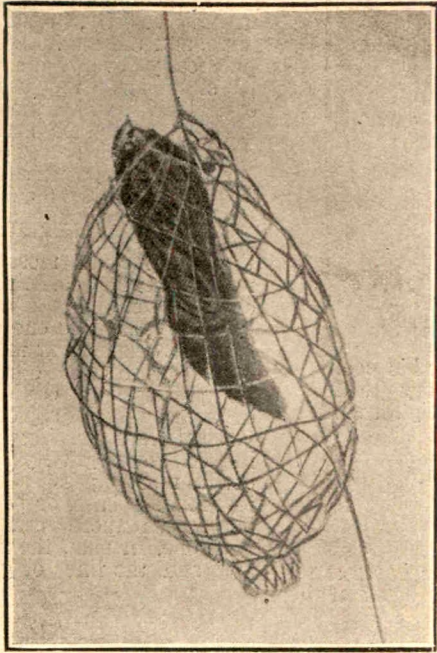


and beauty. In the great South American jungles where the air is warm the year round, the insects, have attained extraordinary skill in the construction of their homes. There are found the masterpieces of their architecture, adorned with wonderful designs and colors, and fortified against invading enemies.





A few of these structures, photographed by Paul Griswold Howes, assistant curator of the Bruce Memorial Museum, Greenwich, Conn., are reproduced on this page.

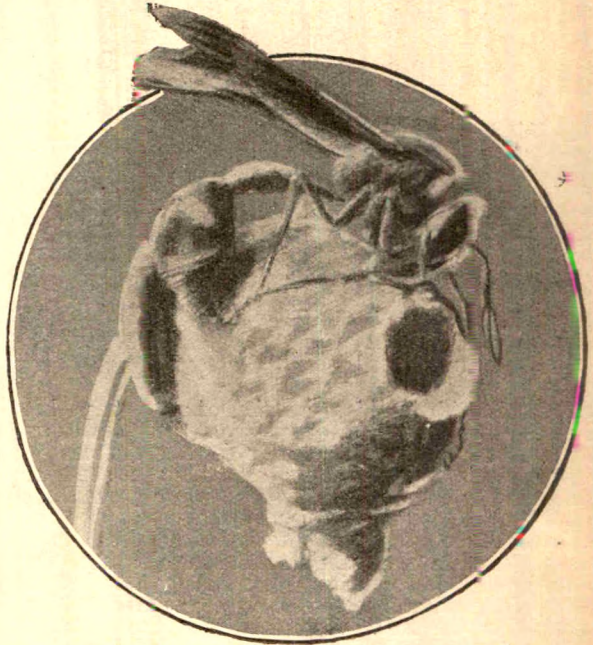


The master artist of the insects is the Painted-Nest Wasp of the tropics. Its nest, hung from a twig, is in the form of a flattened ball of dark reddish-brown pulp curiously streaked with patterns of white, pink and green. At the side of the nest is a circular entrance.



An ingenious armored house in which the cocoon of a Tropical Moth is protected from its enemies. It is a silken cone, half an inch high, covered with several dozen thorns made of the finest silk. The cone is hung from a silk thread 10 inches long attached to the apex. It appears neither to be edible nor to offer good footing, and so is left alone by the insect's enemies.

This Mason Wasp, called the *Eurænid*, is a potter of remarkable skill. Above is one of the many-colored jugs of clay in which its eggs are hatched.



This delicate nest of the tiny Trypoxylon Wasp. Mr. Howes says, is one of the most exquisite he has ever found. The cells of clay where the young wasps are raised, are more delicate than tissue paper. The entire outer surface of the nest, which is shown four times its actual size, is covered with clay spines.

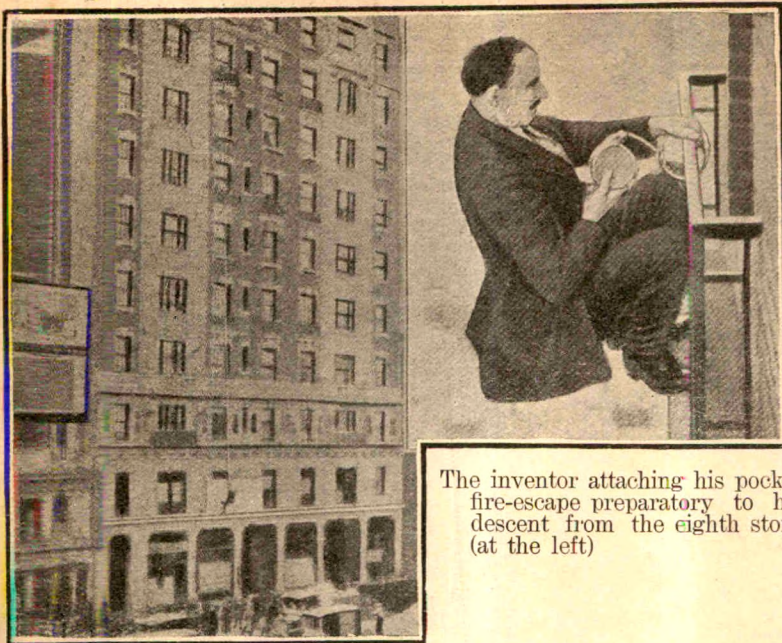
As a protection against myriad jungle murderers, the caterpillar of certain species of butterflies suspends itself from a leaf by a long, strong thread. Having done this, it weaves a beautiful silken basket of delicate mesh, less than an inch long. The photograph shows it greatly enlarged.

A huge "apartment house" built by the Social Wasps that live in great communities in the tree tops of Colombia jungles. The white pulp nest, three feet long, is as tough as the finest papier-mâché, beautifully glazed, and as white as snow. Within are tiers of paper cells. In obtaining the nest shown above, the limb supporting it was shot through and the nest dropped.

### Drops Eight Stories in Vest Pocket Fire Escape

The proof of the pudding is in the eating and the success of a fire escape lies in its utility. To





The inventor attaching his pocket fire-escape preparatory to his descent from the eighth story (at the left)

prove his faith in his invention of a "vest pocket fire escape," Peter P. Vescovi crawled out of an eight-story window of a New York hotel recently, attached his device to the small railing just outside the window and safely descended to the ground.

The "fire escape" consists of a compact roll of 75 feet of steel tape tested to hold 750 pounds. It is unwound from a little wheel inside the case, the speed of release being regulated by a brake. A strap fastened around the body attaches the "fire escape" to the user. Vescovi bravely demonstrated his device before half a dozen police and fire officials while a large crowd in the street watched his breath-taking descent.

### How I Became a Daredevil

The greatest circus daredevils are close students of nature's physical laws. And the most perfect, most thrilling spectacles of the sawdust ring are those in which the principles of science have been

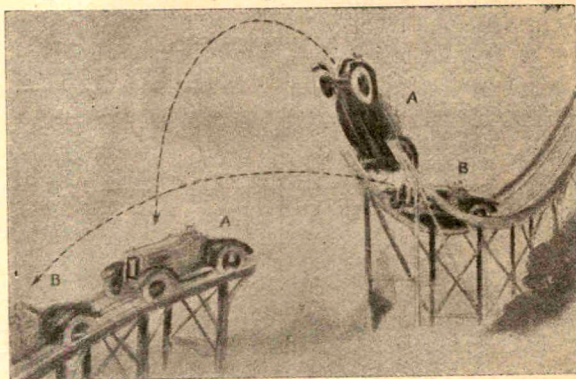


Skating down an incline and "looping the gap" on his head is one of the spectacular feats accomplished by Hilary Long with the aid of science

applied most painstakingly. In fact, practically every law of physics is brought into play in the making of a great circus—the principles of gravity, equilibrium, acceleration, velocity, centrifugal force, and the rest. Likewise, practically every branch of physics has its use—the optical, with which the magicians perform their marvels; electricity, the secret of the fire-eaters; acoustics, the aid of the eccentric musicians; mechanics, the ready tool of every trick-playing clown and the basis for the most hair-raising thrillers conceived by clever inventors.

Equilibrium is one of the basic problems that must be solved by the circus daredevil. To preserve the equilibrium of any body or object, the vertical line passing from its centre of gravity to the earth must pass through its resting base, or between its bases, if there are more than one. In man, the normal

resting bases are the feet, and the line of gravity passes between them.



The aerial automobile race, a mechanical thriller made possible by accurate calculation of distances and timing. Two small automobiles, A and B, race down an incline and loop the gap. Although A starts first, B finishes first, as shown. This is because A is made to go higher at the take-off, and so must travel a longer path to the receiving platform.

More difficult than balancing an object, is the balancing of a performer's body while poised on an object. If you ever have tried to ride a log floating in the water you will realize just how difficult it is. In this field the circus equilibrist has learned to perform feats that are almost unbelievable.

Ira Millette, the American aerialist who does unusual feats of swaying, swinging, and twirling high above the ground on a double trapeze, is a master of balance. In one of his acts he balances himself





Hilary Long, daredevil, of the Ringling Brothers Circus, who says his safety lies in his knowledge of the laws of physics.

upside down on a ball which, in turn, is balanced on the bar of a trapeze swinging high above his audience.

Equally as important as balancing for the aerialist is the exact timing of movement so that the acrobat's flying body and the swiftly moving apparatus will come together with clocklike precision. Jennie Rooney, one of the most skilful of American trapeze performers, rightly says that time, balance, and strength form the tripod that supports the successful circus daredevil.

In her whirling leaps high in the air, as she flings herself from a trapeze to her partner's outstretched hands, Miss Rooney is able to calculate her own movements and those of her partner to a split second. One miscalculation might mean a disastrous fall. Strength counts tremendously, too. Miss Rooney looks like a young girl just out of school. Yet she has the strength of two women. She proved that not long ago when she fell from a trapeze 40 feet high, caught a rope halfway down and clung fast to it. That was one of the most remarkable feats ever performed by a woman of the circus.

Another law of physics that all aerial performers must understand is centrifugal force—the force that exerts itself ever away from the center. This law is employed in all the audacious circus acts grouped under the general term of “looping.”

A simple example of centrifugal force can be witnessed by any one. Fill a glass with water. Whirl it rapidly in circles outward, the circles growing larger and larger. The water will remain in the glass, even when it is in an upside-down position. Centrifugal force, moving from the center outward, presses the water against the bottom of the glass.

This same force makes possible the dizzy whirling and swinging trapeze performances such as are accomplished by Ira Millette.

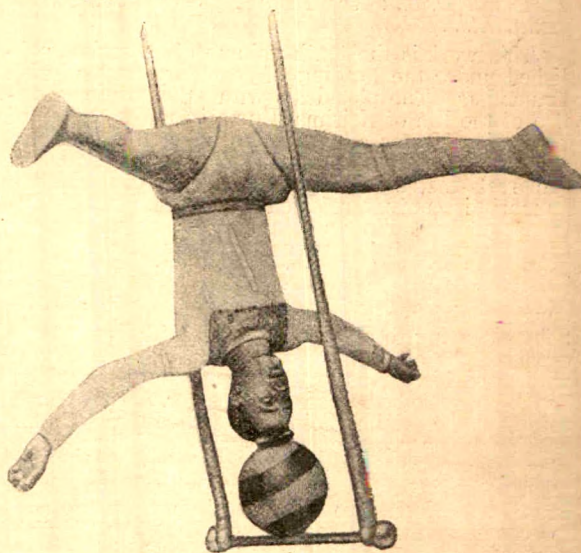
Its use in circus “looping” was applied for the first time 24 years ago by an American cyclist. The same principle applies also in the “Infernal Basket” or Death Trap, which consists of a large basket, around the inner sides of which motorcyclists speed maintaining themselves in almost horizontal positions.

Of course, while we cannot go counter to the laws of nature in the circus, we often give the impression of doing so. A striking example of this is the

apparent victory gained over a revolving disk. The rapid rotation of the disk makes it impossible for any one to remain on its surface; for centrifugal force flings outward any object placed upon it.

But if a man, stepping on the whirling disk, runs in a direction opposite to that of its rotation and slightly toward the center, it will support him. This has been accomplished by several performers on roller skates. It would seem to be a defiance of the law of centrifugal force, while really it is a demonstration of balance.

Accurate timing, so important to the aerial performer, is one of the secrets of my headlong “loop the gap” stunt. Likewise, it is the secret of some of the most thrilling mechanical spectacles of the circus. One of these is the aerial automobile race, invented not long ago by Emile Noiset, who was one of the first to try “looping the loop.” Two small automobiles dash down a steep inclined runway, leap through the air, and land on all four wheels on a receiving platform.



Ira Millette, famous trapeze artist, has mastered equilibrium so that he can stand on his head on a ball balance on the bar of a high swinging trapeze.

One car starts the mad race slightly ahead of the other; yet, strange to say, the car that starts second arrives at the finish first. How is such a paradoxical result possible?

The secret lies in timing. In its leap through the air, the car that starts first is made to describe a higher arc than the second car, which means, of course, that the first car must travel a longer distance—a distance great enough to make it arrive on the other side of the gap behind the second car.

The circus performer knows that it is just as important to keep the apparatus and machinery with which he works in perfect operating order as it is for him to observe and obey the laws of physics. This applies as well to the machinery of his body. For successful achievement he must acquire and preserve perfect health and strength. He must be clear-headed always. His nerve must be steady; his supple muscles trained to obey with perfect movement every order flashed from his brain.



## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

### ENGLISH.

**KRISHNA KUMARI:** By Edward Thompson. *An Historical Drama in Four Acts* (Messrs. Ernest Benn, Ltd.).

This work is the tenth volume of a series published under the heading of contemporary British Dramatists. The plot deals with the tragic sacrifice of the life of Krishna Kumari for the sake of preserving Mewar. The author has departed from the account given by Tod in his Rajasthan. Amir Khan, the real instigator of the death of Krishna Kumari is only referred to and not introduced into the play and Maun Singh plays a very small part. The story as told by Tod is this. Jaggat Singh of Jaipur had approached Rana Bheem Singh of Mewar for the hand of his daughter Krishna Kumari, "the flower of Rajasthan." Scindia owing to a private quarrel with Jaggat Singh espoused the cause of Raja Maun Singh of Marwar who based his claims on the fact that the maiden had been betrothed to his predecessor. On the Rana refusing the claim Scindia marched his troops within cannon range of the city of Udaipur. The play opens with the scene at the shrine of Eklinga where Scindia had an interview with Maun Singh and Bheem Singh. To increase his importance and to convince Rana Bheem Singh that the English were on his side Scindia invited the British envoy Graems Mercer and his suite which included Tod, then a subaltern, to be present thereat. Bheem Singh being helpless reluctantly agreed to betroth his daughter to Maun Singh. There was a suggestion that Scindia desired her himself as did also that villainous Pathan Amir Khan. To save Mewar, at the suggestion of Ajit Singh, Rana Bheem Singh consents to his daughter being poisoned. Sarup Singh is a character introduced by the author and not mentioned by Tod. He and Sangram Singh will not consent to that course. Sangram Singh sets out together some troops to attack Scindia and Maun Singh and save Krishna Kumari but he is utterly routed and destroyed (this incident is not mentioned by Tod). Krishna takes poison and dies. Sarup Singh comes back to curse Rana Bheem Singh but in the end relents because Krishna Kumari's sacrifice has brought fresh lustre to the race of the Sisodias in the eyes of their subjects and fresh courage to their hearts. The play ends with the reaffirmation of Sarup Singh's loyalty to Rana Bheem Singh and his departure to stir the English up against Scindia. The play differs from Tod's account. According to him it was Amir Khan who instigated the sacrifice. Ajit Singh the renegade was the messenger (he appears as such in the play).

When the deed was accomplished he goes back only to be received with scorn by Amir Khan and to be cursed by Sangram Singh—"Dust be on gone head," "May you die childless," etc. This curse Tod in his own life-time saw all but fulfilled. Again, the circumstances of Krishna Kumari's death are more fully dealt with by Tod. At first it was decided to stab Krishna Kumari and a near relative of the Rana, Maharaja Doulat Singh, was asked to do the deed. "I knew him well", says Tod, "a plain honest man." He said, "Accursed be the tongue that commands it"; "Dust on my allegiance, if thus to be preserved." Maharaja Jowandji was then called on to do the deed but on beholding the youthful loveliness of Krishna he let the poniard fall from his hand. Finally it was decided to poison her. The first two cups of poison had no effect but the third cup was fatal. She died consoling her mother and saying, "I thank my father for having let me live so long." Her mother died of grief immediately after.

The history of Krishna Kumari has been set out at some length here because it is one of the most poignant of historic tragedies in no way inferior in pathos or grandeur to the stories of Iphigenia and Jephthah's daughter and will stand for all time as an example of the courage and nobility of womankind displayed by one of the distinguished royal race of the Sisodias—a tradition to be remembered and revered.

To consider the play itself. One has very grave doubts if it could possibly have any success on the stage. There are too many allusions—too much that has to be explained to an English audience to make it properly catch the attention and subtle points that make the action of the characters more understandable would escape such an audience. There too the scenery would be difficult. The author in his stage directions has very ambitious ideas of the mise en scène and one doubts whether any producer would see eye to eye with him in this matter. As a play to be read only it makes an appeal. There are four acts. The first deals with the interview at the shrine of Eklinga. The second act tells of the suggestion of Ajit Singh as to the death of Krishna Kumari. It portrays with a certain poignancy the agony of Bheem Singh the scorn and doubt of Sarup Singh and the defiant and chivalrous obstinacy of Sangram Singh who will fight to the end. The third act is the most successful. Krishna Kumari is about to die and everybody around her is weeping. She comforts them. Extracts from two passages may be given. "Lakshmi this world is glass, and the stone which death flings shatters it, and our image in it vanishes"—and so on through a really beautiful speech followed



by another equally if not more beautiful containing the following passage. "Many and many a time I have watched the morning rising over the grey plains with its rivers of sudden gold flooding the clouds I have thought that even so one day my son, my own son would rise in my life. Today I know that no son will ever come to me. But I feel that Mewar has become my son. Had a son come to me? I might have died when he came. Today I am to die and Mewar is to become alive by my death. I am happier than my mother in dying to give my land birth." A very dramatic moment in this act is when Krishna's mother curses the present day Sisodias and almost breaks down the courage of her daughter. Krishna however with a supreme effort regains her peace of mind. The fourth act shows us Bheem Singh in his agony. Sarup at first cursing and then relenting and reaffirming his allegiance before going out to stir up the English against Scindia. The play is somewhat unevenly written—and some of the sentences display what seem to be incongruities. We cannot, for example, imagine a Rajput in 1806 using the phrase with regard to the English envoy "as the representative of the mightiest race of shopkeepers the world has ever seen" or again, "The English are shopkeepers who fight when they must" or again we cannot imagine a Rajput queen saying of her Lord, 'Your father has become a shopkeeper like those accursed English.' But the incident of Krishna Kumari deserves a far wider notice than it has attained from English readers and this play may help to secure such notice in a palatable and artistic form.

POEMS OF HENRY DEROZIO WITH AN (INTRODUCTION):  
By F. B. Bradley-Birt. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press.

'A forgotten Anglo-Indian poet': The inspiring and yet pathetic story of Henry Derozio finds a poignant ending in these words. Mr. Bradley Birt has at a very opportune moment resuscitated his memory and given to the public a selection of his works. Now that racial questions all the world over are so perplexing and so acute, the life-story of Derozio is one of great interest. There is hardly a more pathetic community in the world than the Eurasian community. It has not won acceptance from either of the two great races from which it has descended. It has few inspiring traditions and no cohesion and until quite lately very few have arisen to champion its cause. There have of course been out-standing personalities therein, as Mr. Bradley Birt points out, such as Kilby Kirkpatrick whom Carlyle so much admired, Skinner of Skinner's Horse, De Souza the millionaire philanthropist, James Kyd the shipbuilder, and John William Richels the founder of Doveton College and an ardent advocate of the claims of his community before the House of Commons. Most of these were friends of Henry Derozio and to this galaxy must be added his name. Recognized at eighteen even among the select little circle of intellectuals who then held sway in Calcutta, as a poet and writer of outstanding ability he wielded an influence among his own contemporaries and over the younger students of his day that even allowing for the spell of his compelling personality can only be regarded as amazing. Mr. Bradley-Birt in an introduction which occupies fifty-nine pages of the volume gives a comprehensive sketch of the life and times of the poet. He seems to have come from

a family that was at one time possessed of considerable affluence. From the age of six to fourteen he was educated at David Drummond's Academy and from the very first his outstanding personality and charm of character was recognized by all who came in contact with him. At the age of fourteen he was removed from the Academy and for two weary years he was employed in the mercantile firm of Messrs. James Scott & Co., in which his father was chief accountant. After this his father seeing how uncongenial a business career was for him sent him to his uncle in Bhagulpur. There the town-bred boy was brought into intimate contact with country life and scenery and this had a great effect on his writings. At the age of eighteen he published his first book of verse which met with a very enthusiastic welcome. He was appointed Assistant Editor of the *India Gazette* and contributed to various newspapers and periodicals and actually started a paper of his own—the *Calcutta Gazette*. At the age of nineteen or not quite that, he accepted the offer of an Assistant Mastership at the famous Hindu College. While there he established a literary and philosophical circle which was very largely attended not only by the students but also by the intellectual elite of Calcutta from Government House society and elsewhere. This unfortunately incurred the suspicion of the stern and unbending orthodox managers of the school and it became evident that his position was precarious. In order to avoid the ignominy and indeed the injustice of being dismissed without a fair hearing he sent in his resignation, making it clear in two letters, dignity and temperance of which are astonishing in one so young, as to why he was resigning and as to the absolute groundlessness of the accusations made against him. In the course of the second letter he gives advice to his community, which, had they heeded it, would materially have improved their position. "They will find after all that it is to their best interest to unite and co-operate with the other native inhabitants of India." Shortly after his resignation he succumbed to cholera and died on the 26th December 1831 in his 23rd year. In criticizing his works it must be borne in mind that they were produced at a very early age and that the author was cut off in the flower of his youth. One must disagree with Mr. Bradley Birt when he speaks of Derozio's 'original' style. It was anything but that. Judging from his works Derozio had evidently read deeply of the works of contemporary poets and had assimilated to himself their style and methods. His works breathe genuine enthusiasm, a love for the ideal of liberty, and admiration of those who had fought therefore together with a patriotism unstained by the adverse circumstances in which he found himself. In the strict sense of the word he was not a poet—very few writers are, but he was a writer of verse of some distinction, which has a real appeal in it. A few selections may be given to show his mastery of style and sincerity of feeling. These lines for instance, from *My Dreams*:

But what am I—and where art thou?  
O bright can visions seem?  
O dreamers of bliss are bliss indeed,  
For bliss is but a dream.

Thermopylae seems to show the influence of Scott's "Wha hae wi' Wallace bled"—

Is there none to say 'Twas well?  
Shall not Fame their story tell,

Why they fought and why they fell ?  
 'Twas to be free.

Incidentally the last line is very clumsy and only introduced to rhyme with Thermopylae.

In the piece entitled Freedom to the Slave he introduces some lines which show his love for the ideal of liberty—

Success attend the patriot sword  
 That is unsheathed for thee !  
 And glory to the breast that bleeds—  
 Pleds nobly to be free !  
 Blessed be the generous hand that breaks  
 The chain a tyrant gave,  
 And feeling for degraded man  
 Gives freedom to the slave.

His poem Heaven, very close imitation of Byron's style, begins.

Know ye the land where the fountain is spinning.

Again 'Here's a health to the Lassie' is very much in the manner of Burns.

Though wild waves roll between us now,  
 Though fate severe may be dassie ;  
 Though darkness clouds at time my brow  
 Yet here's a health to thee Lassie !

Though Derozio cannot be said to be original yet he has studied closely the examples he has chosen and in following them he has produced some very good work. And indeed there are very many worse models than Burns, Byron, Scott and Moore, all of whom seem to have influenced the young writer. Some other lines may be quoted here to show the sincerity of his feeling and the facility of his pen:

But ah ! it seems that even tears to me are now denied ;  
 Tho' sacred spring of sympathy has long ago been dried.  
 The sorrow in my desert breast has habitation, make  
 My heart will heed her dwelling not—it is too stern to break.

In the Neglected Minstrel a work written in blank verse there are introduced the following excellent stanzas:

The sod is cold where thou art sleeping—  
 Too dark a sleep to wake again ;  
 But heaven its tears o'er thee is weeping.  
 And all the worlds' proud scorn is rain,  
 Their fragrance flowers around are flinging  
 To consecrate this beauteous spot,  
 And winds a requiem wild are singing  
 Which man, inhuman man, forgot.

Derozio is fond of the sonnet form, and many of his pieces collected in this book are sonnets. His most ambitious work is the Fakeer of Jungheera. It is a remarkable bit of writing and shows the talent, rising almost to genius, of its young author. Very fortunately for the public Mr. Bradley-Birt has resuscitated this piece. It would not be fair to give extracts from it: It should be read as a whole. "A forgotten Anglo-Indian poet !" Yes, although it was proposed at the time of his death to erect a suitable monument to his memory over his grave in the Lower Circular Road cemetery, the money was embezzled by the man to whom it was entrusted and the monument was never raised. It was only several decades later that a stone was erected by an admiring fellow-countryman. Derozio was an instance of how even in the most

adverse circumstances the light of love for one's fellows, one's country and art can shine forth to inspire those around as well as succeeding generations even though the writer—to quote his own words—is buried where

"Nothing o'er him but the Heavens shall weep.  
 There, never pilgrim at his shrine shall bend  
 But holy stars alone their nightly vigils keep.

R. C. B.

WILBERFORCE : A NARRATIVE : By R. Coupland,  
 Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. The Clarendon  
 Press. 1923. 16s. net.

It requires plenty of time and leisure to read this big volume of over 500 pages. Nevertheless, it is the reviewer's duty to do so, and having done it, we cannot say that foreign as English politics of a bygone age is to us in India, in a much greater degree than to natives of England, the time spent over the book has been unprofitably spent.

The central theme of the book, the abolition of the slave trade, has an interest for us in India, because we are ourselves a subject race, and also because our countrymen in the tea gardens of Assam and the sugar plantations of Fiji and other colonies still labour, or used to labour till recently under conditions which are akin to those of negro-slaves in the West Indies.

Professor Coupland's narrative is as interesting as it can possibly be. He has a sure touch of the main tendencies and influences which make the game of politics an interesting psychological study and he writes from a liberal standpoint. With regard to India, his hero was obsessed with the mania of converting the heathen, whom he painted in the darkest of colours, and whose virtues, as Professor Coupland admits, he altogether ignored. But this was due more to ignorance than to want of sympathy, for Wilberforce was a humane politician. He rendered yeoman's service to the cause of humanity by devoting his life to the abolition of the slave-trade, but the author shares to the full the Briton's sanctimonious selfconceit which makes him claim the following virtue on behalf of his countrymen: "More than any other man, he [Wilberforce] had founded in the conscience of the British people a tradition of humanity and of responsibility towards the weak and backward black peoples whose fate lay in their hands. And that tradition has never died." The author also makes much of "the principle of trusteeship as the governing rule in the relations between strong and weak, advanced and backward, peoples," first enunciated by Burke in his speech on Fox's India Bill as follows: "all political power which is set over men...ought to be someway or other exercised ultimately for their benefit" and that the rights and privileges derived therefrom "are in the strictest sense a trust." To us in India it is clear that no greater falsehood was uttered by one nation to justify its right to keep down another nation by force. A trustee is appointed by a Court of Justice to protect the interests of a ward, and in case of abuse of the trust there is an appeal to the Court. Who appointed the English people as our trustees and to whom does an appeal lie against the innumerable breaches of trust of which they have been guilty? Never was a falser analogy trotted forth to keep a helpless people under perpetual subjection.

In a lecture delivered before the University of

London in 1912 on the meaning of truth in history, Lord Haldane spoke as follows as to the value of biographies. "As to biographies, they are often valuable as presenting a fine portrait of their subject and the narrative and the correspondence quoted are, of course, of much use. But they are almost invariably coloured. The selection of material is necessarily dependent on the object with which the selection is made and that is the biography of one man. You have only to read another biography, that of his political rival, in order, if they are both famous men, to realise that whatever value the story possesses as portraiture, it is by no means to be relied on implicitly for a scientific record of the facts. The materials so afforded must be used at a later period by a man who possesses the gifts requisite for presenting the narrative as that of an organic whole, and that organic whole must in its expression be born afresh in his mind." Judged by this exacting standard, it must be admitted that Professor Coupland has succeeded fairly well. His book is not called a biography, but 'a narrative,' and he has kept this aim rigidly in view all throughout. Wilberforce was a great parliamentarian, the friend of Pitt the younger, and the contemporary of Burke, Fox, Sheridan and a host of other minor lights during his long and eventful life. From the first full dress debate on the slave trade in 1789 to the passing of the abolition Bill in 1807, all the vicissitudes of fortune that it went through, the skilful piloting of the Bill through both the Houses, the political forces which were ranged on either side and the causes of its failures and ultimate success,—everything has been narrated in this book with a masterly detachment and the materials have been gathered from all possible quarters. In 1833 Wilberforce died and was buried in the Abbey close by Pitt and Fox, but not before his life-long endeavours on behalf of the slaves had been carried to a successful termination by the passage of the Bill for the emancipation of slaves in the British Empire, numbering eight hundred thousand in all.

In the eighteenth century, English traders were dumping about 25,000 negroes on the other side of the Atlantic every year. "About 1770, out of a rough total of 100,000 slaves exported annually from West Africa by traders of all nations, British ships were carrying from 40,000 to 60,000." As to the *modus operandi*, "The slaves were obtained in three ways—by direct seizure, by purchase from professional traders [Arabs], or by barter from a chief. If it was an unfrequented part of the coast, or if the inhabitants could be taken by surprise, a sudden armed landing might be made and the natives kidnapped by force or guile. The grossest treachery was regarded by some slave captains as legitimate. . . . But a deal with a native chief was the easiest and the most productive method of getting the goods. British agents would be sent upcountry with orders to encourage the chieftains by brandy and gunpowder to go to war and make slaves. . . . Inevitably, therefore the season of the coming of the slave ships was a season of terror and violence all along the coast. When a 'slaver' was seen in the offing, the inhabitants left their works in the fields and gathered together for safety in armed groups—at last, their holds filled by one means or another with living cargo, the ships set sail for the west and peace, for a season, settled down again on Africa—on villages lying wrecked and empty among the neglected

corn, on childless parents and orphaned children," on a people decimated by some demoniac visitation. We remember to have read, in our boyhood, of something similar in connection with the tea-gardens of Assam. But what followed on board the 'slavers' was more horrible still. The slaves were manacled together in pairs, and packed on shelves, like books, so closely that they could not lie flat on their backs; for exercise they were made to dance, at the point of the whip; there were no sanitary arrangements, no wonder that in some voyages as many as a quarter of the slaves died during transit. "The women and children were not chained together or so closely imprisoned, but the women were habitually exposed to the lust, and the children to the cruelty—sometimes the fatal cruelty—of the captain and crew" when we remember that this state of things actually continued (in spite of some prohibitory legislation) well into the middle of the nineteenth century, and compare the mentality of the people who were engaged in the trade and supported it with might and main in the Parliament and outside it, with the average Indian mentality at the same period, we need not hesitate for a moment in giving our verdict in favour of the humaner, and therefore higher, civilisation of the East.

It would however be a misreading of the lessons of history if we were not to take note of certain noble traits of the English character as revealed in these pages. As is well known, Wilberforce was the protagonist of the abolitionist movement, but he was not the only prominent figure who joined the crusade. Clarkson, Buxton, and a host of others supported him in the sacred cause, and they met with strenuous opposition from the Trade and their friends, and the apathy of the country at large. Yet, through sunshine and rain, the agitation was carried on from year to year, the forces on both sides were drilled and organised, the subject studied through long years of toil from every possible aspect, first-hand information was collected from every available source, and thus thoroughly prepared, campaign of educating the country and evoking its moral sense was started, which bore such excellent fruit that in course of time, after repeated abortive attempts, the measure was carried through Parliament in 1807, when the Britons innate sense of fair play manifested itself in the enthusiastic reception the House of Commons gave to Wilberforce, whom it not so very long ago denounced as a traitor to the country who was bent upon ruining its prosperous West Indian trade. "The House was on its feet, giving Wilberforce an ovation such as it had given to no other living man. Round after round, they cheered him, till the tumult echoed in the ancient roof that had looked down on every scene of Wilberforce's parliamentary career but never on such a scene as this. It was the supreme moment of Wilberforce's life. . . ." "and we have seen that after death his country accorded him a national funeral.

Again and again, in reading of the long years of arduous preparation for the fight, the strenuous endeavours to educate himself, his party and his country, the strong opposition that the movement had to overcome before it could dream of success, the repeated disappointments that only nerved Wilberforce and his comrades to greater efforts, the class to which many of them, himself included, belonged, *viz.*, the idle rich, who in our country



spend their lives mostly in frivolous dissipations,—again and again, we say, have we been impressed with the contrast which our country presents to the England of Wilberforce in all these respects, and we could not help feeling that the stuff of which great politicians and statesmen are made is certainly not as common in India as it should be, having regard to the keenness and ardour with which politics as a profession has been embraced by our countrymen.

Pol.

RACE CULTURE : *By Chandra Chakrabarty. Susruta Sangha, Calcutta, 177, Raja Dinendra Street. 1924. Price Rs 1-4-0. Pp. 99.*

The book is divided into the following chapters ; Racial elements in India. Principles of heredity, Selection of Mate, Birth Control, Contraceptives, Sexual Hygiene. The principles of eugenics are discussed in the second and third chapters. The author holds "advanced views," as the following extract will show. "If love is beautiful within the fold of marriage, extraconjugal union cannot be held so reprehensible, especially when it is the culmination of the love of both the parties for each other when they have attained their physical and mental maturity."

On the subject of longevity, the author has much that is instructive to say. "Longevity is a dynamic important factor in the material progress and intellectual achievement of a race. One can hardly acquire sufficient knowledge of the arts and sciences before he is thirty years old. He needs at least ten years longer to master a subject and to be able to contribute something to the world's progress in his special line. . . . when people die in their thirties, forties, or fifties, the nation or the race is a double loser. First it costs to feed and educate a man up to thirty, before which he can hardly contribute anything economically or culturally and if he dies in his thirties, he does not return any outlay of the expenses and nervous energy spent on him ; secondly, the longer he lives after thirties, the more he is a valuable asset to the race as he is a producer of economic and cultural wealth instead of being a consumer as during his youth. Therefore, a country which has high longevity has the advantage of double or treble the population over the country where such longevity is not attained. . . ." Though no authorities are quoted except Galton, the book looks like a compilation from various sources. It is however a well-executed piece of work and would amply repay perusal, though printing mistakes abound.

BIBLIOPHILE.

#### BENGALI.

PADAKALPATARU—PART III—*Edited by Satish Chandra Roy, M. A. (Sahitya Parisat Series—No. 50). Published by the Vangiya Sahitya Parisat, 243-1 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, 1330 B. S. Price Re. 1-4 for members, Rs. 1-12 for others. Pp. 332.*

The Padakalpataru is the best known Vaishnava anthology of Bengal, compiled by Vaishnavadas, containing more than 3000 *padas* of more than 150 poets. This part of this huge collection is the first half of the fourth section of the entire work and contains 26 *pallavas* and 809 songs and poems which deal either with the *lila* of Radha and Krishna or of Gauranga.

The editor of this work is the most patient worker in the field and is the authority in this

branch of Bengali Literature. Before this time he once edited this work. But the present edition is a very learned and satisfactory contribution, being supplied with different readings and elaborate critical apparatus, explanatory notes, and the correction of the cheap editions by constant reference to the pronunciation and philological significance of the *Brajabuli* in which dialect the songs are written. Several MSS. of this work and of the works in which some of these songs occur have been laid under contribution. The editor proposes to discuss to a length about the poets and other topics in the last part. In most places the explanation of Mr. Roy has exposed the inconsistency and patch-work of other commentators. The editor has done his best, other scholars should come to help him in his doubts. We cannot here point out for want of space some of the readings which could be improved by reference to similar works. We hope the editor will deal with the tunes (some of which strike us as new, pp. 134 135, 244) among other items in the introduction. We congratulate the Sahitya Parisat on publishing this nice edition of this monumental work of old Bengali literature to the satisfaction of both scholars and laymen.

RAMES BASU.

#### MALAYALAM.

SUTRA-SASTRAM :—*By N. Krishnan Nair. With an introduction by M. R. Madhava Warior B. A., LL. B. Published by Kuroor Nilakandan Nambudripad, Secretary, Kerala Provincial Congress Khadi Board, Trichur, Cochin State. Pp. 10—158.*

This is a long and complete treatise on cotton and its usages. The methods of carding the wool and of spinning and weaving are shown with illustrations. This is the first book of its kind in Malayalam and we welcome it heartily.

The book is nicely got up.

SRINAD-BHAGAVAD-GITA (KERALABHASHA-GADYAM) : *By A. Rama Pai M. A. B. L. Published by A. Krishna Pai, Srivilasam Book-depot, Quilon, Travancore. Pp. 118. Price 8 as.*

A very useful prose translation of the Gita, published as the first number of the "Sastra-ratnavali."

P. ANUJAN ACHAN.

#### TELUGU.

"THATHSAMA CHANDRIKA" PART I—*By Pandit S. Suryanarayana Sastri. Printed at the Onkara Printing Press, Secunderabad—Price Re 1-0-0. Pp. 73.*

This is a grammatical treatise stating in a scientific manner the various processes of transformations which Sanskrit words undergo in the process of assimilation and final absorption into the Telugu Literature. The author attempts to give a concise and condensed statement of That-sama grammar. A book of this nature has been a long-felt want and the Telugu students can safely depend on this work in order to understand the various intricacies of grammatical transformation.

B. RAMCHANDRA RAU.

#### TAMIL.

SULOCHANA: A DRAMA. (A PORTION OF RAMAYANA) *By K. N. Sankara Sarma, Karaikurichi, via Shermadevi, Tirnevelly. Pp. 56. Price 8 as.*

The absence of ancient dramatic works in the Tamil literature when its grammar defines drama

as one of the three forms of literature can possibly lead us to infer some extraneous circumstance or other that has been the cause of its suppression or loss. We learn from historical accounts that the Jains who had profound influence over the Tamil literature at one stage of its growth hated the stage and dance like anything. Whether that has been the cause or no, there is no gainsaying the fact that the dramatic works must have existed in the pre-grammar period inasmuch as the Tamil grammar which is only a key to its literature makes mention of drama as one of its forms.

The present work simply betrays the mentality of a class of authors who cannot write anything in Tamil without decrying the language and portraying its heroes in the blackest possible colour. The author seems not to have realised that Ramayana is only a onesided version of the episode of an Aryan heir-apparent in the Dravidian country, composed by an Aryan poet for the Aryan readers. We find that even according to that partial version that Ravana was a pious and cultured man, that his country was civilised and his people were contented with his administration and that he had nothing to be said against him except that he disturbed the tapas of foreign sanyasins and captured the wife of a foreigner who was a silent witness if not an active party to the murder of his grandmother. The choice of the plot again confirms our view as regards the mentality of the author.

The style of the drama and the get-up of the book leave much to be desired.

UTHAMA BHAKTHAS *Pp. 21. Price 2 as.*

UTHAMA PATHINIS. *Pp. 21. Price 2 as.*

By K. S. Seshagiri Iyer, 43 New Street, Mylapore, Madras. Fine collections of Puranic and Epic stories.

MADHAVAN.

### KANARESE

NATAKAKALE : *By Atmaram Sastri Odhamane, Mangalore. Pp. iii + 91. Price 10 as. (1924).*

This is a work, written in prose to illustrate the principles of Dramas. The author has taken considerable pains to collect information from all possible sources and give a connected account as to how Dramas should be written to suit the times and to bring into prominence the various "Rasas". Those, interested in this abstruse subject, will find it a pleasant reading.

P. A. R.

### MARATHI.

1. THE HISTORY OF THE BERAR : *By Y. M. Kale B.A., LL. B. Publisher, the author himself. Pages 50-466. Price Rs. three.*

The school-master is abroad. The province of the Berar, which not long ago, was looked upon as a backward province, is making rapid progress in education and stealing march over its sister province of Maharashtra in some respects. An up-to-date history of the Maharashtra is still to be written. The Berar has accomplished that much-needed work. Mr. Kale has rendered a signal service to his native province by writing this history of the Berar from B. C. 400 to A. D. 1902, when the province ceased to be 'assigned' to the British Government by the Government of the Nizam and became a perpetual lease made to the British Govt. for a paltry sum of twenty-five lakhs a year. The question of the restoration of the

province to its lawful owner is being opened by the present Nizam and is being hotly discussed in newspapers. The present work, had it been brought up-to-date, would have been very helpful for a casual reader. But unfortunately the author failed to seize this opportunity to make his work useful in this respect. As it is, the work evinces much labour, careful thought and research bestowed on it by its learned author, who seems to have used the word 'history' in its broad and comprehensive sense. For he has included in his work information not only about political events in their successive stages but also about the geography, soil, revenue, society, language, literature, archaeology, religion &c. The work is therefore more like a gazetteer than history in its usual narrow sense. No available source of information has been allowed to remain untapped, no pains spared to sift the material collected and no labour considered too much to compress the matter in a small volume of about 600 pages. The book is well worth perusal not only by every Marathi reader in the Berar but also in the Maharashtra proper. For the author has successfully shown in the opening chapter the identity of the terms Vidarbha (Berar) and Maharashtra in ancient times, and there is no reason, apart from the wrong principle on which the British Govt. has divided India into its political divisions, why the Marathas should not fraternize with the Berar people and identify their own interests with those of the Berar people. The work is undoubtedly a creditable performance and it is ardently to be desired that when time comes for bringing out a fresh edition of the work, the author will make it a point to make it quite full and up-to-date.

The book also contains useful maps and beautiful illustrations.

EVOLUTION OF ORGANIC NATURE : *By S. N. Datar, M.A., B.Sc., Baroda. Publisher—The Education Department (Translation Branch) of the Baroda State. Pages 216. Price Rs. 2-11.*

There is paucity of readable Marathi works on scientific subjects. The present book therefore was eagerly taken up by me and to tell the truth, its reading was quite a treat to me. I hope that the reader will find the treatment simple, systematic and interesting.

BHU-PATICHAYA OR THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE WORLD : *By S. F. Khandekar, M.A., Publisher-Manager, Law Printing Press, Poona. Pages 420. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This book is intended to serve the purpose of a text-book on geography in higher standards in High Schools and considering the intelligent systematic and satisfactory treatment of the subject one can predict a bright and successful career for it in the near future.

V. G. APTE

### GUJARATI.

RASHTRIYA RATNAKANIKA : *By Chandrula Nandlal Desai of Nadiad. (Price 6 as.),* is a collection of stories and incidents bearing on patriotism and inspired by such motives, while MALINI : *By Bhakta Narsimhbhai Rambhai, of Vishwa Bharati. Shantiniketan. Price 5 as.,* is a translation of Rabindra Nath Tagore's play of the same name. It is a laudable attempt, and places within reach of those who do not know Bengali, one of the distinguished author's well-known works.

**KUMARIKA DHARMA:** *By Manji Damji Shah, (Price 4 as.),* in several sections, explains the way in which girls should behave till they are married. If the advice given there is followed, they will no doubt be able to lead ideal lives.

**MEGHA SANDESH,** *by Kavi Popatlal Sharma (Price 3 as.)* is a tiny poem, a copy of the Sanskrit 'Meghaduta'. The poet had gone to call his wife at his father-in-law's place away from Bombay and the latter disappointed him. He therefore made up his mind to send her a message through the "Cloud" in imitation of the old way, and in describing the route the "Cloud" should take and the whereabouts of his young bride's father's house, he turns out good poetic work.

**MAHAN NAPOLEON,** *by Narmdashankar Bala-shankar Pandya. Published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, and printed at their own press. Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 797. Price Rs. 3 (1924).*

Based on Abbot's Life of Napoleon, and written after consulting, pertinent works, like Lord Roseberry's and others, it is the best Life of Napoleon existing in Gujarati at present. Its style is worthy of the subject and at the same time not so difficult as to prevent ordinarily educated persons from understanding the book.

K. M. J.

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, mis-representations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticising it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. No criticism of reviews and notices of books will be published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, "The Modern Review."] ]

### Fourth Annual Conference of the Indian Historical Research Society of Poona.

In the May number of the Modern Review on page 569, Prof. J. N. Sarkar alludes to the occasion of the 4th Annual Conference when Mr. Rajwade read a paper in our Mandal "in spite of", as Mr. Sarkar puts it, "cries of 'Stop! Stop!' 'Sit down.' Nothing can be further from truth. Nobody cried 'Stop' or offered any other obstruction. Mr. Sarkar (a Kayastha) further adds "the effect was instantaneous. The Prabhu members left this Society as a den of the haughty intolerant Brahmans." No Prabhu members instantaneously left the Society. No Prabhu members were even present on the occasion!

The Fourth Annual Conference was held eight years ago and not six as Mr. Sarkar says, and the first responsible letter of protest was sent to the Mandal by Mr. D. R. Vaidya on 3rd September 1918, i. e., clearly more than 27 months after the reading of the paper by Mr. Rajwade. A bitter campaign against the Mandal and Rajwade was started and led by this time by Mr. K. S. Thackeray and the Mandal and Rajwade were abused like anything. The Mandal wrote a dignified reply to the protesters and published the same through the Vernacular papers in February, 1919. It was a definite and clear answer (copy of the translation of the original Marathi reply is sent and

years after the reading of the paper by Mr. Rajwade. may be published) in which the Mandal drew the attention of all concerned to the caution given by Rao Bahadur Sane, the President of the Mandal, in his concluding remarks at the time of the 4th Annual Gathering that the opinions expressed by different writers of papers read at such Conferences are individual opinions. The reply further declared that the Prabhus would be welcomed as cordially as Mr. Rajwade or anybody else to promote their point of view supported by their evidence to be tendered before the Meeting just as Mr. Rajwade had tendered his own.

But the feeling of the Prabhu Community was excited beyond measure by the inflammable writings of the anti-Mandal agitators who used the most offensive and abusive language. The Mandal firmly refused to recognise any such undignified attacks and but for the present definite allegations from a responsible scholar of Mr. Sarkar's standing, no new answer would, perhaps, have been thought necessary.

Now I come to the last part of the charge, viz., the Prabhu members left this Society as "den of the haughty intolerant Brahmans." I challenge Prof. Sarkar or anyone else to point out a single instance where the Mandal has acted on grounds of caste preference.

I am really very sorry that Prof. Sarkar should have written what it is the privilege of irresponsible writers to do. I have clearly proved how some of his statements are misleading, if not mischievous and quite incorrect. He has either to tender clear, unimpeachable evidence to support his dangerous

\* Mr. Thackeray's 'Kondanacha Tanatkara' appeared on 17-11-18; Mr. Chowbal's review in 1919 and Mr. K. T. Gupte's book in 1919 all two



allegations or as a gentleman to forthwith retract them.

*Dated, 24th June, 1924,*  
BHARAT ITIHAS SANSHODHAK } DATTO WAMAN POTDAR,  
MANDAL, POONA. } *Honorary Secretary,*  
B. I. S. Mandal, Poona.

THE BHARAT ITIHAS SANSHODHAK MANDAL'S  
REPLY.

(To Mr. K. T. Gupte and other Prabhu Protests)

It will be seen from the constitution and rules of business of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal that even if a paper is printed by the Mandal, it does not follow that the statements or inferences are either wholly or partially acceptable to the Mandal as a body. Only such papers as are received through the Members of the Mandal are read at its meetings and of these only those which are so approved of by the Selection Committee are printed. Mr. Rajwade's prosen essay on 'Kayasthadeep' and 'Shivrat Prashaste', read at the Fourth Annual Conference has been printed in the same way. We regret to hear that some of the statements contained in this essay have, as you inform us, pained the minds of Kayastha Prabhus; because nobody ever intended that. But inasmuch as the paper in question was printed, the Mandal is prepared to publish any reply to it, if the same is received through some member and read at its meeting and approved of by the Selection Committee and this done, it is hoped, you will be satisfied. One or two gentlemen from your community have recently published one or two books on this subject. Had these books been received by the Mandal in the form of essays, they would have been given proper attention just as in the case of Mr. Rajwade's paper. But that has not happened. Even now if a paper embodying the reply is sent to the Mandal for being read and published, it shall be disposed of according to regulations. In brief, your essay in reply would, no doubt, be treated exactly in the same way and will be shown the same consideration as in the case of Mr. Rajwade's paper but in accordance with the recommendations of the Selection Committee.

Statements occurring in a paper written by an individual are not necessarily agreeable to the whole Mandal. Not only that but it is not the Mandal's business as a Mandal to put any seal on such statements. At the time of the Fourth Annual Conference, Rao Bahadur Sane, the President of the Mandal made the following remarks, which have been printed on page 3 of the Report of the Fourth Annual Conference. Rao Bahadur Sane observes:—"It must be remembered that the various papers read by the members and the different statements made by them are the opinions of the respective individuals and not of the Mandal as a whole." Our Mandal has been only following practice observed by such Societies as the Royal Asiatic Society.

"You will see from the above statement that if the mind of your community has been injured, the Mandal is ready to follow any reasonable plan to satisfy you or to relieve any pain caused. It is therefore hoped that you will let us know your wishes in the matter in a dispassionate mood, in your reply."

REPLY.

Mr. Potdar's present communiqué only confirms instead of refuting, my statement that the Bharat Itihas S. Mandal has entirely alienated non-Brahman castes like the Prabhus. He will find it difficult to persuade impartial people outside these caste coteries to believe that a man of Mr. Chowbal's character and position has no sense of responsibility, but acts in an offensive and abusive manner, or that the other Prabhu controversialists cited by him are men without intelligence or respectability. The only point made out by Mr. Potdar is that the Prabhu revolt—like the succession of the Plebs in ancient Rome—took place two years after Mr. Rajwade's paper was read, and not immediately afterwards, and he himself supplies the reason for it; "No Prabhu members were even present on the occasion!" Why not present? Is that a desirable state of things? Is it conducive to the ascertainment of historical truth and national, as opposed to caste progress?

No body has ever taken any objection to a true historian like Sane or Sardesai, or care to inquire what caste he belongs to. Their style and method ought to be the model of all papers selected for reading by a cosmopolitan learned body like the B. I. S. Mandal.

My own view is that the Mandal—all Mandals—should avoid these caste discussions like poison, and reject such offending articles before they are read.

J. SARKAR.

*Editor's Note.*—We have seen a reply to Mr. Potdar's letter, written by a Prabhu champion, and may expect to receive more communications of that type in the near future; but we cannot publish in this *Review* the sordid bickerings between the Brahmans and non-Brahmans. All right-thinking patriotic men of Southern India ought to be ashamed of these wretched disputes in a mediaeval spirit. As is known to our readers, the Editor of this *Review* is caste-less.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Votes for Women

"Green Saree," writing in *The Saree* about the days before the war when women worked hard for Parliamentary Franchise, says:

Probably Mrs. Pankhurst, and her more famous daughter Christabel, are the names best known to the world in connection with that great movement for—I will not say "women's right," but "women's freedom to fulfil their whole duty to humanity," because that is a much truer description. It is the right or the freedom, to perform not a limited and

curtailed duty alone or necessarily, though for many women that duty in their homes may be sufficient; women should not be restricted, they are not all alike, they should be perfectly free to do all that they can do. Capacity and high ability are not so universal that the world can afford to lose them for want of development and free exercise.

As I said before, women do not claim rights so much as duties. The duty of voting for parliamentary representatives was only taken away from women in 1832. Before that time only very rich men had any share in the government of England and women holders of property had an equal share. Some people used to say that if wives had

votes they and their husbands would quarrel over politics and that if they differed, the wife's vote would neutralise the husband's, so that it would be no use for the husband to vote at all! Of course, we pointed out that nobody ever thought of that when two brothers were joint householders and had opposite views! Wives, we maintained, were joint householders with their husbands. The contribution of the woman to the life of the household, and also to the life of the State, was equally valuable with, though it might be quite different from, the contribution of the man. The more it differed, the greater was its value as something distinct.

It used to be said that women could quite well be represented by their husbands. Well, naturally the young women, especially the University educated ones who had a standing of their own in the world (Christabel was a qualified lawyer, though debarred from practice) used to point out that to start with many of them had no husbands to represent them, and that if they had the poor men could not possibly be expected to take the responsibility of guaranteeing to think as they did on every point. What we aimed at primarily was the vote for single women and widows, who obviously were unrepresented. Women's service, we maintained, was wanted as much in politics as anywhere else, in public life as much as in private,—responsible service, on an equal footing of comradeship with men and mutual respect. Any ordinary woman has time to think about politics, plenty of time, while she is doing her household needlework, for instance. It takes no longer to vote than to gossip—if they had sufficient responsible and interesting occupation for their minds. Even a man is occasionally prevented from voting by the exigencies of his business, as a woman might occasionally be.

Women are not at all likely to be educated for the responsibility of the Franchise, in this or any other country, until they actually have it. Men were not—even to the inadequate and questionable extent that they are now—until they had it, and it was Gladstone who pointed out in 1884, when there was an agitation for votes for agricultural labourers in England, that they never would be.

I suppose the fact is that some men prefer the idea of having angels for their helpmates—angels who take no part in their political squabbles and will not descend to clean up their political life—to being helped by beings who are their opposites in everything except their common humanity. It would be more flattering to their vanity, and less troublesome. For when women do take any part in public life they generally insist on a good deal of cleaning up.

### A Great Soldier-administrator of Mysore.

In *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, V. Raghavendra Rao Belathur writes on Dewan Purniah the leading Hindu Statesman of the days of Tippu Sultan and Haider Ali Khan. Says he:

Dewan Purniah was a trusted minister under Mussalman rule in Mysore and on the restoration of the Hindu Prince to the Gadi, Purniah continued as Dewan during the minority of Krishnaraja Wodeyar.

The guiding principle of Purniah's illustrious career may be stated at the outset. "If those to whom God had given power always acted on the principle that the path of *public virtue* would be the only path to wealth and fame, upon that day the world would be well governed, and vice would lose its motive." It is thus small wonder that the name of Purniah conjures up visions of a great and beneficent administrator who, during the most stormy period in Mysore history, strove to preserve ancient landmarks in the country. In our State he is still remembered and his memory kept green in Hindu temples renovated, in the institution of chatrams and caravanserais for the benefit of wearied and needy travellers and pilgrims.

It is a remarkable circumstance that Purniah was great as a statesman, a soldier and a financier, a very rare combination indeed! Haider Ali Khan, Tippu Sultan and later the world-famous Duke of Wellington and his brother, the marquis, have borne testimony to the organizing genius of Purniah.

### An Image of Kartikeya.

The July number of *Shama'a* gives as its frontispiece a reproduction of an image of *Kartikeya*, the war-God of Hindu mythology, of which the original was discovered by Rai Krishnadas of the Bharat Kala Parisad, Benares. Mr. N. C. Mehta, I. C. S., commenting on this picture writes in the same number of *Shama'a* as follows:

"The image reproduced is one of the loveliest representations of the Hindu War-Lord and in fact one of the finest of old Indian sculptures ever found. The figure of Kumara has been rendered with a feeling for refinement and harmony altogether rare in the domain of Indian sculptures. The divine general is shown as a youth possessing a well-developed body and dressed in the usual dhoti, the folds of which are but faintly indicated by wavy lines characteristic of the Gupta period. He wears a close-fitting helmet and also prominent earrings and a curiously shaped necklace with two tiger-claws in it and the usual ornaments on the wrist and the elbow. The half-open eyes and the compressed lips together with the broad chest and powerful arms and the massive neck produce a feeling of irresistible pride and determination. The conqueror of Taraka is shown astride his favourite peacock in a pose of astonishing ease, holding in one hand the Shakti (the axe) and in the other a lemon (Bijpuraka) fruit which is being picked at by his blue-throated charger. The rendering of the peacock is altogether admirable; for what could be more appropriate than the rich and multicoloured background of the wealth of a peacock's feathers, as a kind of canopy for the Divine General? The whole piece is remarkable for the combination of a supreme quality of generalisation and a palpable feeling for form and beauty and total absence of anatomical exaggeration. The artist has wrought out of the raw materials of a Puranic deity, a *chef-d'œuvre* of singular felicity and power, transcending the mere elaboration—however skilled, of any hieratic traditions or canonical prescriptions. The superb rendering of the Divine General with his charger is in fact, one of those supreme crea-

tions of plastic art which like the conceptions of the Buddha and the Nataraja adds permanently to the limits vocabulary of universal art. Every line of the sculpture is articulate with expression. The whole piece is a rare combination of contrasting qualities fused in a harmony of matchless beauty. Strength and hauteur, abstraction and repose are implicit in the square outlines of the face and the strong chin of the youthful hero. Confidence and determination tantamount to non-chalance are indicated by the finger-poses the way in which the axe is grasped and the citron-fruit held towards the peacock. The firm and easy seat of Kumara astride his blue-throated charger is a veritable *tour de force* of artistic imagination and æsthetic execution. The peacock itself is rendered with exceptional vigour and breadth of treatment and the conceited bird has been transfigured by artistic insight and poetic vision into the very image of martial pomp and conscious self-assertiveness.

### The Problem of Race.

D. G. M. Leith writes in *The Young Men of India*:

It is fully recognized that the problem of race consciousness is of the very great urgency to-day. There is an intense ill-feeling caused by racial self-esteem. There is a growing racial bitterness; a growing unwillingness to recognize the worth of races other than our own. There is absolute certainty that unless this race consciousness and racial bitterness can be dealt with, fierce feuds will be inevitable result in the very near future. I recognize that it is sometimes suggested that this hostility between races is economic and not racial. Even if that be true, it does not meet the problem. It simply suggests that my neighbour and I must not be together, because I fear he will take the food that I want.

It must be at once admitted that at the present time there are great differences in races. There is the very obvious difference in the colour of the skin. Yet the colour of the skin is merely the effect of the physical environment upon the human being. We talk of the fair skin. That, however, merely means the lack of pigment—a pigment which is not required by people who live in sunless countries. It is a law of nature that any part of the physical organism that is not required, gradually leaves us. The pigment not being required, disappears. This is merely external. The hues of the skin have no moral or intellectual significance. They are but physical modifications to modify the action of the sunlight upon the human frame.

There is a difference, too, in the education of the races. All have not reached the same educational status. Yet when the African Negro has the educational opportunity we find he is able to reach a position equivalent to that of the graduate of an Eastern or Western University. I have known in Western Universities Negro students of great promise and intellectual ability, well able to stand by the side of their Western brethren. In the external opportunity has been lacking for education, but there is apparently no lack of innate capacity. Give the opportunity, and the educational advance of the backward race is assured.

There is a difference in religion—a difference which has exerted enormous influence on races.

The character of a race is largely determined by the character of the deity whom it worships. I recognize that this difference in religion has often evoked hostility between races. There is the long-standing feud between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland. There have been persecutions in all parts of the world, by one race or by one section of a race against another, with the result that there are many who believe that religion is no help to unity, and if races are to be drawn together it must be altogether apart from the influences of religion. What really happens however, is that the outward frame-work of religion, its ritual, its formal rules, its organization, divide men and races. The inward experience of spiritual religion brings men and races together all the world over. The man-made traditions, the man-made customs, the man-made rules, formed in the name of religion, have separated. Where men have come near to God, they have come near to one another. The racial barriers have been broken.

When we turn to science, we find that it suggests that there is one primitive human stock which has developed into three main varieties. It tells us that all the varying types of human life and races in the world to-day come from one original human stock. It can be summed up in the dictum of Professor Ratzel: "There is only one species of man. Variations are numerous, but not deep." Science gives us to further useful dicta. It tells us that it is not legitimate to argue from physical differences to mental characteristics. There is no essential connection between physical characteristics and mental developments. Science further tells us that the physical and mental characteristics of a race are not permanent. The qualities of a race to-day do not determine the future qualities of that race. A race may change even as an individual may change. Science is thus most helpful to us in our investigation of the facts of race but when science adopts the role of prophet then it makes mistakes as most prophets do. For example, Professor Von Luschen, Professor of Anthropology, in a discussion of the question ventures into the region of prophecy, and suggests that racial barriers will never cease to exist, that the struggle for life must always dominate, that such a struggle is even more beneficial than brotherhood, and that no conference will ever abolish war between races. National antagonism must remain. "Therefore let us take pride and delight in our soldiers and in our magnificent ships of war." Such a prophecy, of course, goes far beyond the bounds of science. It is without any scientific value. It does seem to me as if we might take it that the impartial scientific investigator looks upon the various peoples of the world as essentially close in intellect, morality and physique. Provide the same opportunity, you will achieve similar results.

### Race in Australia

The same paper publishes as an address delivered by Mr. S. K. Datta before the Annual meeting of the Lahore Y. M. C. A. In that address the speaker described his experiences in Australia, New Zealand and Fiji. In Australia, says he:

I came across many countrymen of mine, many of them being from the Punjab. I remember talking



to these people, and I discovered that, in that country of Australia, a territory nearly twice the size of India with a population of something like five millions of people, rather under, or almost about the same, as the number of Indian Christians in India, people like the Chinese and Indians were filling up lacunæ, if I may be permitted to use that term, in the life of the country, undertaking small things that an ordinary white man would not do. I was invited by three Muhammadans, who belonged to the Punjab and who had been in Australia for 25 years. They were humble folk, and I said to one of them, "What do you do here?" He said, "I hawk." "And what does that mean?" "I used to go some miles out of Melbourne," he said, "and study the needs and wishes of the little farmers. I used to carry a pack on my shoulders and visit the little farming hamlets in the countryside with things that they would need, things like pins and needles and buttons and sewing cotton. My trade began to get bigger. Then I bought a two-horse-van to go out into the villages scattered around to these farmers and I got to know them very intimately. And they would ask me to put up my horses in the stable and come and have tea with them." And he said, "We have done this work and we have prospered. Indeed one of these men said to me, 'Do you remember that Partul Chandra Babu in Lahore?' He added, 'Do you remember there was a fountain in his compound?' I said, 'Yes, I remember that fountain.' He added, 'I was a bricklayer's boy in those days, I carried bricks for him.' Here was this man who had broken away from the ordinary life of his people, and to-day I believe he is worth something between £20,000 and £30,000 as the result of his savings and the labour of these years.

There are these Indians doing these things. Now may I be permitted to make one more observation with regard to these Indians. As I talked to these Muhammadans they said to me, "We are nobody, we are of no consideration in this country: the white man is everything; we have no rights, after all it is their country." One of them, however, chimed in and said to me, "Do you know Allah gave Ghazi Mustafa Pasha a great victory?" And I began to speculate, and asked myself, "Why did he make that remark?" It seemed to them as if, in the distance in Asia, a light had been kindled, something which had given them a new hope. And I said to myself, "We have got to create an India, a glorious India, so that our people when they are abroad will look upon their country as something glorious and look there for inspiration." Yes, that is what came to me as I talked to those men.

From Australia across to the shores of Asia, there is a bridge of islands right across from China to Australia, and Asiatics took centuries to cross that bridge.

That is the problem of Australia. All along these islands are these pushing Chinese, thousand and thousands of them. China has never believed in war but China has believed in penetration. Slowly but surely the Chinese people get in. While there are 2,000 Indians in Australia, there are something like 30,000 Chinese. I was told how skilful and hardworking John Chinaman is. He is never a "crook." You can always trust him. And that is a tremendous thing to think with regard to any people, that you can trust them. Mind you, if the Indians and the Chinese get into competition, I think the Indians will go under. Slowly but steadily the

Chinese work. They work well and work efficiently, and a Chinaman has got the reputation of never going back on his word.

## White Australia

The speaker goes on to say:

In the first place, with regard to the "White Australia" policy I shall say that "White Australia" is not yet sure of her hold on that continent, a vast country nearly twice the size of India, with only 4½ or 5 million people. Nature not infrequently proves too strong.

Outside the Federal Parliament House in Melbourne there is a monument. As you look upon the top of the monument, you see three numerals, 888, cast in bronze. This monument commemorates the great victory of Labour over Capital, a victory the terms of which were that labour should have 8 hours' work, 8 hours' play and 8 hours' rest. Somebody used to say that, in some future time, there will be another 8, which would mean 8 shillings a day. But that day never came, because of the jump from 6 shillings to 12 shillings, which is the minimum wage there to-day. Yes, but there is where you have what we may call the roots of the "White Australia" policy. I went to attend a meeting of the Trades Union Council. The general secretary of it was a Mr. Holloway, I suppose, one of the most prominent Labour leaders in the Commonwealth. He represented Australia quite recently at the International Conference of Labour at Geneva, and made the statement: "We are determined that our standard, which we have raised as the result of struggles, will never be brought down. The only thing that we have against the Indians and the Chinese is that they put down the wages, and we cannot afford to do that, it is an economic question."

My first experience with Australians was in France, and I may say that no other armies had such warm relationships with the Indian soldiers as the Australians. There, then, is the problem. On the one hand there are these barriers laid down and on the other hand there is the lack of this prejudice. I was asked to preach in an Anglican Church, a thing I very rarely do, in Melbourne. The vicar, an Australian gentleman, told me all about the service, but he forgot to mention that his senior curate was a Chinese gentleman. It never occurred to him that this would be of interest to me; and this gentleman had served him all these years in his church. The congregation had accepted his ministrations. There was no trouble. They looked upon him as part of the population of Australia. Well, so much for this. On the other hand, Mr. Sastri, when he was in Australia, obtained an understanding from the then Prime Minister, Mr. Hughes, regarding the franchise to be accorded to Indians. There are about 2,000 of them. I asked this question of one of the Cabinet ministers of the Australian Government, why the Indians are left out. "Well," he said, "because we are informed that General Smuts would not like it." "General Smuts is not your master," I said, "after all, you are masters in your own household." I asked another politician of Australia, also to-day having Cabinet rank in one of the States, and he said he feared the Japanese, and that the moment permission was given to the

Indians it was natural that the Japanese would make demands of the same kind. At the back of the idea of the Australian policy is fear. Mind you, Japan, a tremendously big power, is not very far away. At the bottom of the Australian mind there is fear, and this policy of exclusion is the outcome of it.

### Race in New Zealand

In New Zealand the speaker found little prejudice against the Maoris. He says:

A New Zealander was boasting to me about it, and I said, "Why? Because the Maori has never competed with you. He has never become a working man and accepted lower wages. He has his land, he has not competed against you." In one of the New Zealand cities I met some Indian working men manufacturing string, and they told me that they had trouble in a particular restaurant in that city. They asked for meals and were refused, being coloured. And indeed they gave me an extract from a newspaper giving an account of the subsequent police prosecution. The interesting thing that struck me was this, that whereas the Maori in colour not in frequently was of a darker hue than the Indian, yet there was no prejudice against him as against the Indian. New Zealand is afraid of Chinese and Indian competition. The Maori did not matter, he was not a factor in the situation at all. But the Indian and the Chinese are invariably industrious, hardworking and living cheaply, and that was the fear in the mind of the people. Apart from these things New Zealand was a delightful place. The people are very informal. I am told that the Prime Minister considers it an insult unless every native of Dominion addresses him as "Bill."

### The Problem in Fiji

About Fiji Mr. Datta says :

As far as we know, the native population of Fiji is decreasing and the Indian population is going up. If you look at the figures for the last decade you will see that the Fijian has gone down by 10,000 and the Indian has gone up by 10,000 and if this continues the main island will very soon be populated by Indians and not by Fijians. Fiji may become an Indian colony. Now, these 60,000 Indians in Fiji are all, as I said, planting cane. Originally they were put under indenture. The indenture system was removed on 31st December 1919. Since then the Indian has been free. What has he done? Slowly but gradually he is taking up land, small leaseholds of land. I was told by one of the managers of the Sugar Company that out of one of their plantations with 20,000 acres of cane land, 13,000 of these are held by Indians. I spoke to Indians wherever I met them, and I have met with many of the Indians of the Island, and I asked them three questions. The first question was: "Were your conditions under indenture worse, or are they worse now without indenture?" and they invariably said to me: "Our conditions, economic conditions, are worse now than they were." The removal of indenture has made their conditions worse, but, as the Indian says, it has

saved his *izzat*. The second question that I asked them was whether they would ask for compulsory education for their children, and they agreed that this was the biggest need they had, the compulsory education for their children. In the third place I asked them, "Do you want more Indians in this island?" And they said without the least bit of hesitation, "Not a single Indian more do we want in this colony." And I said, "Why?" "For the reason," they said, "that every Indian who comes here would mean the lowering of our wages." The same argument of self-protection in the case of the Australians on the one hand and the Indians on the other.

I thought with a great concern of sadness of what the Indian people do not have in Fiji. I wish that the Government of India could have sent one of their co-operative specialists and begun that movement among the Indians. I wish that some Indian capitalist or some Indian banker could have opened a bank in Fiji for the Indians to put in their savings and use their savings in agricultural development. Indians can talk about Fiji, but really no Indians are going there to save the situation. What is the solution? There are some 26,000 Indians, who were born in Fiji and who feel that Fiji is their home. I wish our Government at the same time would take a few of those young Indians and give them a thorough education, some of them as doctors, some as teachers. I was so impressed with the need of Y. M. C. A. in Fiji, for I felt that Indians could not develop if not from within. Could they be helped so that they might stand on their own feet and develop themselves, and help to produce leaders, and I said to myself that possibly the Indian Y. M. C. A. could open a branch in Fiji and establish themselves there. That has at last been done, due to the generosity of our friends in New Zealand. They subscribed money for the purpose and the Indian National Council have undertaken the responsibility for establishing an Indian Y. M. C. A. movement among the people, among Indians of Fiji. Our first man will go out in the month of April of this year from India.

### Asoka

J. N. C. Ganguly writes an appreciation of the Great Emperor in *The Young Men of India*. Says Mr. Ganguly :

Among the crowned heads of the world who stood the test of searching criticism and the verdict of the ages, Asoka stands pre-eminently a towering figure. And it would be no exaggeration to say that he was perhaps, in many ways the greatest monarch known to history. If a really noble life is the sublimest art, and philosophy the highest victory and consummation, his whole reign was a royal epic of sympathy and compassion, illustrating to the fullest the saying of Marcus Aurelius, that even in a palace life could be led well. The many irrelevant comparisons between him and the martial geniuses, like Alexander, Caesar, Napoleon are really contrasts for the antithesis is just what obtains between culture and science (see *Macphail's Asoka*, pp. 79-82). In one case it is the soul of the age that is represented, while in the other indomitable force joining means to end, as "explosions of human energy".

There are only five throned mendicants who can be classed reasonably with the Buddhist monarch—Marcus Aurelius and Constantine in the West, Hosio Yen and Kumarapala in the East, and Akhnaton in the South (Egypt). But Asoka, as a character, had a number of advantages. He was more tolerant than the Stoic king, more self-sacrificing self-forgetting than the Christian sovereign, much greater and more balanced than the Chinese emperor and more extensively and comprehensively philanthropic than the Egyptian Pharaoh. As personalities there is more in common between Asoka and Akhnaton than any other rulers, as a close similarity, not usually noticed because of the distance of time and space in history. Yet historically Akhnaton is the first great peace-loving king, "the first idealist and individual of history," the first royal sage to see the vision, however dim, of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. Mr. L. A. Hogg, in his brilliant sketch in *The Venture*, of September, 1917, says:

Akhnaton definitely refused to do battle, believing that a resort to arms was an offence to God. Whether fortune or misfortune, gain or loss, was to be his lot, he would hold to his principles. Like a greater than himself, he made his grave with the wicked, despised and rejected of men. The first experiment in political non-resistance was thus made from a throne."

When it is remembered that Akhnaton was also a convert and had to go against tradition, the resemblance becomes strikingly clear.

In ancient history there seems to be no parallel to the achievements of Asoka, demonstrating universal goodwill to all living beings, great and small, like that of his master the sage of the Sakyas.

Mr. H. G. Wells pays a glowing tribute to the Mauryan Emperor for a life which is an example to the world, yet unapproached by any ancient or modern king, in its ethical height and perfection of sympathy and marvellous agreement of theory and practice.

The Buddhist king united statecraft and religion. He had the moral daring to apply to practical politics the principles of Buddha the Enlightened, and to pioneer experiments in order to actualize for the first time in history on a national scale the fundamental ideals of Buddhism. Consciously and courageously he set himself to work out the mind of Gautama into the world of hard facts and unchanging realities. In the language of Mr. Wells:

"He was the first monarch to make an attempt to educate his people in a common view of the ends and way of life. He is the only military monarch on record who abandoned warfare after victory. For eight and twenty years he sanely worked for the real needs of men. Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history—their majesties and graciousnesses and serenities and royal highnesses and the like—the name of Asoka shines, and shines almost alone, a star" (*The Outline of History*, pp. 211-12).

### Rabindranath Reviewed

*Prabuddha Bharata* publishes an article by Haripada Ghosal, Vidyabinode, M.A., M.R.A.S., in which he says:

After the momentous year of 1905 when Bengal was convulsed with the tremendous waves of

nationalism in consequence of the Partition of Bengal, the feeling and poetic heart of Rabindranath could not remain idle. Rabindranath's patriotic enthusiasm advanced step by step, only to reach the highest flight of humanitarianism. His Pegasus soared high and flapped his wings in the lofty aerial region of idealism. The want of the concrete has ever been the great bane of Rabindranath's poetry. His patriotic lyrics are sometimes the very quintessence of poetry. The vision of India, great and free, inspired his poetic soul. But his mysterious disappearance from the heated and fiery arena of controversial politics was attributed to many reasons and was interpreted in different ways. The real fact was that he became conscious of utter self-forgetfulness which was the result of his all-absorbing patriotism, which overshadowed every other thing in him and dominated his whole being. When the love of country overstepped its proper limits, when it swallowed up his very existence in the super-abundance of patriotic fervour, when he found that the part was going to be the whole, and was beginning to assert its power beyond its legitimate bounds, he stood against it and, with a giant's strength, crushed it and became himself the master instead of its slave.

In the last phase of Rabindranath's poetry we see his ecstatic joy of losing individuality in the great universe. To him the highest state of man's enjoyment—the *summum bonum* of his life—is disinterested self-sacrifice. A man is not capable of nobility until the shackles of his self-interest fall—until the expansion of his heart is brought about by complete self-surrender, and he oversteps the narrow pedestal of his own personal considerations, however enlightened they may be, and launches upon the fuller universe beyond, where personality is eliminated and individuality is drowned in the wave of universality. That all the nations of the earth will forget their individuality, their geographical limitations, their ethnological peculiarities, and their mutual hatred and malice, and be equal partners in a great world-federation, is now the great ideal of the poet. His superb and fine poetic ear hears the symphony of world-music, inaudible to the hard and cold practical man of the world, and he waits for that psychological moment when dissonant and jarring notes of narrow patriotism which sets one nation against another, which blots out the natural connection between man and man, and which transforms the smiling plains and blooming fields into a hideous and terrible Golgotha as was witnessed a few years ago, are all things of the past.

### The Late Mrs. Ramabai Ranade

*The Social Service Quarterly* gives us an article on the great Maharashtra lady. It is from the pen of B. A. Engineer. Says Mr. Engineer:

Her death has removed from our midst a prominent social reformer and social worker.

Ramabai while still very young, when she had barely completed her thirteen years, was given in marriage to the late Mr. Justice Ranade as a second wife. Her education proper then began. Her illustrious husband took upon himself the responsibility and task of educating his young wife,



with a view to make her a real companion and helpmate to him in future. He trained up her mind and moulded her character in accordance with his own high ideals, both social and religious. Till the death of her husband, she kept herself rather in the background in public life, but in the privacy of the home atmosphere, she often had long and interesting discussions with him on all public questions. From her memoirs of the late Mr. Justice Ranade we learn against what odds her husband had to carry out her education at a time when orthodoxy was so rampant that not even little girls were allowed to go about freely; and when the ladies of the house saw Ramabai reading a book, they took it as an insult to themselves and were so angry that they would ask her to put away the book at once. It was only in her husband's room that she enjoyed intellectual freedom and could with ease satisfy her desire for learning.

Several years after her marriage, Mrs. Ranade came under the influence of the well-known Pandita Ramabai and began to attend her classes to improve her knowledge. Because she did this, Mrs. Ranade was not allowed to touch the other women of the family, nor the cooking vessels of the house, a practice we still find prevailing among some of the orthodox Hindu families of our day. She had a brave soul and with her husband's encouragement she persisted in improving her mind despite all the difficulties in her way. She travelled a good deal with her husband and because of his high official position, she came into contact with many other educated ladies with whom she would freely exchange her views on current topics. In this way she herself became, an able, eloquent and forceful Marathi speaker and writer, as her memoirs testify and as may be gathered from the fact that she often herself conducted divine service from the pulpit of the Parthana Samaja and the publication of a collected edition of her husband's speeches and writings.

In 1901 she had the greatest of all misfortunes, the worst that could befall a Hindu woman, namely, the death of her husband. For a whole year, Ramabai lived in the strictest seclusion according to Hindu custom and thereafter she made up her mind to live as her husband had trained her up to. She moved to Poona with her adopted daughter, for children she had none, and tried to seek solace in her grief by work she knew would best please her husband. She resolutely set herself to work in that direction. She knew she had to work in an atmosphere far from congenial, Poona at that time being the great strong-hold of Brahmin orthodoxy.

There was nothing remarkable about her person or appearance. She was just a plain, typical Maharashtra woman, simple in dress, and in her life and habits. Plain living and high thinking seems to have been her motto throughout life. She was withal, gentle and modest and yet firm and resolute as could be seen from the gleam for her clear shining eyes.

She began her work by first starting a Ladies' Social Club in Poona and later on opened classes for illiterate women and widows. When the late Mr. B. M. Malabari launched forth his scheme of starting the Seva Sadan (Home of Service), she accepted the Presidentship of the Seva Sadan Society which she retained till her death. In that capacity she used to come down from Poona every month and lived several days in the Sadan premises and applied herself to place the working of the

institution on a sound footing. Side by side she developed her own work in Poona and started a branch of the Seva Sadan in Poona, the classes for illiterate women and widows already conducted there providing a nucleus. She consecrated her whole life, as it were, to that work. She was the life and soul of the Poona Seva Sadan and its success is entirely due to her whole-hearted devotion and her selfless work. She was moreover, prominently connected with all the important women's movements both in Bombay and Poona. She possessed the great qualities of leadership and organisation and she led the agitation for compulsory primary education for girls in Poona and was recently equally keen on the woman suffrage question. She herself proposed a resolution in favour of woman suffrage at the last Provincial Social Conference held in Poona. She evoked admiration and respect from all who came in contact with her. By her exemplary life she has shown to her Hindu sisters how to utilize profitably their time, especially during widowhood, namely, in service to others. She embodied her love in service.

In the same paper, at another place we find another article on the late Mrs. Ranade. This is written by Dr. P. V. Shikhare. He says :

Burning with the keen desire of doing some practical work in the field of social amelioration and social reform, she started at her house in Poona what is known as the Hindu Ladies Social Club. Here several educated ladies met and discussed diverse questions of social interest and looking to the great need that then existed, they started a few classes for grown up women in the city who could not attend the regular schools both on account of their age and position but all the same were very anxious to learn reading, writing and reckoning. This was almost the first of the social activities initiated by Mrs. Ranade and put into execution with the help of other ladies. It formed the nucleus round which grew, in later years, the great organisation known as the Poona Seva Sadan Society. The classes started and carried on by these ladies, which were located in Mrs. Ranade's own house, soon went on increasing in number and size and other useful lines of activity for the amelioration of the condition of women began to be discussed. It was about this time, that is, in the years 1907 to 1909 that Mr. G. K. Devadhar of the Servants of India Society appeared on the scene. He wanted women workers for the campaign against plague that the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale as President of the Poona City Municipality had started, and a few ladies from the Hindu Ladies Social Club came forward to assist in the campaign. Mr. Devadhar similarly took with him, from the same little band of social workers, one or two ladies to the United Provinces for relief work during the great famine that prevailed in that part of the land in the year 1908-1919. On the return of Mr. Devadhar from his tour in the famine-stricken provinces, where he did much useful work with the help of the ladies who had accompanied him from Poona, the question of starting an institution for educational and other useful work along definite lines was seriously discussed by Mrs. Ranade and other members of the club. They started in the year 1919 with the help of a few gentlemen workers, the Seva Sadan in Poona.

At the time of Mrs. Ranade's death the number of women taking advantage of this Institution, not

only in Poona but at several outside centres as well, had gone up beyond 1000.

She was a living example of a high but simple life to be followed by the hundreds of young women who came under the influence of the institution. Two names stood out prominently in connection with the Poona Seva Sadan, those of Mr. G. K. Devadhar and Mrs. Ramabai Ranade. If one was the "head" that planned, guided and controlled, the other was the "heart" that inspired. Another phase of Mrs. Ranade's activities as a social worker was the interest she took in, and the sympathy she showed as a woman, towards the sick and the afflicted. She paid regular visits to the patients in the wards of the Sassoon Hospital, making kind and sympathetic inquiries, supplying religious books to read and distributing presents of fruits, etc., amongst them at the time of each visit. It was out of this practice of hers that there grew up the idea of preparing women of respectable position and sufficient education as nurses and midwives of whom there was a great need felt at the time. With the help and co-operation of the hospital authorities the idea soon materialised into a regular scheme for training nurses. The first batch of four probationer nurses was sent to the Sassoon Hospital for their training in nursing and midwifery in the early part of the year 1911, and since then a regular stream of supply is kept up so that by now about 50 fully qualified nurses with three-and-a-half years' training and 20 qualified midwives have been sent out by the Poona Seva Sadan Society, several of whom are doing social work for women and children in Bombay, Poona, Sholapur, Ahmednagar, Baramati and other places, in connection with hospitals, dispensaries, and infant welfare centres. About forty more women are at present, undergoing their training. In spite of these encouraging figures, the need of the country in the matter of an adequate supply of trained nurses and midwives is far greater than has been met so far, but a beginning in that direction has been made by the institution under Mrs. Ranade's inspiration--this is the least that could be said about the matter.

Mrs. Ranade also paid regular fortnightly visits to the women convicts incarcerated in the Central Prison at Yeravada, being one of the committee of visitors appointed by Government for the purpose. Of what great value such visits are to the afflicted persons, the writer of this article can testify from his own personal experience in the matter, and he is positive that the women convicts of Yeravada must have hailed with delight the fortnightly visits of this motherly lady as she carried relief to them by her kindly and soothing inquiries and up-lifting advice.

### Indianisation of the Railways

The *Hindustan Review* criticises The Lee Commission Report in the following manner :

	Total Number	Indians.
	1907	
Engineers (Imp.)	... 169	11
Do. (Prov.)	...	...
Agency	... 7	0
Traffic	... 71	5
Loco.	... 51	0
C. & W.	... ..	...
Stores	... 9	1

The Lee Commission set out under Royal Command to investigate the lines of development of the policy of "increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration." Its recommendations have striven to achieve quite the opposite. They aim at perpetuating a certain minimum of the British element in the services. It would be both interesting and instructive to take concrete data from one service and illustrate the pious wishes for Indianisation which have formed the plank of high men in power ever since the condition of the services began to invite public attention. The under-noted figures in respect of the State Railways will speak for themselves. It may be mentioned that by *Indians* is meant the pure inhabitants of the country and not the "statutory natives."

	1923	
Engineers (Imp.)	... 177	41
Agency	... 7	0
Traffic	... 120	33
Loco.	... 72	2
C. & W.	... 10	0
Stores	... 24	3

These figures are eloquent of the rate of Indianisation on the Railways. The percentage increases between the years 1907 and 1923 work out as follows:—

	1907	1923
Engineering	... 7 per cent.	23 per cent.
Agency	... 0 "	0 "
Traffic	... 7 "	24 "
Loco.	... 0 "	3 "
C. & W.	... 0 "	0 "
Stores	... 11 "	12½ "
Total	... 5½ "	19 "

In other words, the agents' office and the Carriage and Wagons remain closed to Indians; in the Loco and the Stores an infinitesimal increase and a bare 16 per cent. increase in the Engineering and the Traffic Lines—all this over a period of 16 years! The Islington Commission recommended in 1915 that the Loco should be entirely Indianised, there was no Indian officer then in this department. After 8 years the progress toward the Islington ideal is represented by 2 Indians out of a total cadre of 72. The Lee Report now fixes the ultimate ratio in the Railway services at 75 per cent. Indians to 25 per cent. British. The present ratio is 19 per cent. Indians. It took 18 years to rise 13½ per cent. For the next 36 per cent. rise the period under which it is to be carried out is not calculated by the Commission, but it is expressly laid down that the recruitment in future should be 40 per cent. European. India will be lucky to see the 75 per cent. Indian cadre in the Railways before the century is out. And we are asked, on the one hand by the Lee Commissioners to curb our impatience and "accept the spirit of compromise" which has inspired their agreed conclusions, and on the other hand a forcible plea is put forward by Sir Campbell Rhodes for a graceful gesture from the Indian side as a token of goodwill and no ill feeling!

### Maternity Benefits for Indian Women Wage-earners

Ever on the alert for the welfare of Labor and of Women Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A., has given notice of a Bill to be introduced by him in the next session of the Assembly to obtain maternity leave and benefits for women laborers in factories, mines and estates. The Bill seeks to carry out proposals which were passed at the first International Conference of Labor that was held in Washington, America, in 1919. The Government of India has paid no heed to these proposals up till now and it is not right that India should lag behind other countries in taking care of that section of its motherhood which is forced to earn its own living. Mr. Joshi's Bill will compel employers to give leave for six weeks before the probable date of her confinement and for six weeks after it to any woman employed under them, and the employers must provide a sufficient sum of money for the period of leave so that the woman may maintain herself and her child in good condition through this financial "maternity benefit," as it is termed. The Maternity Benefit Fund is to be raised by the Local Government through levying a small cess upon the industries which employ these women. We hope that special facilities will be given by the Government of India for passing this humanitarian Bill and that the Assembly and the Council of State will unanimously support it. Such consideration for mothers is the carrying into the modern industrial conditions of the older system in India which sent the woman to her mother's house, for two months before and after her confinement in the days when the people in villages were more prosperous than they are now, and when the burden of an extra mouth to feed was not felt so much as now. These maternity benefits will be of the greatest help to working women in India, and form part of the general scheme of improving the conditions of maternity, and of decreasing infantile mortality.—*Stri-Dharma*.

### The Floods in South India

Thousands of women in South India are homeless to-day as a result of the terrible floods which have swept over Malabar, South Canara, and the Trichinopoly and Tanjore Districts of South India. The sympathy of all women flows out to these afflicted sisters of ours who have had to flee from their homes leaving all their belongings behind them and only rescuing their children. They are huddled together as refugees in strange places, and what is worst, their food supply for the coming year has been destroyed and their property in grains and wood and crops has been swept away by the rushing rivers which in several cases rose thirty feet above the normal. Our sympathy should not stop at the simple feeling of sorrow but should express itself in the sending of any donation we can spare to the Sheriff of Madras City or to the Hon. Secretary, Servants of India Society, Bombay or to the Editor of *Stri-Dharma* to help these stricken people. Funds are being raised for them in every possible way. The Madras Corporation has voted Rs. 10,000 as the matter is one of great urgency. We should regard our sister's troubles as our own and make collections for their aid.—*Stri-Dharma*.

### "Rescue and Training Home for Indian Girls"

It is good to find some men and women seeking to rescue girls whose heredity or circumstances have forced them into a life of shame from which either their own desire is to escape or the efforts of the public seek to give them a fresh chance of a pure life. In 1923 Calcutta passed an Act for the Suppression of Immoral Traffic. Under the Act the police are empowered to remove from the brothels of Calcutta all girls under 13 years of age of whom there are more than 2,000, but alas! there are no Homes to which they can be removed. The Calcutta Vigilance Society is begging about for a lakh of rupees to promote a "Rescue and Training Home for Indian Girls," not Eurasians, not non-Indian little girls,—Indian girls!—but yet the response to the appeal for their help is pitifully small. Will not some wealthy women give the money necessary for the salvation of the bodies and souls of these little victims of man's lust and of economic necessity? In purdah-ridden Bengal it is easier for a woman to sell her honor than the work of her hands or brain. The backwardness of public opinion in grappling with the social evil is appalling when one remembers that it is known that four out of every hundred women above ten years old in Calcutta are prostitutes. As *The Servant of India* says: "An almost incredible demand must exist for these women or at least a widespread connivance at state of affairs that one sincerely hopes must be unparalleled anywhere else." It rightly speaks of the "drugged consciences" of Calcutta.

In Madras City an Indian Ladies' Samaj has been started, of which the chief object is to rescue girls of the Devadasi type both by industrial training, by propaganda methods, and by founding a residential Home for those who wish to live in it, admission being limited to twenty. It is a worthy object deserving of all success. There is an influential Committee of Indian ladies responsible for the project. In these matters women can best help women.—*Stri-Dharma*.

### Burma to the Fore

A remarkable step has been taken by one of the leading newspapers in Burma. Miss Lin Sing Yin has been appointed its Editor-in-Chief. She is the first Chinese lady to take charge of a newspaper. The *Burma News* has indeed set a precedent and we wish it great success.—*Stri-Dharma*.

### Women in China

In *Stri-Dharma* we find the following :

The Governor of the Province of Shansi is considered the model Governor of that vast country. He has the interests of women much at heart. In an interview which an American woman had with him he said "At present I am working to bring about two reforms. For years I have lectured on the advisability of sending girls as well as boys to school. Now, very shortly, I hope to make the education of women and girls a matter of law, and secure compulsory education for the women as well as for the men of the country. A law making it possible



for women to hold property in their own right is a need of present-day civilisation. Up to the present time, women in China have been unable to hold property. Should a woman be divorced, widowed or remain single, her property rights are endangered. It is my intent to remedy this condition.

"Does His Excellency have no fear that the education of women will threaten the age-old domestic system of the Chinese household?"

"No, education will not upset the present family arrangements.

"Education will fit women more perfectly for the home life, help them to discharge their duties more easily and effectively, and will in every way contribute to the welfare of the family as a whole. There is nothing to be feared from learning, knowledge and education."

We also find.

"In regard to marriage, the Governor does not wish to comment on the ancient system of the parental selection of the husband for the girl, or to say whether he considers it right or wrong. He thinks, however, that the parents should endeavour to obtain the girl's consent to the marriage and this point he has emphasised in his lectures and speeches. He is strongly against the system of early marriages, and discountenances the betrothing of the young people while they are still children.

### The Tenets of Hinduism

Sir T. Sadasivier, retired Judge of the High Court of Madras, writes on the above in the "Indian Review" in criticism of a book by Babu Govinda Das named "Hinduism". Says Sir Sadasivier :

Upanayana and marriage are the only Samskaras which need be retained in modern days. All Hindus without distinction of birth or caste should be given

the Upanayana Samskara. We should not attempt to revive bad and obsolete practices like Niyoga and polygamy through literal interpretations of corrupt smritis. Rites and ceremonies ought to be simplified and pronouncement of mantrams which have lost their meaning should be given up. Cremation ought to become universal. Ceremonial impurities on occasions of deaths and births should be confined to hygienic necessities. The periods of pollution should be curtailed. Untouchability except on insanitary and hygienic grounds should cease. Unapproachability which is a monstrous custom not sanctioned by any Shastras should be destroyed. Common sense must be restored. The difference between the rights and privileges of men and women, no such invidious distinction having been made in the old Vedic times, ought to be abolished. Vegetarianism and the avoidance of intoxicating drugs and drinks should be made the universal rule for true Hindus, Ahimsa being the eternal basis of the true Hindu religion. As it is an education "to go wandering from place to place with open eyes imbibing the beauties of nature and of the stately fanes and studying the manners and customs of different people" and as all such pilgrimages "are the finest prophylactics against narrowness of vision and bigoted intolerance," pilgrimages both within India and to foreign countries should be encouraged. Dhana or gifts should be confined to deserving people and spurious texts advocating gifts to undeserving Brahmanas or nominal sanyasis should be repudiated. Shraddhas to the Pitris should not be multiplied, but should be confined to a single season when all ancestors and dead persons are remembered with affection (even annual Shraddhas being later interpolations). Marriages should take place only after boys are 20 and girls are 15 or 16 and restrictions as to Gotra are absolutely mischievous as the real Gotra of no modern Hindu is at all certain. Restrictions should be based only on the score of undue difference in the ages of the marrying couple and on undue nearness of blood, that is on eugenic and ethnological grounds. Caste, as it now exists, based on mere conclusively presumed hereditary birth, ought to be sternly rooted out.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### The Loss That Is Most Tragic

Referring to the untimely death of Calvin Coolidge, the sixteen-year-old son of President Coolidge, *The New Republic* feelingly observes :—

Political quarrels are laid aside as the whole nation extends heartfelt sympathy to Mr. and Mrs. Coolidge on the untimely death of their sixteen-year-old son, Calvin, Junior.

It adds :—

No loss is more tragic than that which occurs

on the threshold of young manhood, and without the adjustment which is possible for the parents when death is preceded by an extended period of illness.

Deeply and mournfully true.

### What "Optimistic" Christianity has Not Done

Herbert Croly writes in *The New Republic*, Christianity has not heretofore tackled the job of educating Christians to live adequately, freely and

so far as possible harmoniously in this world. The most impassioned Christians have regarded secular life as a brief, miserable and necessarily discordant prelude to an eternity of privation or fulfilment in the world beyond. They have regarded human nature as depraved and incapable of fulfilment save by virtue of some miracle of divine intercession and grace. Such being their attitude, they have sought a method of conducting life in this world which at best amounted to no more than the preparation for a consummation which would take place elsewhere. The good life consisted in building up certain habits of self-denial which were considered equivalent to positive and general self-control and purging one's state of mind of carnal and selfish passions. Those whom Christianity saved were being rescued from an enemy. They were being delivered from a prison which consisted of human life itself and the surrounding world of nature. This contempt for human nature and its fulfilment in this world dominated Christian consciousness until an increasing knowledge of nature and human society brought with it a new hope for mankind. During the eighteenth century men began to believe that scientific research would furnish to humanity methods of controlling nature which would alleviate the misery, the discord and the impotence which had frustrated human life. This hope first appeared among people who were not Christian and to whom it became a promise of increased individual satisfaction through the augmented production and the socialized distribution of an economic surplus. Later the Christian churches began to share the hope and to express it in their social creeds and aspirations. But by so doing official Christianity altered by implication the valuation which it had traditionally placed on life in this world and the meaning which it attached to human fulfilment. Not only did it pledge itself by adopting a social program to seek a method of social amelioration which was both scientific and Christian; it also pledged itself by the same innovation to seek a method of individual fulfilment which could only be derived from a study of the latent possibilities of the formerly despised and distrusted nature of man.

### Unfair Economic Relationship between England and India.

Mr. C. F. Andrews has contributed to *The Contemporary Review* an article on the unfair economic relationship between England and India. He says :—

Very few thoughtful people can doubt that great advantages have accrued to India during the last century of British rule. But it is not equally realised in England that forces have been at work, owing to the unfair economic relationship between India and England, which have perpetually tended to weaken the good which has been done. In this article an attempt is made to estimate as far as possible from the Indian stand-point, wherein the weakness lies in the present economic position. A study of some of the salient facts may show why moderate and reasonable people in India cannot bear the prospect of further delay in the grant of responsible Government, and why they are not at all satisfied by the offer of a Statutory Commission in

1919. For while it is acknowledged that the recent Reforms have done something to relieve for the moment the old bad situation, the opinion remains unalterably fixed that the evils in a foreign Government are still spreading disease in the body politic and that hitherto a merely superficial remedy has been applied.

In his opinion :—

In India, economic problems arise out of the relation to England, because :—

- (i) India is still ruled from Great Britain.
- (ii) Departments directed chiefly by British officials, still deal in a costly manner with a very large part of the daily life and interests of the people.
- (iii) The British Government in India is still bound by close economic ties with England in regulating the fiscal policy of India.
- (iv) The British Government is still in a real sense the Landlord of British India, disposing as it thinks fit, of the rent it receives.

He continues :—

There are four parallel heads, on which the moral issue is raised with regard to this economic relationship.

- (i) British predominance acts as a deterrent to initiative enterprise and leadership; it is destructive of moral force in the Indian people.
- (ii) 'Home Charges' drain the wealth of India to England and thus establish an unfair position.
- (iii) Economic fiscal advantages have been to England in the past and are still being given and these demoralise both giver and receiver.
- (iv) The heavy incidence of the Land Revenue causes agricultural depression and a general impoverishment, which leads to a moral poverty in its turn.

He dwells on these four heads in detail and concludes :—

The moral effect of extreme poverty upon a depressed village population is well known. In India, the burden of indebtedness has been added to that of ignorance, misery and hunger. Whatever rise in the prices of foodstuffs may have occurred in recent years it appears to be certain that the village population has not received its full share of the benefits. I would refer for an instance of a statistical survey, to Dr Mann's work on the village problem in the Deccan.

A further criticism shows that the present heavy land taxation leads to unequal distribution of wealth—the village poor growing poorer in spite of their acknowledged industry and frugality. The new wealth that is flowing into India tends to accumulate in the hands of the trading classes who are very lightly taxed; while the burden of the taxation is borne by the peasantry, the agricultural classes are more and more exploited by the traders and money-lenders and their ignorance makes such exploitation doubly difficult to avoid. Up to the present, only the most meagre efforts have been made, and the most inadequate sums of money expended, in order to give them Primary education, and thus put them on more equal terms with those who exploit them. Though "the most patient and frugal peasantry in the world," (*Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. iv p. 204) they are weighed down by debt and haunted by the spectre of famine. Sir William Hunter, whose name still holds

a high rank both as administrator and historian, stated with full knowledge of the conditions prevailing in his own time, that forty millions of people in India always lived on the border-line of hunger. They never knew what it was fully to satisfy the hunger pangs. I seriously doubt, judging from my own experience among the Indian village people to-day, whether any material improvement in the stark hunger problem has occurred since his time. When after this, the information is given that the Land Revenue, taken from the same peasantry, amounts approximately to 50 per cent. of the net assets, the ordinary reader cannot help but feel that there is something wrong with the conditions, though he may not be able to point out a remedy. It can hardly be regarded as a sufficient solution of the problem to point to highly organised State agencies for famine relief. Even if excessive mortality is avoided, the danger of pauperisation remains. The question needs continually to be asked whether, by reduction of military expenditure or other methods, the burden of land taxation cannot be further lightened, and, at the same time, whether the ignorance of the peasantry cannot be dispelled. The issues of life and death are so vast, and the possibilities of human suffering so immense (a famine area not seldom including over 50,000,000 people), that the economic question is here raised to the highest pitch of moral importance.

### Protection in India.

In the *Irish Statesman* Mr. St. Nihal Singh observes that:—

It is not without significance that Protection is being initiated simultaneously in British India and the Irish Free State. While Mr. Ernest Blythe is carrying through his proposals to foster Irish industries by handicapping certain imports, a bill imposing heavy duties upon some classes of steel imported into India has just been completed by the Legislative Department of the Government of India.

He notes that:—

The motive power in India and Ireland is derived from the same source. The system of Free Trade imposed from the outside has produced a strong revulsion in the minds of nearly every person who can think politically in either country. By her action Britain has made it impossible for Indians and Irishmen to consider economic issues solely or even mainly from the economic point of view.

At the time the British succeeded in establishing their dominion over India the products of her looms and forges were in demand in every civilized land and gave employment to a considerable percentage of the population, whose skill, acquired through the experience of generations, was admired in Europe as much as it was in Asia. With the extinction of Indian rule in British India, however and the subordination of such rajahs as were left, the industries which theretofore had been thriving began to wither and die, and an ever-increasing number of men and women began to be squeezed out of crafts and thrown back upon the land under tillage in time making the soil groan under a terrible pressure.

In his opinion:—

This movement was not entirely due to political causes. The development of power industries, particularly in Lancashire, forced upon the handicraftsmen of India a competition which they were not able to combat.

The political dominated the economic factor, however. Such Indians as could think realized that the men who controlled India's affairs were of the same race and religion as those who were engaged in commerce and banking—they wine and dined together—and the bread they broke and the whiskey and soda they sipped were bought with the money acquired through trade which was crushing the Indian labourer and making life intolerable for the Indian peasant. They further saw that when the English textile industry was young Indian imports into Britain had been penalized, whereas similar action was not taken to afford protection to Indian industries which for centuries had depended, in no small measure, upon the patronage given by the Emperor and his Court. Action was taken, on the contrary, to facilitate the expansion of the import trade, particularly by means of fixing favourable rates on railway built with Indian money but uncontrolled by Indians.

At a later stage actual attempts were made to penalize the only modern industry which Indians had been able to establish in their country, a duty on cotton goods produced in Indian mills being levied to 'countervail' the duty paid on yarn and cloth from Lancashire and elsewhere.

Mr. Singh adds:—

Until comparatively recent years the educational policy was so framed and administered by British officials that it gave the Indian youth little opportunity to acquire scientific, engineering, technical, or commercial training, and forced him into the only channel open—pseudo-literary education entirely lacking the life-giving principle of nationalism—and thereby produced another series of terribly grave problems which a self-governing India will have to solve.

Political bitterness made educated Indians look upon Free Trade as an invention of the Devils and tended to develop Protectionist tendencies in them. Had they lived under a different system of governance, which permitted them to view economic issues from the purely economic angle of vision, they might have become strong Free Traders.

Turning to Ireland, Mr. Singh points out an important difference between India and Ireland.

Much the same conditions have produced in Ireland Protective tendencies, but whereas the Free State is beginning her experiment in Protection after shaking off British control, the Protective system is being introduced in India while she is still in British leading strings.

He also draws attention to the consequences of this difference in the political status of the two countries.

Whatever else it may do, it will strengthen the tendency in the British to set up industries in India instead of engaging in import and export trade and intensifying the exploitation of Indian resources by persons who have no abiding interest in the



country but degenerate India more and more into a land of coolies.

In the ratio in which this exploitation becomes intense, the Indian political problem will, I fear, grow more difficult.

Mr. Singh gives reasons for his apprehension.

The opposition to Indian Home Rule, which proceeds from the classes from which the British officials in India are recruited, though formidable, is nothing compared with that which comes from the mill-owners in the industrial counties of England and Scotland, particularly Lancashire and contiguous counties, from the great banking, export and import and shipping houses with headquarters in the City of London and connections in India, and the British firms which have been able to secure contracts running into tens of millions sterling for stores needed by the Government departments and railways in India, manned, at the top, by Britons who naturally prefer to patronize their own people and to use British products. The very existence of these British financiers, industrialists, commercialists, and middlemen is menaced by the transfer of political power in India from Britons to Indians, and by the development of Indian industry, commerce, and banking through Indian agency and under Indian control. The more shrewd among them realize that their effort to retard Indian self-government will, sooner or later, fail, and some of them have seen the wisdom of abandoning commerce with India in favor of setting up industries in that country and have thus found a means of adding to their wealth at a much faster rate than would be possible through the investment of the same capital in Britain, where labor is much dearer and more unruly than is the case with Indian workers.

The writer explains the reasons why British Industrialists in India are protectionist and why the Legislative Department of the Government of India are not opposed to giving protection to certain industries.

During my recent Indian tour I was surprised to see the rapidity with which mining licences were being acquired by British individuals and syndicates, and sites were being bought for building mills, factories, and workshops, and with which British firms were setting up chemical laboratories, iron and steel mills, cement works and the like. I found these British industrialists strongly protectionist, and have little doubt that but for the demands put forward by them the bill which has been framed to give Protection to certain classes of Indian steel would never have emerged from the Legislative Department of the Government of India until that Government had ceased to be preponderantly British in personnel, as it is to-day. I have even less doubt that their representatives in the Legislative Assembly will throw all their weight in favor of this measure.

Mr. St. Nihal Singh thinks that the remedies which Indians are thinking of applying to prevent the exploitation of India by the starting of factories in our country by British capitalists, are "quack remedies." Says he :—

Even those Indians who are alive to the dangers

arising from the rapid increase in the number of Britons bent upon exploiting Indian resources in materials and men feel that they can check the menace by applying quack remedies, such as insisting upon the registration of companies in India, and the inclusion of a certain number of Indians upon a Board of Directors. They little realize that such means have been tested and found wanting. It is not impossible, on the contrary, that a time may come when the British industrialists in India may find it to their advantage to form an alliance with the Indian industrialists and thereby create a caste of monopolists which will sweep everything before it.

It would have been helpful if Mr. Singh had told his countrymen where, how and why these remedies have failed, because thereby they would have been effectively forewarned ; and if Mr. Singh, who is a man of vast information, had told Indians where the true remedy lay, they would have been forearmed, too.

Mr. Singh concludes his article thus :—

The policies pursued by the British in India have, however, bred in the Indian mind a deep antagonism toward Free Trade and a great fascination for Protection. Indians will look only on the brighter side of life in protected countries—rapid industrial growth and the consequential accession of wealth. They will not see that side by side with it terrible abuses have multiplied—gnawing poverty, slums and political corruption. Such British friends as have sought to draw their attention to these evils have been condemned as self-seekers. Even Mahatma Gandhi's effort to turn back from the machine to the handwheel has not arrested the expansion of industrialism or the spread of the Protection fever.

The Government of India probably thinks that by seeming to bow to the Indian will in this matter—and at this time—it will gain a political advantage. It is, however, impossible to conceive that the Labor Government will give it leave to feed Indians on meat sufficiently highly spiced to satisfy their appetite for Protection. The taste which they will acquire will only make them feel that they cannot satisfactorily deal with their economic problem until they have first got the political problem out of the way.

The last sentence quoted above perhaps suggests the direction in which the real remedy is to be found. As according to H. H. Wilson, Indian industries were crushed by England by the use of political power, so the industrial regeneration of India will be possible only by the regaining of political power.

### Rabindranath Tagore's Visit to China.

Rabindranath Tagore's visit to China has led *The Living Age* of America to write thus :—

Rabindranath Tagore's visit to China suggests the possibility of a Pan-Asiatic awakening. Not a

politico-militaristic movement,—the last thing in the world that the peaceful Bengali would desire,—but an aroused sense of intellectual kinship. Bertrand Russell's visit exercised a powerful effect upon certain classes in China, and John Dewey's influence, though it has been said not to be so great in direct consequences, may ultimately mean even more than Mr. Russell's; but both these men, though they came with open and sympathetic minds, were merely Westerners, and Westerners at an age when the mind, no matter how carefully trained, is not so apt for new impressions.

Calcutta, though no longer a young man himself, is Oriental. The civilization of China is foreign to him, but not so foreign as to an Englishman or an American. He can speak to Orientals as one of themselves, and at the Temple of Agriculture in Peking this is what he said:—

"You are glad that I have come to you as, in a sense representing Asia. I feel myself that Asia has been waiting long and is still waiting to find her voice. It was not always so. There was a time when Asia saved the world from barbarism; then came the night, I do not know how. And when we were aroused from our stupor by the knocking at our gate we were not prepared to receive Europe, who came to us in pride of strength and intellect. That is why Europe overcame Asia. We did Europe injustice when we did not meet her on equal terms.

"The result was the relation of superior to inferior—of insult on the one side and humiliation on the other. We have been accepting things like leggers. We have been imagining that we have nothing of our own. We are still suffering from want of confidence in ourselves. We are not aware of our treasures. The West came not for us to give it our best, but to exploit us for the sake of material gain. It came into our homes robbing us of our possessions.

"We must rise from our stupor and prove that we are not beggars. That is our responsibility. Search in your own homes for things that are of undying worth. Then you will be saved and will be able to save all humanity. The West is becoming demoralized through being the exploiter, through exploitation. We want to find our own birthright. Some of the East think that we should copy and imitate the West. I do not believe it. What the West has produced is for the West, being native to it. But we of the East cannot borrow the Western mind or the Western temperament.

"We must fight with our faith in the moral and spiritual power of man. We of the East have never revered generals or lie-dealing diplomats; but spiritual leaders. Through them we shall be saved or not at all. Physical power is not the strongest in the end. Power crushes itself. Machine guns and airplanes crush living men under them and the West is sinking to its dust. We are not going to follow the West in competition, in brutality, in selfishness."

### The Buddhist Temple of Boro-Budur in Java.

The same journal informs its readers:—

The Dutch Government has undertaken the restoration and preservation of the ancient Buddhist temple of Boro-Budur in Java. The temple is sup-

posed to have been erected in the eighth or ninth century A.D., when Buddhist kings ruled in Java. It appears to have been used, however, for only about two centuries, and the process of decay must have begun some time in the tenth, when Mohammedan rule was established in the island. In the sixteenth century there was no interest in monuments of the past, and Boro-Budur was allowed to decay. By 1710 even the natives of the island had forgotten about it, and it lay neglected until 1814, when English officials, during their brief occupation caused architectural plans to be made. In 1907 the Dutch Government ordered a complete photographic survey, and the recent work of restoration has been in charge of Colonel Th. van Erp of the Engineering Corps.

Boro-Budur is built on a hillside, in a tier of four terraces, each bordered by balustrades which, like the inner walls, are decorated with some thirteen hundred panels in high relief illustrating texts of the Buddhist sacred books. Many of the stones have fallen out, and some have been destroyed, though during the excavation of the surrounding land it was found that many of the lost stones were lying buried near by. Seven months were occupied in sorting the thousands of sculptured pieces most of which have been fitted back into their original positions. Happily, however, there has been no effort to replace lost sculptures with modern imitations,

### German Education and Exploitation

During the British occupation of India there was at first little or no demand for British goods. So a taste for British manufactures had to be created by English education and the conversion of Indians to Christianity. That this was one of the motives for western education and Christian proselytism in India was shown years ago in several articles in this *Review*. This method has been adopted by the Americans in China by using the Boxer indemnity to educate (and Americanize) the Chinese. The Germans are going to try the same method in that vast country;—in proof whereof read the following:—

The German press is making much of the inauguration last May at Shanghai of a German-Chinese university. The institution embraces provisionally an engineering and a medical school, and has accommodations for 400 students. It will receive matriculants from the graduates of all the German secondary schools in China, and its standards and courses will entitle its graduates to the same rank as graduates of universities in Germany. German language and literature are obligatory major subjects. The mechanical equipment of the engineering school is said to be unexcelled, but the medical department is not yet satisfactorily equipped. —*The Living Age*.

### The Late W. W. Pearson

*The Congregational Quarterly* contains an article on the late Mr. W. W. Pearson of Santiniketan by Mr. C. F. Andrews, who declares that Pearson's intercourse with Rabindranath Tagore, at the famous school at Santiniketan, rather helped him to live a Christian life than otherwise—perhaps this was just because "his own Christian belief was extraordinarily simple and childlike and direct," unvexed by metaphysics."

### The Nair-O'Dwyer Case.

On the Nair-O'Dwyer case, *The New Republic* opines, in part, as follows:—

The book was published in India, and only a few copies were sent privately to Great Britain. To conduct the libel trial in the latter country, therefore, thousands of miles from the home of all the witnesses, seems in itself a gross piece of injustice.

Even more unfair, according to the accounts of eye-witnesses, was the attitude of Mr. Justice Mc-Cardie in conducting the case. From first to last he appears, as the New Statesman comments, to have "made no secret of his prejudice." His summing up was virtually a speech on behalf of the plaintiff; and he even went to the incredible length of saying that General Dyer "was wrongly punished by the Secretary of State for India." The jury was divided eleven to one; but the opposing counsel agreed to accept the majority verdict and decided upon the sum of £500 and costs. While Sir Sankaran has a technical right of appeal, the case has already cost him £60,000, and his experience in this instance is not such as to encourage him about securing justice in an English court.

### Cruel Tyranny under a "Democracy"

That no kind of political organisation, no kind of government is a complete preventive of organised cruelty and tyranny will appear from the extract given below from *The New Republic*.

On numerous occasions in the past the New Republic has commented on the bitterness of that class warfare along the Pacific coast which has resulted in numerous acts of cruel injustice, including sending scores of men to prison, not because they have committed any crime, but for being members of the Industrial Workers of the World. A short time ago an incident took place which is characteristic of many similar ones. At San Pedro, California, the I. W. W. were giving an entertainment in their hall. A group of men some of whom were dressed as sailors, broke in, assaulted numerous men, women and children, smashed all the furniture, including a piano, typewriters, etc., and kidnaped nine men. These, most of whom were bleeding from scalp wounds, were

taken thirty miles in a strack to a lonely canyon, robbed of all their valuables, and tarred and feathered. That the outrage was possible without police action was due to the fact that Captain Hagenbaugh of the force had sent all his men to a remote part of the harbor on a riot call—a feat for which he was sharply reprimanded by Chief Vollmer, his superior officer. The I. W. W. and the United States naval officers unite in asserting that the sailors' uniforms were a disguise and that the men who took part in the affair were all civilians. In an endeavour to justify an inexcusable incident a cock-and-bull story has been spread to the effect that the I. W. W. were plotting to blow up the morgue where lay the bodies of the Mississippi explosion victims! No such ridiculous explanation is necessary. The outrage is similar to many others which have occurred in the past and probably will occur in the future; and there is good reason to believe that the participants in it could easily have been members of Southern California's "best families," who believe that they are engaged in a holy war to make the world safe for private property.

Cruel oppression can disappear only with men's change of heart for the better and with the growth of spirituality.

### Toward the Outlawry of War.

Writing on the above topic in *The New Republic*, William E. Borah observes:—

How utterly vain are all schemes for peace not based upon the principle that war is a crime and its fomenters to be dealt with as criminals, may be illustrated by what has taken place since the organization of the League of Nations. Every war of invasion, every invasion of territory, since the League was created has been by a member of the League. Every move for disarmament has been opposed by a member of the League. Every military alliance since the Treaty of Versailles has been initiated by a member of the League. It was a League member which incited Greece to war and then deserted her in her humiliation and defeat. It was a League member which armed and financed Turkey and brought her back into power. The army which butchered helpless and defenceless women and children on that field of carnage in Asia Minor was armed and equipped by a member of the League of Nations. The three invasions of Russia were equipped and munitioned by members of the League of Nations. The Serb-Croat Slovene State began war on Albania. Albania appealed to the League, the League evaded the issue, and the war continued between the two members of the League. The Italian Fascisti under D'Annunzio, began war on and captured Fiume. Italy was a member of the League and of the Council at the time. Italy later expelled D'Annunzio but kept Fiume. Greece was a member of the League when she invaded Asia Minor. Poland, a member of the League, invaded and took Vilna and began war on Lithuania. Poland, a member of the League used arms against Eastern Galicia. France, a member of the League, invaded the Ruhr.

It has been repeatedly said that the plan for out-



lawing war is illusory and impracticable. It is not so much so as the plan to end war, while all nations and all international plans for peace still recognize war as legitimate, as morally permissible, still rely upon force as the ultimate arbiter. When the sentiment of mankind has been taught to look upon war as a crime and when that sentiment has been crystallized into international law and to be cons-

trued by an independent international judicial tribunal, the world will be near to universal peace. The work of educating the world to this task is tremendous. But unless we are to go on as we have for three thousand years, talking peace and practising war, we shall at once undertake the task; we shall seek to change the attitude of the public mind toward war as the first step to end war.

## THE OLD OLD STORY

By SANTA CHATTERJEE

(17)

AFTER his final examination at the engineering college was over, Suprakash started out to tour his country thoroughly. But he could not quite realise how he managed to spend months while going through only Bengal. Perhaps, when he turned up at some stray village, he found the people suffering great discomfort, but silently hoping to shove the work of repairing the only "road", which had half of it washed away, on each others shoulders in keeping with the law of "He mends who suffers most." Suprakash would go round from house to house, argue as if the thing concerned him the most and engage in the work of repair with the greatest ardour. Instead of two days, he would thus spend a month in the same village. It was found out that it took him five hundred per cent more time to tour a village compared to what it took him to go over a town. This was the more true where the village contained some acquaintance of his.

At Rajgunge one of the cousins of Gopesh Babu was Suprakash's friend. When he came there, he learned that his friend's cousin had become the secretary of the local girls' school which required to be improved and modernised. But so long as they did not succeed in securing the services of a mistress, it would not do to leave the girls in charge of the solitary Pundit; for, in that case, the girls would not go beyond learning how to make cow-dung cakes, steal cucumbers and give the cow her fodder. Ramesh, Gopesh Babu's cousin, said, "All right, don't worry; I am going to maim that animal and disperse it. Then Suprakash and I—we shall turn all

the girls into suffragettes. What do you say, can you stay on here for a month?" Suprakash was quite willing! But the wise folk of the village were hardly so. They did not at all like the idea of giving a lot of unmarried girls in the charge of a couple of mere youths. As a compromise the two friends kept the Pundit where he was and became his "assistants."

Before they could turn the girls into suffragettes however, the mistress turned up, but the opening of a tank kept Suprakash busy elsewhere. He did not seem at all unwilling to undergo this fresh loss of freedom, for the mistress who had given him freedom by stealing his job, herself began to obstruct it.

So long as one does not fall in the clutches of old age, one longs every moment to see some new charm in life. Man totally fails to find a solution to the mystery of the creation which has been the most familiar thing to him since the day he was born. Suprakash had seen no end of young women. Nevertheless he found a new sweetness in this one, though he had seen her for only a short time. Why? Who can say! She had come before him like any other girl; but why she began to assume the role of the only one, he could not explain. This was not the first time that Man made an exception to the general rule and fell into illusion.

The enthusiast, who was for ever looking for excuses to visit the ruins which contained the school, never lacked work. The cityman looks at a fellow worker through work alone; but where the wheel of work does not make men deaf and blind by its constant roar and

grind, there, in the quietness of village life men move up and leave work behind. Even his own wide-awake mind could not discover when Suprakash left the boundary of work and convention and began to give and take as friends; but this much he found out, that the one with whom he desired deeply to effect exchanges was occupying the place of the looker-on, while all others had become friends. Suprakash blamed himself for this; for the blind can never detect defects in the vision of others. He would pour out his heart to himself when the desired one was absent; but if he found her, what he said would easily satisfy the audience of a public meeting. After the songs and light talk, when all the rest would depart, two souls would still sit in the deserted hall. They sat silently, maybe because their heart was so full. Each waited to hear the word from the other, the word which none uttered owing to a feeling of fear touched with sacredness. This feeling would not even allow them to peep into the forbidden chamber.

Everyday, Suprakash would come home and say to himself, "strange it is, that I should say all except what I so much want to say; that I would hear everything but not what I long to hear. This barrier feeds the imagination and colours the heart with glorious tints; maybe, that is why I cannot get through my preface."

Suprakash longed to peep into the mysteries which filled the soul of the beauty who listened to his songs and tales with her starry eyes lifted up to him as she sat on the moonlit balcony strewn with withered mango blossoms. He wanted to know what the penance was which occupied the heart of this gloriously slim ascetic woman; but he could not express his desire, maybe because of its intensity. If by chance his songs gave out what he felt, he would at once start discussing the technical aspects of such songs in order to cover up his trail.

When Karuna fled to Rajgunge like some offender against the Law, without answering Abinash's question and without even writing to him, she had decided to give her cowardly mind a training in courageousness in her loneliness. She would contemplate with one heart of him who had done so much for her, remove all doubts, then, one day she would write and tell him of her decision made after sober thinking.

The withered leaves of winter find no way to check their falling in the spring breeze; the latter never listens to any objection put

up by the falling leaves and severs their life-long bonds with one stroke. The village spring had made Karuna restless with its touch; she had not even noticed how widely the zephyr had scattered her store of promises and determinations. Nor had she been conscious when she picked up what the spring had left on her door step.

One day she was startled at the condition of the mind on which she wanted to place a throne after she had hardened it by proper treatment. She felt glad at the sight of Suprakash, but where was the harm of it? It is natural that man should feel glad at the sight of man. But when that gladness began to mix with pain, Karuna woke up and found the reward of her life's work; but not in the shape she had thought it would come.

After the school she finished her household work and then sat looking at the quiet beauty of the now shadowy fields; but not owing to a pure love for such scenery. She would not even acknowledge to herself that she waited for some one. Some days he came, on others he did not. Whenever she noticed the quick movement of Suprakash on the turning of the field path, her heart would dance with a strange joy; but it would at once plunge into a deep sorrow. She thought that so long as she had not seen him, the joy of expectation had made the seeing sweet; but with the seeing the joy began to rush into the past. The thing of expectation was no more a thing of expectation, it was going into a past from which no effort could bring it back. This was the sorrow which pressed upon her heart. That joy should not be eternal and should vanish as it came, was no mean sorrow! Her mind filled with this one idea that with each day's meeting, its joy went from her life for ever.

Her pain increased when she thought that there was some one else to whom the joy of their meeting was even more real. Karuna would stain her pillow with tears at night when she contemplated the strangeness of God's justice. She was pushing away from her him for whom she had come here to strengthen her mind and on whom rested the frail structure of her poverty-stricken honour; and was filling her souls with the dreams of one whom she scarcely knew and with whom her poverty and sorrows had little to do. Had there been no relation at all between the two, that would not have been quite so bad as this; but there was a relation. He was the only person upon whom her friend in need had bestowed any affection.

From her earliest youth it was her favourite pastime to weave dream garlands round her own self. She loved to create pompous crowds which thronged about her. In her visions peoples' scenes and melodies came and went like shadows. These were dream plays. She knew that although these might have a place in reality, to her these were nothing more than dreams. She was evolving her real through her dreams. In her play people seldom came with all the details of their real life. Just as the honey bee gathers only the honey, the heart of youth takes out of people and out of their everyday life only what it wants for its honey-comb, so, when her lover came, though she recognised his love she could not respond to it, for she found nothing in real life to correspond to the music she heard in her soul. That dreams could be found in life she had learnt in her dreams; for does not the touch of the unreal doll baby teach the girl the reality about the boy that would be born to her in future? Yet Karuna had hoped that she would realise her dreams through cold realities and not the real through her dreams. She needed her dreams so badly that she wanted to realise them through penance, as did Uma.\* But what has happened to her? The vision of Siva, that she had seen to-day, made it impossible to court the untrue. The music she had heard to-day, did not require any struggle to be appreciated. She plunged all else into it; but she had never desired the one at whose touch she had heard this all-engulfing melody.

While Karuna was thus occupied with the mental sphere, Tarinikanta one day reminded her that there was also another thing, of crude earthly origin, which required to be thought of. Tarini had said at the end of their first musical soiree, "I should not rest content by shifting that big burden of debt on to your shoulder." He began to repeat it often after that.

Tarini began to say nearly everyday, "Look here Didi, this is driving me into a great sin. It would be a greater sin than that of dying indebted, if I died and left the burden on your young shoulder."

At last one day Karuna said, "yes, but it can't be helped. They won't return the money, so there is no way out of it."

Tarini, as it were, fell into a fresh worry and said, "Really, what should I do!"

Karuna said in order to parry away this

\* Uma got Siva for her husband by undergoing hard penance for a long time.

fresh trouble, "Oh nothing. You need not bother at all."

But Tarinikanta would not accept the joy of this solution and said, "But Didi, I must. Tell me whose money it is, I shall go to him, catch him by the feet and beg to have the debt shifted to me. I shall remain his bond-slave for ever in order to pay off the debt."

Karuna smiled faintly. Then she said, "Dadamashaya, why are you worrying for nothing! Does he not know that your 'for ever' and my 'for ever' are quite different, that he should agree?"

Tarini said, "But Didi, I have thought out that the person who has given two thousand rupees against your mere word of mouth, would, certainly release you at an old man's entreaty. He cannot be a heartless usurer."

Karuna was in a dilemma. She said, "Dadamashaya, don't be unreasonable. Let us assume that he agreed, but should you fail to clear up the debt in your life-time, should it not fall on me by religion? The man on whose kindness you lay so much store, is not one whom you should expect your granddaughter to cheat by legal means."

Not that Tarinikanta had not seen that point; but he was trying to undo what he had done during his illness by putting the heavy burden on Karuna. He was making frantic efforts at redress. It is by right of love that a son can take up the burden of his father's debt; but should a father put such a burden on his son by the same right?

Tarinikanta thought for a long time, then said, "All right, only tell me who is that great soul? I can not undo what I have done. How can I wipe out with the help of others what I myself have engraved upon your life? But it would reduce my worry to know who is our benefactor."

Karuna was in a fix. She felt much hesitation in mentioning the name to-day. She thought that with that name she would give out her relations with the man as well as the struggle she was hiding in her mind. Karuna kept silent. Tarini thought she was hesitating, fearing that he would make trouble if she gave out the name. He said, "I will not do anything against your will. Only remove my worry by telling me the name. It is pressing on my heart."

Karuna at last gave up and said, "Abinash Babu," with as much nonchalance as she could mobilise.

Tarini was startled. He said, "Abinash!



But I have heard he never lends without security."

After a little silence, Tarini's face took up a new expression of happiness. He said with a smile, "Didi, have you given yourself as security?"

Her face became scarlet. She was going to say something but she stopped. Tarini said as he got up, "Well, I am no longer worried!"

Karuna ran after him and said, "I must start repaying my debt from this month."

Tarini said, "Oh yes, I too shall join you. I have got a coaching job. But I have only to do with the money side of the thing. I leave the emotional to you."

( 18 )

That evening when Suprakash wanted to borrow Karuna's old book of songs and was told that some one else had taken it; Karuna made a fuss over nothing, hurried and fetched it for him. When Suprakash turned up the next day, he did not ask for the book. It was hardly a difficult thing to say that the book had been recovered; but Karuna could not find the courage to tell him that. She feared lest he should discover that she had fussed and hurried for his sake. She had thoughtfully left the book on the table, hoping that Suprakash would find it of himself; but when Suprakash came she covered it up with a lot of stray books and papers. As if she would be punished mercilessly should she fail to give an account of why and how the book came to be on the table. Suprakash went away without asking for the book.

As soon as he was gone, Karuna drew the book out and began to turn over its leaves. All the songs which he had sung for her seemed to assume tangible shapes and float before her dreamy eyes.

Karuna felt a great desire to make the book an excuse and tell Suprakash what she was feeling through its pages. But how could he detect her message of three words among the numberless words that the book contained? This printed book was full of words and phrases cast after the same model; could it in any way, depict the yearning in her heart, the longing in her eyes.

There were a few lotuses in a metal tumbler on one corner of the table. Karuna took up one of those, but all its petals fell out as she did so. She picked them up and placed them one by one between the leaves of the book. She wrote her

name on the fly leaf in a large hand and marked the song which Suprakash was playing the first night on his flute with a red pencil. But she at once got up, fetched an eraser and wiped out the mark. The mark was removed, but the page looked a world the worse for the effort involved in the removal. Karuna felt a deep shame. What outrageous conduct! She thought, who would ever miss the significance of what she has done? She was aghast at her own childishness and mad behaviour. She was never like this. Where was her wonted considerateness and sagacity? She could not realise that it was the same old madness; the madness which has stolen a thousand intellects and has touched sages with wanton folly throughout the ages.

Karuna was marking other songs at random and erasing them out in order to hide the tell-tale nature of the first mark, when suddenly footsteps were heard outside. She looked up and saw Suprakash had come back. Had he thrown a handful of scarlet powder on her face, she would never have gone so red as she did at his sight. Her deep blush totally non-plussed Suprakash. He was speechless, but finding the silence rather disconcerting said, "I have come to take that book. Have you found it?"

Karuna stood up after closing the book. Suprakash saw it, and said, "Oh, Here it is. So you have found it. Let me have it if you can spare it."

Karuna did not know what to say. The lotus petals were still arranged inside the book. She could not very well shake them out in front of Suprakash; but she could not find out any pretext for not handing him the book then and there. Finding no reason for her strange hesitation and realising the necessity for giving her a little time to get out of it, Suprakash lowered his head and began to turn over the leaves of the book silently. He was not looking at the songs, it was only to keep himself busy somehow, that he did so as he wondered about Karuna's unreasonable conduct and frightened appearance. Her fear-stricken eyes and startled looks had appealed to him as extremely charming, but what was the reason of these—he wondered. Karuna saw the lotus petals coming out one after another before her very eyes. What wouldn't Suprakash think, what wouldn't he say! A couple of petals came and fell on her lap, but he never said anything. After a

time he simply asked, "Shall I take the book ? Or should I leave it where it is ?"

Thinking that her secret had come out and that there were no further reasons for playing hide and seek, Karuna said, "No, take it, I have no need for it."

Without saying anything more Suprakash went away with the book.

At first Suprakash had not realised that the petals had been put there as decoration. He came home and decided, after prolonged thinking that the petals had been put inside the book in order to preserve them. He knew that the Western craze for pressing flowers had spread among the daughters of Bengal. People keep flowers often merely for their own sake. It is not binding that there should be any bond of memory attached to them.

But remembering Karuna's appearance at that time, Suprakash could not agree with himself. He began to lift out the petals one by one and tried to discover the hidden meaning in this way. Suddenly his eyes fell on one of the songs upon which rested a lotus petal. It was the song which he had played on that moonlit night on his flute and which first introduced him as a musician to his admiring listener. Many moonlit nights have passed after that, many a time had he played that song and lived in its heavenly intoxication after that night ; but that lonely tree, that stretch of silver sand on the floodless river, he had never missed these. He found everything in the glory of a pair of music-mad eyes. Suprakash saw that some one had made a great effort at removing some sort of a mark against the song. His heart suddenly began to pound away in an unreasonable ecstasy. He turned over more leaves, discovered some more songs and became very happy. Then he closed the book. Again, he opened the book and began to look for something with sadness on his face.

It was an evening towards the end of the rainy season. The nearness of a storm had touched the dance of spring with utter immobility. The branches of the trees rested low like the tear-heavy eyelashes of some young beauty suffering separation from her beloved. The mango blossoms were no longer hurling themselves laughingly on the lap of the leaves. On the western sky the setting Sun was, as it were, putting his parting kiss on Evening after enfolding her blushing form with a thousand luminous arms. Karuna

was hurrying about in the kitchen. It seemed as if the god of fire was refusing to help her in his sadness born of bidding farewell to the rains. Karuna did not want to waste the day like this. But the gods were unwilling. As the evening drew on, the smoke of wet coal and indignation at her failure began to fill up her eyes with tears. Her eyes and hair were full of coal dust and ashes, her hands were black, her saree was stained with oil and grime. Ronu called out from the door, "Didi, Suprakash Babu has come."

Karuna stood up in hot haste. Her oil stained saree added to the ridiculousness of her appearance. She looked out through the window and saw Ronu disappearing in the mango grove. She was absolutely at a loss to discover how she could go out like this before Suprakash. She could not call out from the kitchen nor go out and meet him. Aruna could not be found. Throwing down the palm-leaf fan she began to wash her hands, but failed to get rid of the filth she had on them. She got furious and threw away the jug. It was not possible to go out of the kitchen and make herself presentable; for she might meet Suprakash on her way out. Karuna sat down grimly. She had never felt so much delicacy to go out before people with her hands black with coal dust, then why did she feel like this especially when she longed to go out ? Her eyes overflowed with tears in helpless anger. At last, she wiped her hands on her saree and went out. Suprakash was going away, as no body could be found. He had left the book on the door-step. Karuna only saw a flash of the gold border of his dress as he swung round the corner. Had it been possible to shake herself Karuna would have had her heart's desire. But it could not be done. She wanted to call after him, but what should she say ? It is said that if one called somebody silently but whole-heartedly, one gets response. Karuna stood on the door-step and began to call in her mind, "come back, do come back !"

The sky was slowly crowding up with masses of cloud like the massive and dust-laden locks on the head of the god Siva. A single blast of roaring wind set the trees, as it were to cry out all together. All the doors and windows crashed down as if in the sorrow of wounded vanity. Karuna left the dark door-step, came into the room and lay down on the floor. But she had her cooking to finish. She wiped her eyes and went back into the kitchen.

At night she opened the book of songs and found that all the lotus-petals were gone. She smiled and put the book away carefully. Where were the petals gone? Had they fallen out? But then, should she not expect at least one of them to remain in the book?

It was the last day of the year. Karuna had hoped that she would see someone in a new glory to-day, in a freshness like that of the meeting of Spring with Winter. She had no presentiment to build up her hopes upon. But was not her heart's desire any ground on which she could place her hopes? She was arranging in her own mind the words of love she had never heard from her beloved. She was seeing in her imagination the smiles which she had never seen in the eyes of her coming guest. But the shame of it! To be forced to hide by mere details of dress and appearance when he did come! She consoled herself with the thought that after all, he might not have come as on many other days. In her heart she gave a higher place to her imaginary joys and thus tried to render the Real less painful. She felt a deep happiness spread over herself as she thought of the lost flower-petals. She was pulsating now with joy and now with sorrow as her thoughts came and went.

Before she had had enough sleep she woke up. The memory of her night-long dreams were not yet totally lost. Throughout the night the mango-grove had sung the farewell of spring; she had heard in it the flute of her beloved and wept. The morning breeze had come and gently caressed her sleepy eyes; she had thrilled as if it were the touch of her expected one. She wanted to shut her eyes and go back into her dreams that she might see her charming visitor again. But sleep would not come. One who receives the most entreaty, desires it the most; the goddess of sleep was suffering acutely from this weakness this morning. In the morning Karuna could not withhold her joy when she found the desire of her sleepy eyes rounding the corner of the road when she came out. It touched her new year\* with the touch of success. Like the first light of the new year's morning which comes to life in the deep gloom of the departing year, would her tears give birth to her smiles?

Karuna ran out to meet him. Suprakash

came in and said, "I came last evening, but none of you was at home. So I have come early to-day."

Karuna said, "You are the first person I have seen this year."

Suprakash smiled. It lightened up his countenance. He looked at Karuna, then looked away and said, "I too started on this road the first thing this year. Though I have seen many an undesirable face on my way, I have a consolation. In this world one has got to cross a wilderness of ugliness in order to find the beautiful. Otherwise where would be the value of beauty?"

The note which Karuna detected in these few words, filled her soul at once. In the meantime Aruna and Ronu turned up in a cloud-burst of good wishes and cheers. Aruna said, "We have seen you the first thing on new year's day; must we then see you every day this year? Then you will have to build a nest in these ruins."

Ronu conceded, "Oh yes, stay here."

Suprakash said, "It is not going to be so; I am starting out on the first day of the year. Let us hope that this parting be not eternal. I have come to bid you good-bye. The world was begun to be built so long before our birth that we, who follow happiness are forced to change our path too often. So we have to turn the day of universal joy into a day of sorrow. If you remember me, I shall be able to feel your touch even from a distance."

Ronu started a terrific uproar, "Oh no, you can't go, it is unfair, absurd!" Karuna thought, "Whom is he taking leave of?" Ronu and Aruna ran away to inform their Dadamashaya. Karuna said, "Really, are you going away? I never thought that you would go so soon. You have filled my mind with sorrow right on the new year's day."

Suprakash said, "That is why I came on the last day of the year; because it was a day of sorrow. This I thought because the sorrow was mine; I never dared to think that I should have the good fortune to find others sympathising with me. But I could not find you yesterday. So I have come to take farewell on a festive day."

Karuna remained silent. A struggle between tears and smiles was raging in her mind. She did not know what to say. Suprakash said, "Well, I am going away. I do not know when we may meet again, perhaps you would forget by that time that there ever was a person of my name. Or

\*The Bengali new year begins in spring.



maybe I shall not be on this earth till then. Life is too short an affair. One cannot see and enjoy everything within its span. Many die before tasting the fruit of man's greatest desire. Maybe that is why the greedy heart of man has created an infinity of life after life in his imagination. This is merely a means to giving his moment-long life a touch of the eternal. Don't you think so?" Suprakash seemed to be searching for a lost thread. His eyes and expression displayed a medley of emotions, yearnings and sorrows. He was floundering in an ocean of words in search of the one word and was wondering if his message would reach its destination. Karuna was listening to him with her eyes downcast. She lifted them into his once, but again lowered them. Her words failed her sadly to-day. Who knows what may have happened had this silence been prolonged a little more; but the other members of the family

turned up at this juncture and destroyed the troublesome silence with their noisiness.

Suprakash went away. Tarinikanta told him before he went, "Give my blessings to everybody at home. Tell them about us; but they perhaps know everything. What do you say, Karuna? Abinash should know everything about us, shouldn't he?"

Karuna did not answer him. Suprakash looked at her once in astonishment. He had never heard Abinash's name from her! Karuna did not notice his astonishment.

After bidding farewell to Suprakash everybody dispersed. As he rounded the corner Suprakash looked back and saw Karuna still standing on the door-step. She went in as soon as she saw him looking round.

*(To be continued)*

TRANSLATED FROM THE BENGALI BY  
ASHOKE CHATTERJEE.

## SEPARATION OF THE RAILWAY BUDGET

THE following figures will show the importance of the Railway Department. Railway revenue exceeds the Customs revenue and Railway expense exceeds the Military expense. Railway staff are the largest staff engaged in any industry in India.—

	Rs.		
Total State Railway Capital.	...	6,05,99,15,000	
Annual income for 1922-23.	...	93,48,00,000	
Annual expenditure for 1922-23 (including interest, etc.).	...	92,26,00,000	
No. of Servants:—			
	Europeans.	Anglo-Indians.	Indians.
Officers	1,428	79	288
Subordinates on Rs. 250 and above.	2,977	2,818	1,702
Subordinates under Rs. 250	2,035	8,182	642,514.

and yet the Railway questions have not received the same attention which they should have received from the members of the Legislative Assembly during the last four years. One of the reasons is that the Railway Budget is placed before the Assembly at the same time when the general revenue budget is placed before them and therefore the attention of the members is divided. If, therefore, the Railway Budget be separated from the general

budget and placed before the Assembly on separate days reserved for the purpose, the members would be able to give undivided attention to Railway matters. Although this can be done without separating the Budget, there is some truth in the idea that a separate budget taken up for consideration at a separate time will receive special and concentrated attention. This is one of the advantages of a separate Budget. But sufficient time should be asked for from the Railway Board for this purpose owing to the importance of Railway Finance.

2. The Railway Board desires separation of the Budget chiefly because by that arrangement they will be able to spend Railway money for Railway purposes. They consider that Government should only expect a certain annual return on the capital invested plus a small portion of the surplus profit, the balance being kept for new Capital Works or improvement of the service, etc., etc. This arrangement will be advantageous as well as disadvantageous to the country. It will be advantageous when the money is spent only with a view to improve railways and to help

local industries as at present, for without certainty of funds available several necessary works cannot be undertaken when required resulting in loss in revenue. But the disadvantage is that the extra hold on the net earnings which the Railway Board will get by this arrangement will enable them to spend more and more to help industries in England. This they are not able to do at present to a full extent owing to uncertainty of funds available. But it is not advisable to refuse separation of the Budget for this reason. On the contrary, the members of the Assembly have got this first opportunity to take steps to control the hitherto uncontrolled financial administration of the Railway Board. Suggestions are therefore given in the following paras, which if adopted will enable the members to exercise a good control on the management of the Railways owned by the State whether worked by the State or by Companies.

3. It is stated in the memorandum prepared by the Chief Commissioner and the Financial Commission that Railways are commercial undertakings and the State should expect only a fixed return on the capital every year after the interest and other charges are paid, and then explanation is given what this should be and so on. There are some mistakes in this statement. It is stated that the State should expect  $\frac{5}{6}$ ths of one per cent. on the capital (excluding the Capital of non-commercial lines and the Capital raised by Companies) plus  $\frac{1}{5}$ th of the surplus profit. In principle there should be no objection for the Government to expect a fixed return on the capital as Railway management is so technical that if a fixed return is not settled, the Railway Administrations might be tempted to increase the expenditure and show no return at all and without technical knowledge it will be difficult for the members of the Legislative Assembly to point out where unnecessary expense has been incurred. Although the Railway Administration can become extravagant even after the annual return on Capital is fixed, they will think of the return due several times before spending the money. The offer of a fixed return should therefore be accepted. Let us now see what that return should be.

4. It has been stated in para 10 of Appendix A of the Memo. prepared by the Chief Commissioner that in the ten years 1905-06 to 1914-15, the average annual net gain to all State-owned Railways was nearly 3½

crores representing 739 of 1 per cent. of the average Capital charge during the same period which was 472 crores, and that in the subsequent 9 years *i.e.* 1914-15 to 1923-24, the net gain has amounted to 58,63 crores, and that the average Capital was 580 crores in this period. There is some mistake in printing here. The Railways could not have earned 5863 crores on 580 crores Capital between 1915-16 and 1923-24. This earning should be 58'63 crores. From these 58'63 crores, 18'50 crores are deducted as representing arrears of renewals or depreciation, leaving a balance of 40'13 crores and this divided by 9 years gives us an annual average net gain of 4.46 crores mentioned in the memo. This works out to 768 of 1 p.c. on the Capital as compared with 739 of 1 p.c. of the Capital in the previous 10 years. Ordinarily 739 of 1 p.c. should be fixed as the annual return. But the Railway Board states that the provision for depreciation is necessary and estimates a further  $\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. on Capital for this purpose thus reducing the average return by 500 per cent. This is more ambiguous as, if the 18'50 crores are taken into consideration for depreciation as stated above, and deducted from the net revenue available, there is no necessity to reserve anything more for depreciation. The percentage at which Railways are now working is so high that they ought to spend sufficient amount on renewals from the general revenue, and the depreciation already considered in deducting 18'50 crores (which on an average of 9 years will amount to 2'5 crores per year) should be quite sufficient. But assuming that their statement is correct,  $\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. on 580 crores capital amounts to 2'90 crores and this deducted from the net estimated profit of 6'28 crores for 1923-24 leaves a balance of 3'28 crores and this balance works out to 600 of 1 per cent. of the capital, not 268 of 1 p.c. as shown in the memo. Their accounts are neither clear nor clearly explained. Besides in arriving at  $\frac{5}{6}$ th of 1 p.c. of the capital, the capital of non-commercial lines are to be excluded. If this is so, it is not understood why the interest on these lines is paid from the revenue of the commercial lines. There are two alternatives, *viz.* (1) either the loss on the non-commercial lines should be debited to the Military Department *i.e.* they must take the earnings and pay the interest or (2) the capital of these lines also must be taken into consideration in arriving at the annual contribution to the State. The former course is more businesslike and should be recommended.

6. It is stated in the memo, that the capital raised by companies should also not be taken into consideration in arriving at  $\frac{5}{8}$ th of 1 p.c. The capital raised by the Companies receives regular interest from the Government (*i. e.* from the Railway revenue). This capital therefore belongs to the Government and therefore any profit on this capital belongs to the Government in the same way as profits on public deposits in a commercial business. There is no reason for excluding this capital when calculating the annual contribution to the State.

7. If therefore the total capital (including the Capital on strategic or non-commercial lines and Capital raised by Companies) is taken into consideration and the amount unnecessarily charged a second time to depreciation as stated above be excluded, the minimum contribution which the State ought to get should be full *one per cent. of the total capital*. This means that the Railways would be expected to pay 1 per cent. more interest to the State than the interest which the State has to pay on borrowed money, and as money was cheap when borrowed by the State and now money being dear, it must naturally earn more and the State has a right to expect 1 per cent contribution on the *total capital*.

8. It is stated also that in addition to the annual return on the capital, the State will be given  $\frac{1}{8}$ th of surplus profits,  $\frac{4}{8}$ ths being kept for new capital works, improvement of services, reduction of rates and reserve for equalising the contribution to the State in lean years and for depreciation (*vide para 14 of the memo*). This is the third place at which depreciation is provided although if renewals are properly made for revenue there is no necessity for it. There is however, no objection to accept  $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the surplus profit provided the balance is used for the benefit of Indian Railways and provided there is no wastage of surplus money. Under the old guaranteed Company's system, as 5 per cent. return was guaranteed by the State, the Companies did not care to work economically resulting in a heavy loss of 320 crores to the State. There should be no repetition of that condition.

9. It will further be seen from the terms of the resolution which is to be moved at the September Session that from the contribution of  $\frac{5}{8}$ ths of 1 per cent. proposed to be given to the State, the Railways will be entitled to deduct loss in working and interest on capital

on strategic lines. If Railways are commercial lines these non-commercial lines must have no concern with the budget of commercial lines as stated above. With regard to loss in working, this is also proposed to be deducted from the annual contribution to be made by the Railways, so that what is specially to be seen is not what the contribution should be (although this also has a value as explained above) but how Railways are worked and how crores of rupees are spent every year on Indian Railways. In fact, Railway expense is much more than Military expense. The only difference between the two is that while the latter is unproductive, the former is productive and gives a good return if properly controlled. Unless the Railway expense is brought well under control, it may even show a loss as has been the case in the year 1922-23 and as according to the proposal loss is to be wiped out from the profits of subsequent years, the State may not get any return from the Railway revenue for years together if the Railway expenditure is not kept well under control. This is the chief subject on which the Railway Board does not supply sufficient information to the Legislative Assembly and keeps the members ignorant of Railway affairs by publishing incomplete statistics.

10. Therefore, the first necessity is that the Budget of the State Railways should give such details as would enable the members to understand how Railway revenue is raised and spent. The figures in the Budget as now presented show what is the total Railway revenue and total Railway expenditure of each of the State Railways. The Budget does not show how the revenue is raised and how the expense is incurred. Although some more information is available in the annual "Administration Report" of Railways, the report is published nearly one year after the close of the year in which the Budget is submitted. Therefore, the Budget must be prepared on the same lines giving the same details as are given in the Establishment Rolls and working estimates of each State Railway by providing separate columns for showing the figures of each State Railway. It will make this note very lengthy if all the details required in the Budget are given here. These can be readily obtained by calling for Budget particulars of any State Railway which are usually placed by that Railway before the Railway Board every year.

11. It would require another lengthy



note to describe how a Railway Budget prepared as stated above and placed before the Assembly should be criticised. Briefly speaking, however, there are three ways in which Railway money is chiefly spent *viz.* (1) purchase of stores, (2) contracts (3) recruitment, engagement and promotion of staff. With regard to purchase of stores, the Assembly must have the means to satisfy the members that such stores are purchased in the cheapest market without sacrificing the quality of the material required. For this purpose, the Assembly should ask the Railway Board to submit half yearly statements for the information of the members, showing particulars of stores of the value of Rs. 25,000 and over purchased for railways, from whom purchased and at what price. Similar particulars for contracts of Rs. 25,000 and over should also be called for. This will give to the members an insight into the Railway working. With regard to the recruitment of the staff the statement now supplied to the members of the Legislative Assembly does not give necessary information. The information now given is in connection with numbers of Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Officers and subordinates. In addition to this, the Railway Board should be asked to show side by side what amount is paid separately to European, Anglo-Indian and Indian Officers, and separately also for subordinates. This will bring out clearly the present position in which almost all the highly paid posts are held or reserved for non-Indians. This will also enable the members of the Assembly to criticise the method of recruitment and undue preference given to non-Indians.

12. In addition to the fact that higher posts are practically reserved for Europeans, the European officers and subordinates are given cost of passages by steamer from and to England, cost of passes for railway journey in England and in India, similarly cost of passages by steamer for their wives and intended wives, also when they are sick and return home on sick leave, and eight months' full pay leave; a time-scale *i.e.* promotion of Rs. 50 and over for every year of service, compensatory allowances for increased cost of living, etc., etc. Full details of these concessions should be called for from the Railway Board, for as against these concessions to encourage Europeans in the service, no steps are taken even to give necessary education to the Indian staff. Mr. T.W. Tutwiler, the General Manager of the Tata Iron and Steel Works

gave the following reply before the Indian Industrial Commission :—

"The Indian workmen are very intelligent quick to learn and more amenable to discipline than the foreigners. Where Indians are substituted for Europeans, the work had not suffered either in quality or quantity."

This is the position on railways also but Indianisation on railways is very slow, the result being waste of money and rise in rates and fares.

13. Everybody in this country is now anxious to get the railway fares reduced but this cannot be done unless the Railway expense is reduced, and Railway expense cannot be reduced unless the Assembly can get control over Railway finance as suggested above. On March 19th 1920, the late Hon. Mr. Gokhale had complained in the Council that the working expenses of State Railways for the 15 years between 1890 and 1905 were between 46 and 48 per cent. of the gross receipts, there being only one year in which it was 49 whereas from the time the Railway Board came into existence, this proportion has gone up. In 1906 it rose to 50, in 1907-08 to 57.5, in 1908-09 to 62, in 1910 to 55.3.

It may be added that in 1922-23 this proportion rose to 78.84. Several Railways of Native States are managed at less than 50 per cent., and there is no reason why the Railway Board should work at more than 50 per cent. The important matter which the members of the Assembly have to see every year is that the working ratio between gross receipts and gross expenditure remains at a reasonable figure, as explained above by the late Hon. Mr. Gokhale. If necessary this ratio should be compared with the ratio at which Company's Railways and Native State Railways are managed. The Railway Board have recently revised statistics by which they are able to compare one Railway's working with other Railways from month to month and copies of these statements should be supplied for the general information of the members of the Legislative Assembly.

14. There is also a possibility of erroneous preparation of accounts. The amount that should be charged to capital is sometimes charged to Revenue and vice versa. In para. 8 of the Chief Commissioner's Memo. on the separation of the Railway Budget, the Capital of State Railways is shown to be as under :—

As per Retrenchment Committee's Report. Rs. 605, 99, 15, 000

As per Financial & Revenue Accounts. Rs. 544, 99, 78, 668.

As per Railway Administration Report. Rs. 532, 41, 57, 000.

As per Budget for 1923-24 Rs. 544, 30, 50, 333.

The explanation given by the Railway Board for these differences is not quite satisfactory. If the accounts were correct, these differences of crores of rupees would not have occurred and it is impossible to believe that there are no more mistakes in the railway accounts. In fact, some of the mistakes appear to have been made knowingly. It is stated on page 37 of Rai Saheb Chandrika Prasad's book on Indian Railways that when the Company's lines were purchased by the Government of India, the Government of India paid a premium of £. 33,410,803 to the Companies although the Companies had made a loss of Rs. 319'95 crores of rupees in the previous years. In commercial undertakings when a business is sold, premium is demanded only if the business would have worked at a profit. This is perhaps the first instance in the financial history of the whole world where such a large sum is paid at premium for a business which worked at so much loss. Naturally these £33,000,000 paid as premium were added to the capital and percentage of net railway earnings was counted on this fictitious capital. The fares were insufficient to give a good return on this false capital and had to be raised.

15. It will thus be seen that there is absolute necessity to have full control over the accounts maintained by the Railway Board, and as the Railway Board has engaged a Financial Adviser the Legislative Assembly should also have an Indian Financial Adviser to be paid from the Railway revenue. It would even be better if the Legislative Assembly can get the Railway Board to agree to the appointment of a few independent men to continuously exercise a test check on Railway accounts. In all audit and accounts offices of Government and Railways, Test Audit Staff is specially kept for this purpose but such staff is not responsible to the Council or Assembly. The proposal made here is that the Assembly must engage its own staff to work under its own control but paid from railway revenues, especially as shown above, serious mistakes have been made in the past in railway accounts. The Assembly can get some good men for this purpose from the

retired Railway servants or some of the men now working on railways will be glad to resign to take up this national service.

16. Some persons such as Rai Saheb Chandrika Prasad and the man who writes under the name of "Economy" in the "Servant of India" who are well conversant with Railway matters suggest that the public are entitled to 4 per cent. return on Rs. 320 crores paid in the past from the revenues of the Government of India to the Railway Companies to declare 5 per cent. guaranteed dividend. Although this claim is fair and just, it is not possible that the Railway Board will agree to it. At any rate, this important point requires to be further investigated by the members of the Legislative Assembly.

17. The resolution which is proposed to be moved at the September Session by the Government should therefore be amended as follows:—

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council that in order to relieve the General Budget from the violent fluctuations caused by the incorporation therein of the Railway estimate and to enable the railways to carry out a continuous railway policy based on the necessity of making a definite return over a period of years to the State on the Capital expended on Railways,

(1) the railway finances be separated from the general finances of the country and the general revenues shall receive a definite annual contribution from railways which shall be the first charges on railway earnings *after the annuity is paid as hitherto.*

(2) This contribution shall be equal to 1 per cent. on the capital (excluding capital of non-commercial lines, the profit or loss on which shall be borne by the Military Department) at the end of the penultimate financial year plus 1/5th of any surplus profits remaining after payment of this fixed return subject to the condition that if in any lean year Railway revenues are not sufficient to provide 1 per cent. on the capital at charge, surplus profits in the next or subsequent years will not be deemed to have occurred for purpose of division until such deficiency has been made good.

From the contribution so fixed will be deducted loss on working. In order however to satisfy the members of the Legislative Assembly that Railways are worked with economy and efficiency, the Railway Board should furnish:—

(a) A budget estimate revised in such a way as to show full details as to how the

revenue is derived and expenditure incurred under the various heads and sub-heads of different abstracts as are usually given in the Budget estimates of individual railways.

(b) A half-yearly statement showing particulars of stores of the value of Rs. 25000 and above purchased in India and out of India, from where purchased, at what price with a certificate the same was not obtainable at cheaper rates anywhere else.

(c) A half-yearly statement showing particulars of contracts of the value of Rs. 50,000 and over and to whom given etc., with a certificate that it was not possible to get the work done cheaper by any other means.

(d) The yearly statement now submitted showing number of European, Anglo-Indian and Indian Officers and subordinates to be completed in future by showing further information regarding the amount paid to each class of employees and with a certificates that Indians or Anglo-Indians were not available for the posts for which Europeans were engaged, that the salaries given to Europeans were not in excess of their market value and that sufficient steps were taken to train Indians and Anglo-Indians for the work for which Europeans were employed. This statement will also show any other special concessions given to Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indians such as long leave on full pay, free passages both for rail and steamer allowances, etc.

(e) As mistakes have occurred as stated in paragraph 8 of the Railway Board's memo. and are likely to occur in Railway Accounts, a Test Audit Section should be created which will continuously carry out a Test Check of Railway accounts and will be responsible to

the members of the Assembly and will generally see that the policy of the Assembly is strictly carried out by the Railway Board.

(3) Any surplus profits that exist after the payment of the charges mentioned above shall be available for the Railway Administration to be utilised in

(a) Forming reserve for

(i) Equalising dividends, that is to say, for securing the payment of the percentage contribution to the general revenues in lean years.

(ii) Depreciation

(b) Writing down and writing off capital

(c) Reduction of Rates.

(4) The Railway Administration shall be entitled subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by the Government of India to borrow temporarily from capital or from the reserves for the purpose of meeting expenditure for which there is no provision or insufficient provision in the Revenue Budget subject to the obligation to make payment of such borrowings out of the Revenue Budgets of subsequent years.

(5) Any reduction in the demand for grants for railways resulting from the vote of the Legislative Assembly will not injure the general revenues *i. e.* will not have the effect of increasing the fixed contribution for the year.

(6) The fixed contribution shall be subject to revision at the end of five years.

(7) The Railway Department will place the estimates of Railway expenditure before the Central Advisory Council on some date prior to the date for the discussion of the demand for grants for Railways.

RAILWAY PORTER.

## NOTES

### Hindu-Moslem Relations in Hyderabad and Elsewhere.

One Mr. Younus, an inhabitant of Hyderabad, has recently contributed an interesting article to the *Bombay Chronicle* on the excellent relations between the two communities in the Muslim State of Hyderabad.

We should like to put a few pertinent questions to him on this subject: (1) Why, if the position of Hindus is so satisfactory in the premier Mahomedan State of India, do the Hindus of Berar show such a marked disinclination to be enrolled among the subjects of His Exalted Highness the Nizam? (2) Why, as Mr. St.



Nihal Singh's recent articles in the *Modern Review* show, are there so few Hindus in the higher ranks of the Nizam's service, although the population of the State is predominantly Hindu? (3) Why, in books on the Nizam's Dominions by Indians and Europeans, of which we have read some, the names of no Hindus of high position and rank, except Maharaja Sir Kishen Prasad and perhaps one or two more, are met with, whereas all the big names we come across are those of Mussalmans? (4) Is there any adequate provision for the higher education of Hindus, whose mother-tongue is not Urdu, like the Osmania University for Urdu-speaking peoples, which was under contemplation ever since the days of Lord Ripon and Sir Salar Jung, as we read in the pages of W. S. Blunt's highly interesting book? (5) Throughout British India, and in some progressive Indian States like Mysore and Baroda, we find that there is a strong educated middle class who are the backbone of the country and lead all political, social and intellectual movements. Do we hear of such a Hindu middle class in the Nizam's dominions? (6) If not, should not the Hindus of Hyderabad be regarded among the depressed classes? (7) The papers, in commenting on Mr. Younus's article, lay the blame of Hindu-Moslem dissensions on the British. Has not *dheda*, or the policy of divide and rule, been among the guiding political maxims of Indian rulers since the days of Kautilya and the Shanti Parva of the Mahabharata, and are the foreign rulers of India alone to be blamed for taking advantage of our weakness in consolidating their rule? (In Lord Morley's *Recollections* there is a striking philosophical discussion in support of this Machiavellian policy by various English and continental writers.) (8) There are, we know, prominent and highly cultured Mohamedans in Hyderabad who entertain, by reason of their broad culture, more liberal views about their Hindu neighbours than many leading Mohamedans in British India. Is this not partly due to the fact that, being the sole repositories of wealth and power, they can afford to be tolerant in theory, whereas in British India their co-religionists, not enjoying similar advantages, are apt to be jealous? (9) It is true that we do not hear of Hindu-Musalman riots in Hyderabad. [That at Gulbarga happened after this note was written. Ed., *M. R.*] But is it not just possible that this is due to the fact that no Hindu there would dream of asserting his liberty against the ruling race? (10) I have seen

Mohamedan Prime Ministers and Chief Judges in Hindu States, but instances of this kind are, I believe, not very common, just as Maharaja Sir Kishen Prasad is an exception at Hyderabad.

I have recently read in the papers that the position of Hindus in Bhopal is little better than that of helots, and is simply intolerable. It has even been stated that Hindus are compelled to carry beef for their Moslem masters. I should like to know whether this is the more typical case, or is it the exception? We should remember that public opinion in Indian States is totally unorganised and the voice of the people has seldom any chance of reaching our ears.

Sufism, of which Mr. Younus speaks, is akin to Vedantism, and is of course a most liberal doctrine, but it is confined to only the most enlightened classes of the Muhammadan population. Even Shias are more liberal and tolerant than Sunnis, for Shiaism is the religion of Persia, which is Aryan and not Semitic, and much more intellectual than Arabia, the Prophet's country of origin. Most Indian Mussalmans are neither Sufis nor Shias, but Sunnis, and not even of the rationalistic Mutazzalite persuasion, but belong to the Hanafi sect, and are more fanatical than the Hindus, whose religion, being ethnic and not credal, and non-missionary in character, is more tolerant than Islam. It is their religious bigotry which gives Indian Mussalmans their unity and solidarity, but at the same time makes them intellectually less adapted to assimilate world culture and all that is best in modern civilization than the Hindus, who possess less religious cohesion and communal strength. The toleration of the Hindu character manifests itself, so far as prejudices and superstitions due to ignorance will allow, both in and out of British India in a variety of ways; but barring this, I am prepared to concede that the position of Mohamedans in Hindu States like Kashmir, where the population is predominantly Mohamedan, is analogous to that of Hindus in Moslem States. No good will come to us by blinking the facts. Orthodox Hindus must be prepared to relax their orthodoxy by a good deal, and Mohamedans must fit themselves by education to abandon their bigotry to a large extent, before there can be that meeting of each other half way without which there can be no reconciliation that is likely to stand the test of time. It is the merest cant to say that each may retain his orthodoxy, *i.e.*, remain rooted in his prejudices,

and yet be a good friend of the other. For that, a change of heart is necessary, and to bring about this much desired consummation, the mutual shedding of prejudices and superstitions is the one thing needful. This, however, does not mean that a Hindu or a Mohamedan who holds advanced views and has progressed with the times is to be considered less a Hindu or less a Mohamedan on that account. The Mohamedans of Turkey are not less Mohamedans because they have freed themselves from most orthodox prejudices.

*The 29th July, 1924.*

POLITICUS.

### Lord Olivier Becomes Unpopular.

The Britisher can pardon some things but never individuality. If a fellow walked out in Oxford Street in a pink suit, a green-spotted tie and a yellow felt-hat, he would surely be hounded down by jeering crowds and would ultimately be taken into custody for no other crime than that of not observing the "Not Dones" of British life. As in matters of dress, so also in opinions, the British follow the current fashion, and those who deviate from it do so at their own risk. Not that any and every queer opinion will be hit on the head. It is not so much the queerness or the unheard-of-ness of an opinion that matters as its contrariness to whatever opinion may be in vogue for the time being. One may talk any amount of insanity and paradox so long as it does not have much to do with matters about which the nation thinks a lot and differently. But one may not go against any pet opinion of the majority.

Lord Olivier seems to have committed the indiscretion of giving a different opinion on a matter which has already been under the nation's attention and judged. "His praise" (non-condemnation) of Mr. C. R. Das has given rise to violent outbursts in the British Press. What right has Lord Olivier not to condemn some one who is not liked by most people? Especially a man who has been accused of supporting the murder of a Britisher. Had Lord Olivier written a treatise justifying every known crime under the sun, he would have incurred less risk of being discarded as a 'rotter.' For, a general statement, however vile, is less offensive than the most innocent of personal things. Love sins, but how dare you love an established sinner?

A. C.

### Olympic News.

The following will be found interesting :—

LONDON, JULY 21.

The Olympic Games boxing tournament ended at midnight amid scenes of such disorder that the British Olympic Committee, after a meeting to-day, notified the International Committee that it will be impossible for British boxers to compete in future Olympic meetings.

Even some French newspapers are beginning to express the view that the Olympic Games do more harm than good to international relations.

More harm to international relations !

A. C.

### Mr. Justice Page.

During the hearing of a recent case before him, Mr. Justice Page of the Calcutta High Court forgot himself so far as to rudely order a barrister, Mr. S. C. Bose, to leave the Court. Mr. Bose had done nothing to deserve such indignity. The Advocate-General, Mr. S. R. Das, as the leader of the Bar, remonstrated with the Judge in a firm and dignified manner. But the latter, who is evidently suffering from swelled head and nerves, added insult to the original insult and injury by saying that he had dealt mildly with Mr. Bose, though he could have been more severe, and suggested that if Mr. Bose apologised he would forgive him. We hope to be forgiven by men of delicate taste for saying that this judge's arrogance and boorishness remind us of the rustic Bengali proverb about the man who did something nasty on the highway but glared with red-hot eyes on being remonstrated with.

The Advocate-General, on behalf of himself and the Bar, has, it is said, made a formal representation on the subject to the Chief Justice. The latter has said that the matter cannot be discussed in open court. We do not know of the rule or convention that stands in the way. Common sense tells that if a man can be insulted in open court, the remedy, too, can certainly be sought in open court.

The public meeting in condemnation of the Judge's conduct was right in principle. Perhaps it ought to have been held after the Chief Justice's decision on the representation had been made known. In any case, there ought to have been greater preparation to make the gathering vaster and more representative. The speech of the chairman was not bad. It showed that he was a young man. Sir Nilratan Sircar's speech was well reasoned and dignified. Some of the other speeches might have been firmer and more

unequivocal in tone. Why did not the lawyers attend the meeting?

It is said that some rule, ruling or law stands in the way of the lawyers' taking concerted action to boycott the Judge. But there is nothing to prevent every self-respecting lawyer from individually deciding upon his own course of conduct. Whether the Judge be recalled or not, his occupation ought to be gone, unless he makes due reparation.

### Ancient Trade-routes between Asia and Europe.

There appears to have been much greater intercourse and intercommunication between Asia and Europe in ancient times than we have yet clear knowledge of, as the following paragraph (in translation) from an article by Professor Carl Maria Kaufmann in *Frankfurter Zeitung Wochenblatt* shows:—

A map showing traffic routes between China, India, and Rome about 100 A. D., published in the proceedings of the Institute for Research in Comparative Religion of the University of Leipzig for 1922, contains impressive evidence of the high development of intercommunication throughout the world at that period. The average reader notes with surprise the density of the road-net between Europe and Asia—especially the great number of competing trade-routes lying between the tenth and fourteenth parallels of latitude and the numerous connections between Egypt and Asia Minor, and Sogdiana, Bactria, Gandhara, and down the Malabar coast. Besides this network of caravan and sea routes, the map also shows what an important part the valleys of such rivers as the Indus played at that time in world commerce.

### Declaration of Religious Independence in Japan.

Dependence and independence are generally thought of in terms of politics. But there are, besides political dependence, various other kinds of dependence which are harmful and derogatory. There is economic dependence, for instance. Industrially, India is Britain's market and dumping ground. Similarly there is cultural dependence. India gets almost all her modern knowledge from the West, particularly from Britain. Her sources of modern culture are also mostly Western. There is also credal, theological, religious dependence. Musalmans everywhere in the world are the religious dependants and subjects of Arabia. Most Indian Christians are the religious ryots and subjects of European and American Christians. Moreover, many different sections of the Indian

Christian Church, except the Anglican, are maintained by contributions from abroad. This state of things has long been felt to be galling, as is evident from the establishment (e.g. in Bengal) of the Khristo Samaj in the last century, and the recent movement for the Indianisation of Indian Christian Churches of European or American origin. Numbers of Turks have felt that they ought not to depend for their cultural and spiritual sustenance on Arabia. But there is no such movement yet among Indian Moslems.

The ideal, no doubt, is not complete independence and isolation of different peoples, but interdependence and intercommunication between equals in status.

The new American immigration law excluding the Japanese and some others from the U. S. A. has led to the revolt of the Japanese Christian clergy against ecclesiastical supervision or assistance from America. An American paper writes:—

A movement has started in Tokyo to declare the Japanese churches independent of their mother churches in America. Reverend Masahisa Uemura, President of the Tokyo Theological Seminary, declared at a recent meeting to consider this subject:—

"Christianity was originally an Oriental religion, and the Japanese can understand it better than the Americans. It is a disgrace for Japanese engaged in Christian missionary work in their own country to receive material aid from the United States."

At present there are more than 800 missionaries in Japan under the auspices of America, and our country is spending millions of dollars for their maintenance. According to this propagandist, the withdrawal of our assistance will unify Christianity in Japan and enable the 300,000 Japanese Christians to develop and organize their faith in their own way, with a better prospect of converting the remainder of their fellow countrymen than exists at present.

### Medical Robin Hoods.

Recently the eminent English oculist Dr. N. Bishop Horman humorously likened himself and his professional brethren to Robin Hood, "charging big fees to the rich in order to bestow benefits upon the poor." Among Indian physicians, too, there are such persons who give much free advice and help to those who could ill afford the fees of a first-class consultant. It would be good if their numbers increased.

### The "Mother Country"!

*The Saree*, a Sinhalese magazine, writes that "it is not generally known that women suffrage in India is far in advance of the



Mother Country." There cannot be a greater absurdity than to speak of Britain as the mother country of India.

### A University for Ceylon.

The same journal gives the welcome news that the Ceylon Legislative Council has decided to establish a university in Ceylon, and hopes that "the University will have special facilities for women, including residential quarters."

In all countries, there should be equal facilities and provision for the education of girls and boys, women and men. As up to the present, women's education has been neglected in most countries, there would be no injustice to men in giving women greater facilities for some time to come.

### Tagore in China.

*The Japan Weekly Chronicle* writes:—

"TAGORE has not altogether appealed to some of the elements in China. He is too willing to recognise the good in Western institutions and too truly international to suit the present phase of acute nationalism in this country." So says Dr. Henry Hodgson of Shanghai in a private letter received here. However, there was another reason for the displeasure shown by some of the Peking scholars towards Tagore. They understood his denunciation of "materialism" as an attack on science. He explained that it was nothing of the kind, and before he left he received expressions of regret from some who had opposed him.

### An American District's Budget.

During the expenditure of Washington, D. C., we read in the *Evening Star* of Washington:—

Thirty-five cents out of every dollar spent by the District government during the last fiscal year was used for the education of children according to a chart prepared to-day by Maj. Daniel J. Donovan, auditor [A dollar equals 1000 cents].

This was the largest single item of expense.

Protection of life and property, which means the cost of maintaining the police and fire departments, came second taking 17.3 cents per dollar.

Charities and the upkeep of institutions called for the expenditure of 13.5 cents on the dollar.

The streets and highways of the city got 10.4 cents of each dollar.

In protecting the health and sanitation of the community the Commissioners spent 9.7 cents.

For recreation the proportion was 5 cents per dollar.

Other items that go to make up the full dollar were: General government 5.7 cents; miscellaneous, 0.6 cents, and public service, 2.6 cents.

The chart does not include the water department, which sustains itself out of water rent collections.

So more than one-third of its revenues was spent by this American district for the education of children, and it was the largest single item of expense. What proportion of their incomes do our towns, districts, provinces, and the Government of India spend for the education of children? What does Calcutta spend? What Bombay?

### Growth of Columbia University.

The following statistics, quoted from *The New York Times*, show the very remarkable growth of Columbia University in the United States of America:—

Comparing 1913 with 1923, the President of the Federation, George R. Beach of Jersey City, said that in the former year Columbia had 9,379 students in the college, law, medicine applied science, pharmacy, philosophy, and Teachers College, and granted 2,155 degrees.

Ten years later the total number of students had risen to 30,619, with 3,586 degrees conferred. In 1913, there were 852 professors, assistant professors, instructors and lecturers. Now there are 1,781.

"The University," continues Mr. Beach, "now owns fifty-two buildings, eleven of which have been purchased or built in the last ten years. Our new athletic field comprises twenty-six acres. The entire university occupies seventy-seven and two-thirds acres in the City of New York, exclusive of the Medical School.

"The finances of the university have grown in the same proportion. In 1913, the university budget was \$22,67,000. In 1923, exclusive of Barnard College, Teachers' College and the College of Pharmacy, it is \$72,932,000.

We are told that in 1923 the Columbia University budget was, *exclusive of Barnard College, Teachers College and the College of Pharmacy*, 72,932,000 dollars, which is roughly equivalent to twenty-five crores of rupees.

According to the review of education in India in the year 1922-23, issued by Mr. J. A. Richey, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, the total expenditure on education for the whole of British India was just nineteen crores, four lacs, four thousand and thirty-six rupees. America, is, no doubt, much wealthier than India. Still the difference between the expenditure of a single American University and that of the whole of British India is sufficiently striking to make all of us think furiously, as they say. That India is poor, is not a finally satisfactory excuse. Why is India poor? It has material resources second to those of no

country in the world, and it has a large population, and the people are not wanting either in intelligence or in willingness to work.

The rule of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy in India is supported on the three pillars of Ignorance, Poverty and Timidity of the Indian people. So the arch-bureaucrats may not love to spend money on the dispelling of ignorance and the diffusion of light. But do the people spend according to their might? Here again some of them may excuse themselves by saying that, as the state system of education produces "slave mentality", they cannot contribute towards its maintenance. But the depressing fact is that the educational institutions which go by the name of national schools, colleges, etc., have received such scanty support of every kind that most of them have disappeared and almost all the rest are tottering.

Long ago, entirely from an educational motive, unconnected with any political excitement or propaganda, Rabindranath Tagore established his school at Santiniketan. He has all along been left to shoulder most of the burden. His Visva-bharati University also has not yet received adequate support—least of all has it been helped by Bengal—so that drastic retrenchment is being advocated by some of its workers. Now is the time for its former alumni and its other friends to make strenuous efforts to increase its income.

### "Evidences of Education."

The immensity of America's educational expenditure does not hide its short-comings and defects from thoughtful Americans. President Butler of Columbia University, speaking before the Pennsylvania Education Association, some time ago, said :—

Measured by cost, by the number of pupils or by physical equipment, our system is impressive ; but it is not so impressive "when we seek for those surer evidences of education which are marked by correctness and precision in the use of the mother-tongue, by refined and gentle manners which are the expression of fixed habits of thought and action, by the power and habit of reflection and the use of scientific methods in the approach to new problems of public and personal import, or by the power of intellectual and moral growth."

How much of the "surer evidences of education" which President Butler spoke of are to be found among India's educated men ?

### The Self-lauding British Liberal Criticised.

Professor Ramsay Muir is a British Liberal. He has written a book, "The Expansion of Europe," about which an American critic writes :—

The book purports to be a history of the expansion of Europe but in fact it is little more than an ex parte essay on the rise of the British Empire. There is a hasty sketch of overseas exploration and colonization by Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch, French, Russians, Germans et al., but the main purpose seems to be to provide the author with a telling antithesis between "brutal domination pursued for its own sake" and the British "conception of trusteeship." The French are let off a little more easily than other foreigners, probably because the book was published early in the Great War, but it must already be obvious to Liberal imperial intelligence that recent activities of M. Poincaré render the classification of Frenchmen among "the trustees of civilization" rather faulty. If Ramsay Muir is to run true to form, let him prepare a new edition and leave the English as the unique holding corporation of the world's virtue.

In the opinion of the critic,

All Englishmen from king to wage-earner, with few exceptions, view the British Empire from one of two standpoints ; they are either Liberal or Tory. The Tory, as exemplified by a Lord Curzon, or a Lord Milner, boasts of the Empire and is not afraid to confess openly that among the lesser breeds without the law the Anglo-Saxon has a divine right to exercise political and economic dominion. The Liberal, on the other hand, is apologetic about the Empire and conveys an impression that it is a dreadful burden which from a sense of duty England must bear. That there may be financial profit in the business of ruling subject races is sometimes admitted by your Tory, but by your Liberal never! The Liberal, with a dour countenance, will tell you that if England didn't govern three-fourths of the globe, some really bad country like France or Germany would ; and then his face will light up a bit and he will add that England is a "trustee for civilization" and confers upon the world inestimable benefits of liberty. The Tory is more transparent ; his face is always illumined.

Professor Ramsay Muir is good enough to admit that the tribesmen of East Africa fought in the recent war most loyally and gallantly under the German flag, yet he damns German imperialism utterly because it involved no self-government. But who enjoy self-government in the British Empire and who do not? Let the American reply :—

Now as a matter of prosaic fact, self-government is an attribute of but a small minority of the inhabitants of the British Empire. For every colonist who enjoys a large measure of political democracy, there are at least thirty dusky-skinned natives who are dominated by viceroys or hand-picked councils or chartered companies or resident "agents," with hardly a form of self-government. Professor Muir recognizes the fact and blushes, but he hastens to assert that it has no bearing on Britain's "trusteeship for civilization." "The British power in India,"

he says, "has played the part of a podesta in restraining and mediating between the conflicting peoples and religions of India" and in establishing and maintaining the "Reign of Law." As for Egypt, Britain "found herself drawn into a labor of reconstruction that could not be dropped." As for the conquest of the Boer Republics, "it was neither greed nor tyranny on Britain's part which brought about the conflict, but simply the demand for equal rights."

If these assertions are valid, they constitute at best a defence of modern imperialism in general rather than of British imperialism in particular.

Mr. Muir lays the cornerstone of the British Empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on a vague longing of British emigrants for self-determination; but his American critic, Mr. Carlton I. H. Hayes, lays it on the solid economic triangle of piracy, slavery and ruin.

Mr. Muir defends "large annexations" by Britain on the ground that she had to guarantee the freedom of overseas trade against the protectionist policies of her continental rivals. "But," writes his critic,

"While our Liberal author makes much of liberty of trade throughout the British Empire, he neglects to enlighten us about the rôle of British colonial bureaucrats in acting as advertisers of British wares, or about the interesting reasons for the levy of an export duty on cotton goods from British India. Besides, our author, true to his Liberal convictions, makes much of the offensive militarism which enabled Russia and Germany to become imperialistic powers, and minimizes the significance of navalism in the building of the British Empire. "Sea-power," he avers, "is always weak in the offensive"—a thesis which, in the reviewer's opinion, is as erroneous as it is widespread."

### "Progressive Turkey".

*The New York Times* writes:—

"The policy inaugurated in Turkey by Mustapha Kemal of bringing matrimony within reach of all must strike a responsive chord in every American pocketbook. The municipal councils in Anatolia have decreed that all brides hereafter must be content with no more than two costumes and one suite of furniture. The giving of presents by relatives is forbidden, and the bride's decorations must not include *gold ornament*. Music is also restricted, and the bridal carriages are limited to three in number. To insure that these economies are actual, the bride is compelled to place her dowry on public exhibition.

"Here in America we lag far behind such a radical but constructive policy. The helpless American father and equally helpless American bridegroom are still victims of the great body of commercialised conventions, which include music, decorations, printing and stationery, ushers' and bridegrooms' gifts, assistant clergymen, diamonds and lace, trousseaux and honeymoons. We have, it is true, a kind of retaliatory asset in wedding presents, the joy of receiving which is enhanced, no doubt by anticipation of exchanging them later.

Even so, young married couples must pass the rest of their lives in *paying back* the givers as they in turn marry.

"Let us therefore turn to the enthusiastic and enlightened Turk in gratitude for this gesture of matrimonial economy."

We all know that conditions in India are worse than in America even. Here in our province an average marriage costs us *nothing less than* two or three thousand rupees. Some people hoard money simply to spend on such and such marriage. It is an evident fact that our people go beyond their means. Only four years ago, a merchant in Amritsar spent about sixty thousands on his son's marriage. God knows how much burden the bride's father had to carry. In Bengal the conditions are still worse. There some young girls have burnt themselves simply because their parents could not afford to give expensive dowry, and hence those innocent girls were unable to marry decent husbands. Is it not a standing shame to our Hindu community? How long are we going to be prey to such destructive social customs? We have able and patriotic men in our municipalities. Will not they come forward and save the situation? A particular community is unable by itself to solve this problem. Take for instance, the *Aror Bans Conference* (the community to which I belong). Every year conferences are held, new reforms are discussed and passed by a majority. But child-marriage still exists. The widows are still not remarried. Lacs of rupees are yet to be saved from extravagant marriages. The Moslems are not better either. They are following the customs of the Hindus. So it is a question which concerns all. Let us see how eager we are to follow the noble example set by the Great Turkish Leader.

K. C. KATARIA OF AMRITSAR.

### Need of Studying Foreign Languages.

FRENCH STUDY FOREIGN LANGUAGES SINCE WAR.  
(Special Cable Dispatch.)

Did the war, with its plundering and losses teach the French people an object lesson and give them a determination to acquire foreign languages?

Compared with pre-war figures, those of the last four years show an enormous increase in the number of persons learning a new language. Probably on account of their contact with English-speaking troops during the war, the French seem to have set their hearts on learning English first.

Thus, whereas in 1914 only 22,000 persons were studying English, in the last year 70,000 took up an English course. Twenty-one thousand studied German before 1914, against 37,000 today. Before the war 828 studied Italian, against 2,046 today.



Other tongues, almost ignored before the war, are now being taught to big classes. These include Russian, Serbian, Turkish, Dutch, Norwegian, Swedish and Roumanian.

To establish world contact India must have men and women well-versed in world conditions. In order to secure first-hand accurate knowledge of world affairs one must not depend upon merely English sources of information, as it is the case in India. Young Indians must study French, German, Russian, Japanese, Chinese, Spanish, and Indian scholar should go to the universities of all parts of the world to acquire knowledge and establish cultural relations. There should be a school of Languages in connection with all Indian universities.

T. D.

### The Fight against Untouchability at Vaikom.

*The Nation* of New York writes with reference to the fight against untouchability carried on at Vaikom by both high-caste men and persons of lower social status in the Hindu community:—

If the fight against slavery in the United States had been born among the slave-owning aristocrats of the South, if they had submitted to arrest and faced death to make their black brothers free and equal, we would have something like an American parallel to this movement in India. But the Indian movement is even more impressive since the power of religious dogma stands back of the social and economic interests involved. As we watch the effort for equality and human happiness grow and flower under the whip of oppression and foreign dominance, and as we watch it droop in the countries able to dominate and oppress, we sometimes feel that the best fate we could ask for a nation would be the tempering and wisdom that comes from failure and long endurance.

### Independence of Self-Governing Dominions.

*The Nation* (New York) writes:—

Canada, like Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and India, signed the post-war treaties with Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. But when the Turkish treaty was revised at Lausanne the Dominions were not urged to attend. Lord Curzon signed for the entire British Empire. The Canadian Government, on being informed, replied that it had no objection to not being represented, but that it would be bound by the treaty only to such extent as the Canadian Parliament might decide. The Canadian Premier, in discussing the matter, referred to the British connection and to the possibility of affiliation with the United States in terms which stirred a minor tempest in the imperial British teapot. The British Empire, after all, is a fragile structure,

resting upon understanding rather than upon treaty, and it would take a prophet rather than a constitutional lawyer to define the relations of the Dominions of the Empire. Increasingly they are asserting themselves in the truculent manner common to the young of this post-war generation. Canada recently signed the halibut treaty with the United States without inviting Mother England to hold the pen, and the Irish Free State has appointed its own envoy to Washington. The Peppers and Lodges, who are so eager to suppress the separate representation of the Dominions in the bodies which elect the judges of the World Court, might well reflect—if they are capable of reflection—upon the question whether it is to America's interest to discourage or encourage this tendency to independence.

In the League of Nations Britain has half a dozen votes at her disposal, including, of course, the vote for India of whom she is a self-constituted "trustee". We do not see why similarly, France should not have additional votes for Algeria, Morocco, Indo-China, etc., Japan for Korea, Formosa, etc., and so on. Surely more than one can play at a game.

### Meeting of International Federation of University Women and India.

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Christiania, July 15.—Preparations for the third conference of the International Federation of University Women, which is to be held here at the joint invitation of the federations of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, are already well advanced. About 300 delegates from different countries, among them a large delegation from the United States, are expected to attend the conference, which will take place from July 28 to Aug. 1.

The international Federation of University Women was founded in 1920 at the initiative of English and American university women. It aims to create friendship and understanding between women university graduates of all countries, to promote their common interests and contribute to sympathy and co-operation between the countries.

PROMINENT EDUCATORS EXPECTED.

The President of the world association is the English Professor Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, and Vice-President is Mlle. Marguerite Mespoulet, Paris. The world association has subdivisions in eighteen countries, and among the delegates will be found a large number of the most prominent university women of the world.

From the United States of America are expected about 200 delegates, among them Aurelie H. Reinhardt, Dean Virginia Gildersleeve of Barnard College, New York; Dr. Carey Thomas, ex-President of Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania, and Miss Goldsmith, who will deliver a lecture on "International Finance."

VISCOUNTESS RHONDDA WILL TALK.

Great Britain will send the President of the World Association, Caroline Supergeon, Mrs. Corbett Ashlep, member of the House of Commons; Prof. Winifred Cullis and Viscountess Rhondda, who will lecture on "The Control of Industry."

France will be represented by the Chairman of the French Society, Mme. Octave Monod, the Vice-President of the federation, Mlle. Mespoulet, and a number of other prominent university women. There will be delegates also from Australia, North Africa, New Zealand and India.

The first day of the conference a welcome dinner will be given by the four Nordic associations. The next day is the opening session in the University building at Christiania, where Prof. Fridtjof Nansen of Norway will deliver the opening speech.

Among the topics to be discussed may be mentioned the place of university women in world affairs, the training and experience needed for work in politics, industry, commerce, the development of international thought through education, &c.

We do not know how many Indian women were present at this international gathering. The population of India is more than three times that of the United States; and if Indian women wished to assert themselves with the same vigour as their sisters in the United States did, then at least 600 Indian women should have participated in the conference. It is not our purpose to be hypercritical, but we cannot help pointing out the fact that Indian women are not given an equal chance for their advancement by the Indian people themselves; and if India is to hold her own, this absurd mental attitude towards Indian women must be abandoned.

Secondly, we do not want to blame our Indian sisters for not being aggressive in the matter of participation in international congresses, because of the limitation of their resources in persons and purse. But we suggest that far-sighted Indian women should organize themselves and make arrangements, so that annually at least one of them would be sent abroad as India's unofficial ambassador to study abroad and establish international contacts.

New York.

Kamal.

### Henry VIII and the Tarakeswar Mohant.

Writing to *Forward* some time ago on the Tarakeswar affair, Sir P. C. Ray said :—

"Several crores of rupees are now locked up in the temple endowments; their annual income amounts to a huge sum. What would have been the fate of England to-day, if Henry the Eighth did not get possession of the huge money of the Church? Surely then Oxford and Cambridge, instead of being centres of scientific and literary activities, would have remained sunken in medieval darkness but for the Church fund."

*The Catholic Herald of India* criticises him thus :—

This sort of history will not benefit India. From 1536 till his death, Henry the Eighth received £1,423,500 as his share of the plunder of churches,

monasteries, colleges and hospitals. Of this sum £64,500 went to coast fortifications, £28,000 for naval matters, £137,000 for purposes of foreign war, and very nearly £500,000 on army equipment and guns. The rest was spent on royal palaces, royal mistresses and favourites, and dissipated in gambling. £52,000 was spent on the purchase of land, £23,000 on Prince Edward's household expenses, £274,086 on the King's household. According to Fuller, "not only cooks, but the meanest turn-broach in the King's kitchen did lick his fingers ..... I could add now he gave a religious house of some value to Mistress—for presenting him with a dish of puddings which pleased his palate."

As to Oxford and Cambridge, they were very nearly ruined by the suppression of the monasteries, as most of the students were supported by the monks. The Cambridge scholars petitioned the King for privileges in 1545, "as they feared the destruction of monasteries would altogether annihilate learning" (Fuller). In 1550 Bishop Latimer preached on the subject as follows: "Truly it is a pitiful thing to see schools so neglected; every true Christian ought to lament the same..... to consider what hath been plucked from abbeys, colleges and chantries, it is marvel no more to be bestowed upon this holy office of salvation..... Schools are not maintained; scholars have not exhibitions..... Very few there be that help poor scholars..... It would pity a man's heart to hear that, that I hear of the state of Cambridge; what it is in Oxford I cannot tell..... I think there be at this day ten thousand students less than were within these twenty years...."

It takes a very honest man to administer church property, but it takes a far more honest man to reform its administration. That a reform is necessary, everyone agrees, but beware of the Henry the Eighth brand of reformer. The worst mohant would be preferable.

### Methodist Episcopal Church Conference Supports Indian Temperance Movement.

The following resolution was presented by Dr. (now Bishop) Brenton Thoburn Badley at the World Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held from May 1st to 29th in the city of Springfield, Massachusetts, U.S.A. The Conference, composed of men and women, laymen and clergymen from nearly every country in the world, and numbering 850 delegates representing thirty distinct nationalities, adopted the Resolution unanimously and amidst applause Bishop Badley, on his return to India, is to be resident at Bombay.

"Recognizing that the issue of Temperance throughout the world is ultimately one cause, and realising the critical stage that India has reached in its campaign for the prohibition of the manufacture and traffic in alcoholic beverages, this General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church extends to India, through its representatives in this body, its hearty good wishes and genuine sympathy for the complete success of the cause of abstinence in that great land through the suppression of the liquor traffic, and offers its congratulations to that

great section of the Indian press that is working so strenuously in behalf of this great reform."

Bishop Badley was born in India and has given twenty-five years of service to the motherland.

### The Pathans Are Indians.

It is generally assumed that the Pathans are an un-Indian people. But Mr. Gulshan Rai holds a different opinion. He writes in the *Servant of India* :—

Historically this is a wholly wrong idea. In Vedic Literature we find mention of the ten allied tribes. They are the Anus, the Druhyus, the Turvashas, the Yadus, the Purus, the Alinas, the Pakthas (Pathans), the Bhalanas, the Sivas, the Vishanirs. The Pathans are thus one of the ten Vedic Aryan tribes. In the time of the Greeks the Pactyes, living in the valleys of the Kabul, are mentioned as one of the most warlike of *Indian* tribes. Really the Pathans are an Indian people. They belong like the Kashmiris and the Sindhis to India. But as the Pathans live on the Gates of India, they are liable to be influenced by movements taking place outside these gates. Many a time before, in our long history, the Pathans have been reclaimed and purged free of all foreign influences. Their re-Indianisation is therefore quite practicable. There are 2,67,000 Pathans living in the Punjab. They are to all intents and purposes Punjabees. The eight lacs of Pathans living in the settled districts of the Frontier Provinces were in the Punjab for just two-thirds of a century, ever since the Peshawar division of the old Mughal province of Kabul was annexed by Runjit Singh in 1834.

### Is Russia Very Much Worse than Before?

Considering the very truthful reports of events in India which reach England, we have seldom been able to give full credence to the descriptions of Russia which have generally reached us. Yet it is so very important to know the truth. One little fact has transpired which shows that things are not so bad in Russia as they have been described to be. The Dukhobors are a Russian sect who left Russia in the bad old Czarist days. Numbers of them settled in Canada. Three thousand of them have left Canada for Russia and the remaining six thousand will sail within a year.

The Dukhobors are peasant-farmers, and are also what some people would call religious fanatics. Yet they return to Russia, where the peasantry are said to be oppressed and religion outrageously persecuted by the Bolsheviks !

The Dukhobors are not ignorant of conditions in either Canada, the United States or Russia. In Canada they have lived a good

many years and have accumulated some millions of dollars in the process. As their agents have searched the United States for lands suitable for settlement, they know something about that country. And as two hundred members of their colony were dispatched to Russia last winter to give it a year's trial before a general removal was undertaken, they cannot be altogether ignorant of conditions in Russia either.

### More Europeans for Jamshedpur.

The Tatas are importing eighty European foremen for their Works at Jamshedpur. It may be that Indians possessing the requisite qualifications were not available. But what has the firm been doing to Indianise the concern expeditiously ? A firm which receives State help at the expense of the people ought to have Indian employees from top to bottom. The excuse that Indians cannot be trained for this job or that will not hold water.

### The Soil and the Soul.

When Fakri Pasha, Egypt's first minister to France, arrived in Paris, a clod of earth from his property along the river Nile was the most conspicuous object in his office.

"It is a bit of my native land which I brought in my first diplomatic pouch," the minister told inquirers. "The idea has deeply touched my numerous visitors especially our young students."

We hope Fakri Pasha also carried with him the soul of Egypt also, fine and idealistic as his idea of carrying a clod of his motherland with him undoubtedly was.

When our cultural ambassadors to China and Japan visited those countries last, though they did not carry a clod of Indian soil, we think the Chinese and the Japanese had glimpses of the Indian soul. Similarly, when Rabindranath Tagore goes to South America he will carry the Indian spiritual atmosphere with him. Whether famous or not every Indian going abroad is expected to carry with him the soul of India and her best ideals.

### A Negro University's Endowment.

Fisk University in America is a Negro University. It has raised an endowment fund of one million dollars, roughly equivalent to thirty-five lakhs of rupees. It is not mere industrial school, but is a full-fledged university whose students are given the same



recognition at Columbia and Chicago as are graduates of Harvard or Princeton.

One of the sure ways of knowing a people's worth is to find out what importance they attach to education; and that again is measured by the proportion of their wealth which they devote to education.

### Cultural Endeavour in Russia.

On the 26th August, when the editor of this **Review** was engaged in writing his notes the Librarian of Visva-Bharati kindly brought him a book which he had just received by post. It measured ten and a half inches by eight, and contained 132 pages of lithographed matter besides five pages of introduction, and title page, etc. On the cover there were words printed in Russian characters, which we do not know. On turning over, we found the words "To the University of Shantini-keetan from the editor 24, VII. 1924. Leningrad." written in English. Again turning over the page, we found the following in Bengali characters:—

পেত্রোগ্রাদ প্রাচ্যবিদ্যালয়।

বাংলা সাহিত্যের উদাহরণ মাল।

বিদ্যালয়ের অধ্যাপক

মিকাইল তুবিয়ানস্কী কর্তৃক সংকলিত।

পেত্রোগ্রাদ।

বঙ্গাব্দ ১৩২৯।

It may be translated as follows:—

Petrograd Oriental School.

Selections from  
Bengali Literature

Compiled by  
Mikael Tuvianski

Professor of the School  
Petrograd

1329 of the Bengali Era.

The first piece selected has been lithographed in Roman characters. The second is a Bengali translation of the story of Damanaka and Karataka from the Hitopadesha in Bengali characters, with the Sanskrit original in Deva-nagari. This is followed by various other pieces, all in Bengali characters. One is the story of the dog in the manger, from the Kathamala of Iswarachandra Vidyasagar. Another is selected from Tota-Itihas. We need not give a complete enumeration of

the contents, but will mention some of the other books and authors drawn upon: Sr. Vikramadityer Batris Puttalika Purus-Pariksa, Rammohan Ray's Pamphlet on Suttee Akshaya Kumar Datta's Charupatha, Sarva-darsaner Samgraha, Bijoy Chandra Mazumdar. Rabindranath Thakur, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's Indira, Swarnalata, Andhare Alo by Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, Devendra-nath Thakur, Kokileswar Bhattacharya, Jayanarayan Tarkapanchanan, Mahendra Nath Bhattacharya.

There are, at the end, only two poems extracted; both by Rabindranath Thakur.

We have not mentioned the names in the order in which the selections have been placed in the book. The selections have been so arranged by the Russian editor as to show the gradual evolution of Bengali prose.

The book shows that Soviet Russia is not all blood and skeletons. The people have time and money to devote to the cultivation of a foreign language which is not the language of any ruling power or of a people famous for industrial and commercial enterprise. The language of an independent imperial or powerful people it may be necessary to learn for diplomatic and other political purposes. The language of an industrially and commercially enterprising people is often mastered for purposes of business. But Bengali need not be learned for either of these objects. It may be learned for philological and cultural purposes.

The *cliveness*, if we may so say, of the heart and intellect of a people is measured by the degree of human interest they take in the culture of even a far-off people with whom they have no selfish political or other relation. Judged by this test, the Russians must be pronounced to be a people possessed of a living heart and an active intellect.

### Evidence Before Reforms Committee

The trend of evidence before the Reforms Committee, particularly of those who have worked as ministers, goes to condemn Diarchy as a failure. Diarchy must go. *The Nation and the Athanæum* says that under it the Indian Ministers directing the "transferred" departments were "semi-responsible". In its opinion "the fatal weakness of Diarchy" has been "revealed. It has meant limited responsibility with unlimited scope for obstruction: and that is an impossible basis of government, in India as everywhere else."

Among those who have served as Ministers, no one took up the task of making the Reforms, such as they were, a success with greater determination and no one had defended them with greater zeal and ability against Non-co-operators than the same Mr. C. Y. Chintamani when he was a journalist. His detailed and able memorandum in condemnation of Diarchy should therefore be all the more convincing. And he has really made out the strongest case against the views of the bureaucracy. But Anglo-Indian and British Tories among journalists and others are determined to oppose all radical reform of the Reforms. Hence they are carping at the evidence of Mr. Chintamani as well as of the other ex-Ministers which they find it difficult to controvert with facts and arguments.

*The Nation and the Athenaeum* says :—

The Liberals of the Constitutional Convention, led by Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and his friends, have been pressing during their visit to England this summer for immediate full Dominion Home Rule, to be framed upon the basis of a Constitution worked out by representative committees in India. To this latter proposal the reply of British Liberals cannot very well be in doubt. They will say : Show us the foundations of your scheme. And they will ask : Where in the endless variety of Indian society, and amid the disunity which declares itself to-day as emphatically as ever, are the materials out of which the Indian political leaders are preparing to construct a Dominion of the Commonwealth such as your speakers envisage?

That there is endless variety in Indian society is quite true. But if we are to wait for self-rule till all this variety has been destroyed and a dead uniformity has been produced, we must wait till doomsday. Nor do we think that variety is in itself a bad thing. So long as there is a reasonable amount of harmony and co-operation, variety is rather to be desired. It is only the "disunity" where the real difficulty lies. As regards this disunity, it must be observed that as the British people, like all other peoples are not saints or angels, they cannot be blamed for taking advantage of it for their purposes or for bringing forward the objection that so long as the disunity lasts we cannot have self-rule. On the other hand, we think it is a cogent argument that so long as there is in India a third and predominant party to whose advantage our disunity can be exploited, the disunity will continue to exist. Therefore we must either put an end to this disunity at any cost and whatever the difficulties in the way ;—if not

for ever, at least for a sufficiently long period to be able to destroy the predominance of the exploiters of our disunity.

It is because our opponents, who are the third party, are in possession of the field that the objection based on our disunity can be used with such fatal effect. For disunity is not peculiar to India. There is disunity in the United States of America between the whites and the coloured people, between immigrant non-Nordic labour and the 100 per cent. Americans, between the Ku-klux-klan and their victims, and so on, often leading to bloodshed. There is disunity in Italy. And, the most colossal of all recent examples, there was disunity in Russia for years and there have been in that country greater bloodshed than in any other within the same number of days or years. But in all these countries, the people have the advantage of not having in their midst an alien third party of rulers to exploit their disunity. They settle their differences and solve their problems themselves—sometimes by shedding one another's blood and that in some cases, profusely. To compose differences amicably is, of course, the most desirable method. But in any case, it is in the long run far more advantageous for the parties in a country to fight out their quarrels in the battle field than to call in an alien third party to remain in the country as master and arbitrator. For, to be belligerents is better than to be slaves ; as belligerents have and can keep up their manhood, while slaves lose their manhood. Moreover when a party is constituted or constitutes itself as umpire, it always feels moved to justify its existence : it must always have something to arbitrate upon, otherwise its occupation would be gone. The "original sin" of our ancestors consisted in putting more faith in the strangers than any among themselves. Of course, when there are two belligerent parties in a country sometimes one and sometimes the other must gain the upper hand, until at length bloody fights give place to struggles of a different kind. That is generally found to be the case in countries which at present possess a constitutional government.

*The Nation and the Athenaeum* is for its part satisfied that

The MacDonald Government might have gone a good deal further than it has gone in meeting the demand for inquiry and conference. The Government of India has set its own special Commission to work upon the Legislative Assembly and the provincial Councils, for the purpose of finding reme-

dies for defects in the machinery. The terms of reference are severely restricted. The inquiry cannot be comprehensive. The commission must produce its report during the coming autumn. But, since its membership includes a non-official element that is by no means negligible, we are justified in assuming that the Commission will not refrain from expressing itself upon the practical breakdown of the Diarchy scheme, and the bearing of that breakdown upon the Reform Constitution as a whole and the possibility of its being maintained for another five years without organic adjustment. All parties are agreed that it would be well for the Commission to be ready with its finding by the opening of the autumn session of the All-India Legislature. Lord Reading's reputation is that of a statesman interested in the realities of administration. The final judgment of his term of office will indubitably be given in relation to his attitude and decisions during the next few months.

The Reforms Committee was expected to close their evidence on the 30th August and meet again on the 16th October to draft their report after having a very few important witnesses.

*The Nation* has referred to the activities of the Liberals of the Constitutional Convention in England under the leadership of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Mrs. Besant and others. As far as we can judge, what they want is *substantially* what other political parties in India who want a peaceful solution also want. All want, as the minimum, full provincial autonomy. All want that there should be responsibility in the Central Government. Some parties and persons want that the army and foreign affairs should be left in the hands of the executive Government; others want these also to be under the control of the Legislature. A middle course has been suggested, namely, that the Army and foreign affairs should come automatically under the control of the people's representative after a definitely fixed period.

Where there is so much agreement, it is a pity that all parties have not been able to present a united demand as far as the agreement goes, leaving all the parties free to win more power, if they can and desire, by their separate independent efforts. This absence of a combined effort shows that there is not only the problem of Hindu-Moslem differences to be solved, but also the problem of making the parties work together in matters where they agree and to the extent of their agreement.

### A Demand on Behalf of Indian Women.

A demand has been made on behalf of Indian women that, instead of leaving the

question of their franchise to be decided province by province by the provincial legislatures, they should be given the right to vote at elections and to stand as candidates for election to the central and provincial legislative bodies, on the basis of the same qualifications as men. All men do not vote or stand for election, even when qualified. So all qualified women may not vote or be candidates for election. But there is no reason why they should be discriminated against on the ground of their sex. Some queens have been among the best and ablest rulers. Some women may make very able statesmen and legislators.

### Political Offences in India.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, M. L. A., has given notice of introducing two important Bills in the forthcoming meeting of the Legislative Assembly for the purpose of amending sections 124 A and 153 A of the Penal Code and section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. The amendments proposed are necessary in the interests of liberty, and for the political advancement of the Indian people and the humanisation of British Penal laws in India. The amendments proposed in the Penal Code are as follows:—

In place of S. 124 A. shall be substituted the following—

124-A. Whoever by words either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representations, or otherwise excites or attempts to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in British India with intent to incite to disorder or violence or the use of force in any form calculated to subvert or resist the lawful authority of the Government shall be punished with simple imprisonment which may extend to three years or with fine or with both.

Explanation:—Comments expressing disapprobation of the measures of the Government or of the system and methods of administration of the Government with a view to obtain their alteration by all legitimate and peaceful means without inciting to violence or disorder in any form, do not constitute an offence under this Section.

In place of Section 153-A. shall be substituted the following:—

153-A. Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by sign or visible representation or otherwise, promotes, or attempts to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes with intent to incite to disorder or violence or disturbance of public tranquillity shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Explanation:—It does not amount to an offence within the meaning of this Section to point out without malicious intent or any intention to promote violence, disorder, or a disturbance of public tranquillity, matters which are producing or have a



tendency to produce feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects.

As regards the Criminal Procedure Code, it is proposed to add the following as sub-clause vi to section 144 (Chapter xi):—

Notwithstanding anything here contained, no order under this Section shall be made by a magistrate so as to restrict the right of any person or persons to convene, attend or take part in any public or political meeting, Association, procession or other demonstration unless the Magistrate finds on evidence duly recorded, that such direction is necessary to prevent obstruction, annoyance or injury or risk of obstruction, annoyance or injury to any person lawfully employed or danger to human life, health or safety or a disturbance of the public tranquillity or a riot or an affray.

(a) Provided that no "ex parte" order shall be passed by a Magistrate in such cases without evidence duly recorded.

(b) That no such "ex parte" order shall remain in force for a longer period than 48 hours.

An appeal shall lie for an order passed under sub-Section (6) to the Court of Session.

### The Swarajya Party's Conference.

The Swarajya party won the elections by a promise of wholesale and persistent obstructions, which they have not been able to keep except in the Central Provinces. Moreover, they appear to have seriously adopted as their motto Emerson's dictum that consistency is the bugbear of fools. And generally it is best to judge men by their performance than by their promises, plans and programmes. We are, therefore, disinclined to discuss the proceedings of the Swarajya Conference held in Calcutta last month.

Some good can be done to the country by wise and well-considered action in the legislative bodies, though we have always held and still adhere to the opinion that, considering the time and energy which have to be devoted to council-work, the resulting benefit is disproportionately small. Still those who like such labour are welcome to undergo it. Non-operationists need not waste their breath against such predilection.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi's programme prescribes more fundamental work in many respects. We are quite alive to the vital importance of removing untouchability and of establishing cordial relations between all communities living in India. But we do not think that the object can be gained if we lay stress on them only or mainly because otherwise Swarajya cannot be won.

There are certain prejudices and superstitions ingrained in our minds which have to be got rid of before we can treat all men as

we would desire to be treated by them. It is only when the mind has been freed by education and conscience has full play that we can behave reasonably, justly and humanely as good neighbours.

### Outrages at Gulburga.

We have long apprehended that the repeated comparison of British India with Indian India as regards Hindu-Moslem relations to the disadvantage of the former would lead to Hindus and Moslems fighting one another in Indian India. Our worst fears have come true. At Gulburga Musalmans have committed outrages against the Hindu community which we have no desire to describe in detail.

It may be that the religion of the Moslems as believed in by a majority of them and their militant traditions make them inadequately qualified to live with others as peaceful neighbours on terms of equality. It may also be that the peace-at-any-price-loving character of the Hindus and their comparative timidity and unpreparedness expose them to the attacks of others. We do not however want to dogmatise, as we may be subject to unconscious bias. But we must say that so long as certain external observances and restrictions form essential parts of Hindu orthodoxy and certain other external observances and taboos form essential parts of Muslim orthodoxy; so long as Muslims think that they must kill cows in a certain manner and in certain places even though they may have to break the heads of and kill Hindus in exercising that kind of "religious" liberty and so long as Hindus on their part insist on preventing cow-killing even if the attempt leads to the killing of human beings; so long as Hindus think of Musalmans as unclean *mlechhas* unworthy to be touched and Musalmans consider Hindus to be *kafirs* whose idols and temple it is an act of merit to break down: so long as Hindus and Muslims think that men can please God by killing some of His creatures and enjoying their flesh themselves, so long as Musalmans think that though in God's universe there is often the roaring of tempests and waterfalls, the loud rumbling of clouds, the deafening noise of volcanic eruptions, etc., and though motor cars and lorries, tram cars and railway trains and Muharram processions with their drumming may pass

before mosques without producing any undesirable effect, it is only the music of Hindus before mosques which God and His worshippers must stop even at the cost of bloodshed. So long as these exist the irrational frame of mind which these and similar other things imply the likelihood of irreligious "religious" riots breaking out at the slightest provocation cannot pass away.

We must all get rid of the idea that giving up non-essentials in order to please our neighbours or at least in order to avoid displeasing them is, in the least, derogatory and is all like a defeat. To have any *xid* as regards non-essentials is really a sign of weakness. We know that it is not easy to agree as to what is essential and what is non-essential. Only a general statement may be made that if one yearns to know what is essential and keeps an open mind, the knowledge will be vouchsafed unto him.

#### More Blows for "the Bombay Chronicle."

Damages of five thousand and eight thousand rupees have been awarded by Mr. Justice Kemp at the High Court to Sub-Inspector Shivalingappa and Superintendent Mareden of the Dharwar Police respectively in suits filed by the latter two against the "Bombay Chronicle" alleging defamation in respect of articles on Dharwar Firing incident in July 1921.

The Advocate-General having pressed for interest on the amount His Lordship allowed it in the present suits but did not allow it in the Painter's Case. Defendants were also directed to bear costs of plaintiffs.

These sums are in addition to the Rs. 15,000 awarded to Mr. Magistrate Painter as damages for the same articles.

Government has terrible weapons in its hands to crush newspapers.

#### Tarakeswar Shootings.

The inevitable shootings to suppress a popular movement have at last taken place at Tarakeswar. There is nothing to be surprised at in this. There may be an official enquiry and a non-official enquiry, and the reports would differ as the poles asunder. The true remedy lies in the winning of real responsible government by the people.

#### The late Maharaja of Travancore.

We offer our respectful sympathy to the people of Travancore on the death of their beloved Maharaja, who was a pious and benevolent ruler. He was a conservative and

orthodox Hindu but his administration of his State was quite progressive. In general literacy and the higher education of women he made his State the most advanced region in India. He worked hard, lived a simple life and eschewed the luxuries of both the East and the West. It is said that his palace expenditure was less than a third of that of Baroda. It is probably because he did not know of or care to have recourse to modern methods of self-advertisement that his achievement is not so well known as it deserves to be.

#### Retrograde Hyderabad.

To the list of Indian newspapers banned by the Nizam of Hyderabad the latest addition is the seditious *Servant of India*. Perhaps that is how His Exalted Highness hopes to qualify for getting back Berar.

#### The Inscrutable Lord Olivier.

Some weeks ago, Lord Olivier spoke of Mr. C. R. Das as having "the reputation of being a particularly upright and scrupulous politician" who was "unquestionably a man of high and admirable ideas on behalf of his country." The Secretary of State for India also assigned to Mr. Das a place in saintliness only second to that occupied by Mahatma Gandhi. In the self-same speech of Lord Olivier's occurs the following passage:—

"In that Assembly (Bengal Council) the Swaraj party not being able actually to lead or to procure a majority of votes for the purpose of embarrassing the Government organised the purchase for cash of the requisite balances either of votes or abstentions, to enable them to win the narrow divisions which they did. This is notorious."

Does this passage give an indication of Lord Olivier's standard of uprightness and scrupulousness in politics?

It may be mentioned here incidentally that Mr. C. R. Das has made an attempt to meet the serious charge brought against his party by Lord Olivier but has failed to dispose of it satisfactorily. Rumours are also rife regarding "inducements" offered by the Government or by pro-Government people to secure votes. If they be true, these inducements would be held to be bribes.

#### Lord Lytton on the Honour of Indian Womanhood.

The passage in Lord Lytton's speech at

the Dacca Police Parade which has offended the people is too well known by now to require repetition. It has been condemned in numerous public meetings in and about the Calcutta Town Hall.

Of course, it would have been best if he had not said what he did,—though it may be that he wanted to encourage the Police. But having said what he did, Lord Lytton could have prevented all this ebullition of public feeling and consequent bitterness by coming out promptly with the explanation which he gave, after the mischief had been done, only on the 23rd of August, in reply to a letter written to him by Babu Rabindranath Tagore. If Lord Lytton had acted thus on his own initiative promptly without waiting for an opportunity like that afforded by the Poet's letter, there would not have been any real lowering of his dignity or loss of prestige. And probably in that case his explanation would have had a more conciliating and calming effect than it can now produce. Because when people have been roused to a high pitch of excitement and have taken up a definite attitude, they cannot easily be made to part with their grievance:—it is not John Bull alone who clearly loves a grievance.

However, though late, the Poet has done well to give the Governor an opportunity to explain himself;—"blessed are the peace-makers." His lordship observes:—

The misunderstanding is apparently due to the fact that some of the words which I used have a different meaning in English and in Bengali. I am told that in Bengali the equivalent of the words, "Indian men" or "Indian women" convey the same meaning as the words "the men of India" or "the women of India". In English of course there is a great difference between the two phrases. The latter is no doubt synonymous with the manhood or womanhood of India, but the former, in the context in which I used it could only mean "certain men or women of Indian nationality," an entirely different thing.

Lord Lytton is undoubtedly a higher authority as regards the use of English than we can be. So it is not for us to examine the interpretation which he has given to his words; it can be done properly only by some other Englishman or Englishmen. We take it for granted that his interpretation is correct. But we wish to point out to him that when the correct understanding of a passage depends on such a nice distinction as he has drawn, a statesman should not expect that a people whose language is different from his would be in the calm

mood to perceive the distinction when the observation relates to the honour of their womanhood, about which our people are extremely sensitive. So sensitive in fact that many a brute escapes punishment because of the fact that our women would mostly rather suffer in silence than make public the story of their shame.

Let us now extract some more passages from Lord Lytton's reply to the Poet's letter.

I am anxious to remove from the minds of my friends the slightest ground for believing that I had said, or was capable of saying anything disrespectful of Indian womanhood or Indian manhood. Such an action would be impossible on my part for my respect for womanhood knows no bounds of race or country. I could no more insult the women of India than I could insult the women of my own country. But my remarks had nothing to do with the honour of Indian women in general nor with the chivalry of Indian men. They applied only to the action of certain individuals at whose conduct I confessed myself shocked.

We take this to be a sincere expression of his lordship's feelings.

Lord Lytton then says:—

Some of my critics, in the mistaken belief that they were thereby vindicating the honour of their own country-women, have committed the very offence they were attributing to me by assigning a low standard of morality to English women in general. By such remarks they have not injured me or my countrymen, they have but done an injustice to themselves.

We are ashamed and sorry that any Indian should have done this. We are aware that in England in some divorce cases there is collusion between husband and wife and perhaps also some women falsely declare themselves as having been molested in order to levy blackmail: but we have not for that reason ever thought or spoken ill of English women in general—though probably the fact of there being such classes in England may have made it easy for Lord Lytton to believe in that which found expression in the offending passage of his Dacca speech.

Referring to the critics mentioned in the passage quoted above, Lord Lytton asks:—

Cannot they see that the honour of Indian womanhood rests on a pinnacle raised by its own inherent virtue far beyond the reach of any man to disparage, and that if I had attempted to slander it, it would not be Indians but Englishmen who would have cause to cry shame.

That is true.

What I said at Dacca was that it had shocked me to learn of instances in Bengal where a man or group of men for political purposes had offered inducements to women of the poorest and lowest class



to bring false charges against the police, involving the dishonour of themselves as well as their own countrymen. My repetition of the word "Indian" in that sentence was intended to emphasise the fact that in such cases no race hatred was involved since all those concerned belonged to the same race.

In saying this I made no charge against the womanhood of India, none against its manhood, and I mentioned no case that was *sub judice*. Instances of the kind I referred to are obviously rare, but they had attracted my notice soon after I arrived in the country and long before I had ever heard of the particular incidents to which with remarkable unanimity a certain group of newspapers have fitted my remarks.

It is not our intention to question Lord Lytton's veracity, but we do question his tact, wisdom and statesmanship. Let us state the reasons why.

In his Dacca speech, he did not speak of "a man or a group of men for political purposes" offering "inducements to women of the poorest and lowest class," etc. These are new additions. We do not know whether His Excellency thinks that women of the poorest and lowest classes are more likely to be open to the kind of inducement he speaks of than others of their sex. But we do not wish to press the point. What we say is this. Indian politicians are a small minority of Indians and they generally belong to the literate classes. And Swarajists have given him much trouble. Therefore, in saying what he does he comes dangerously near to traducing a class, however small, it may be quite unintentionally,—a thing which no statesman should do on insufficient grounds. And we do think the grounds are insufficient on his own showing; for he himself admits that instances of the kind he refers to are obviously rare. Even before we read his explanation, we never thought that his remarks could be interpreted to have reference to all Indian men and women. But we did think that his remark had reference to a pretty large number of Indian men and women. For we hold that unless offences or failings of a certain kind were commoner than was implied in the phrase "obviously rare," no wise statesman would base any indictment on the information at his disposal.

Lord Lytton says that instances of the kind referred to attracted his attention soon after his arrival in India. The last Dacca Police parade was not the first occasion on which he has had an opportunity to address the police. Why then did he not take the earliest opportunity to unburden himself? A man

who is "shocked," usually gives vent to his feelings very soon after he receives the shock,—if, of course, he speaks at all; he does not miss the first opportunity and wait for a subsequent one.

As the Governor of Bengal, Lord Lytton ought to be aware that at present the Char-Manair case is greatly exercising the public mind. He ought also to know that in this case, according to the official version, "a man or a group of men for political purposes had offered inducements to women of the poorest and lowest class to bring false charges against the police involving the dishonour of themselves as well as their own countrymen." The words exactly fit the case which is *sub judice*. By what fatality then did His Excellency fail to see that the people would naturally connect his words with the Char-Manair case? We confess that if we were among his lordship's friends our faith in his veracity would have been put to some strain in dissociating his remarks from any recent case.

Our conclusion is that, while we are satisfied that his lordship has great respect for India's womanhood and did not wish to cast any aspersions on Indian women in general, it cannot be said of every part of his letter that it is convincing. Nor can it be said that he is a wise, tactful and statesman-like person.

### Bengal Government's Defeat on Demand for Ministers' Salaries.

The defeat which the Bengal Government has sustained over the demand for Ministers' salaries, which had been rejected once before, was well deserved. For it could never have been intended by the British Parliament when it passed the reformed Government of India Act, that a vote once rejected should be again placed before the same council. But if it was so intended, Parliament probably meant the reforms to be much more useless than we took them to be.

### A Substitute for Punitive Press Laws.

Till recently, the executive could impose heavy securities on printers and publishers of newspapers and presses, and declare presses forfeited to government, without any trial. Perhaps Government is regretting the repeal of the laws which enabled it to thus summarily punish those who incur its dis-



pleasure. And probably for that reason, a substitute has been found for those penal press laws in a new policy. Heavy fines have been recently inflicted on some journalists who had criticized some Government servants. Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall has had to pay Rs. 15,000 as damages in the capacity of editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, which office he has subsequently vacated. Mr. N. C. Kelkar,

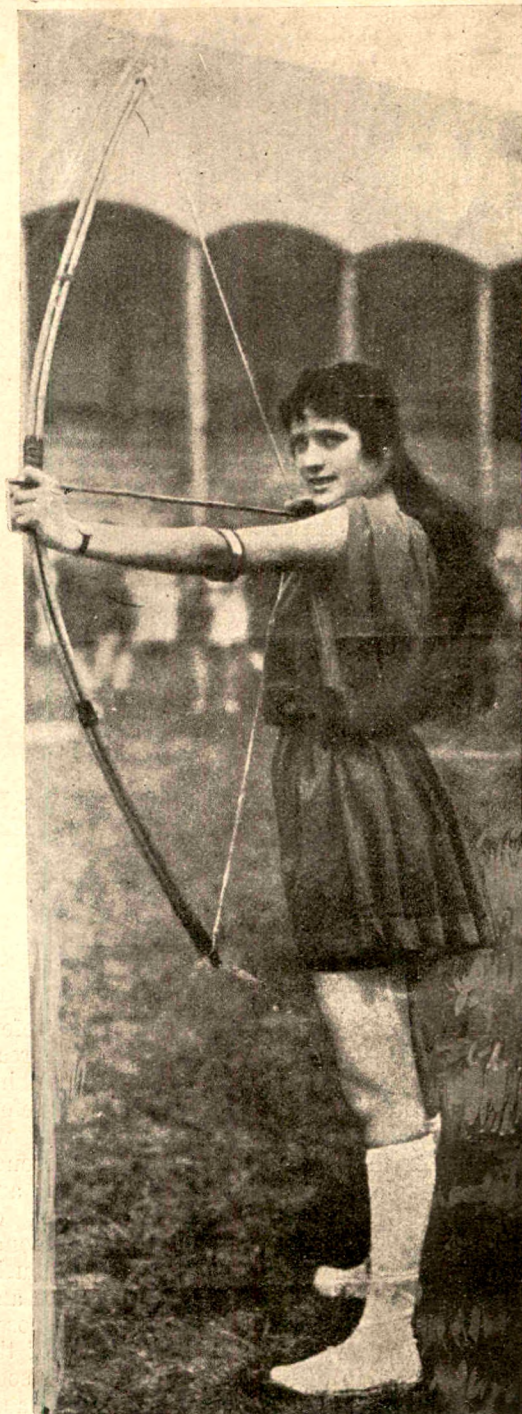


Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Editor *Kesari*

editor of the Marathi weekly *Kesari* has had to pay a fine of Rs. 5000. There have been other examples. Even if these gentlemen were assumed to be technically guilty, the amounts they have been relieved of in order to add to the official white man's burden, are so large as to make the punishment appear vindictive.

### Archery for Women.

Bows and arrows have long ceased to be



"A Stenographer on week-days, practises the art of Robinhood on Sundays."

[Champion Girl-Archer of France—M. Simone Braner]



used as effective weapons of warfare. But archery is still practised in Japan and in many Western countries for its usefulness as a means of physical training. Even women practise it. It may be introduced among our women, too. It would improve their health and help in making them self-possessed. There being nothing peculiarly masculine in it, it cannot have an unsexing effect. In the past the women of many parts of India have been known as good riders; and in modern times, too, many still ride. In fiction, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee has made Shanti ride in his *Ananda Math*, and his Devi Chaudhurani undergo a course of physical exercises such as male athletes undergo.

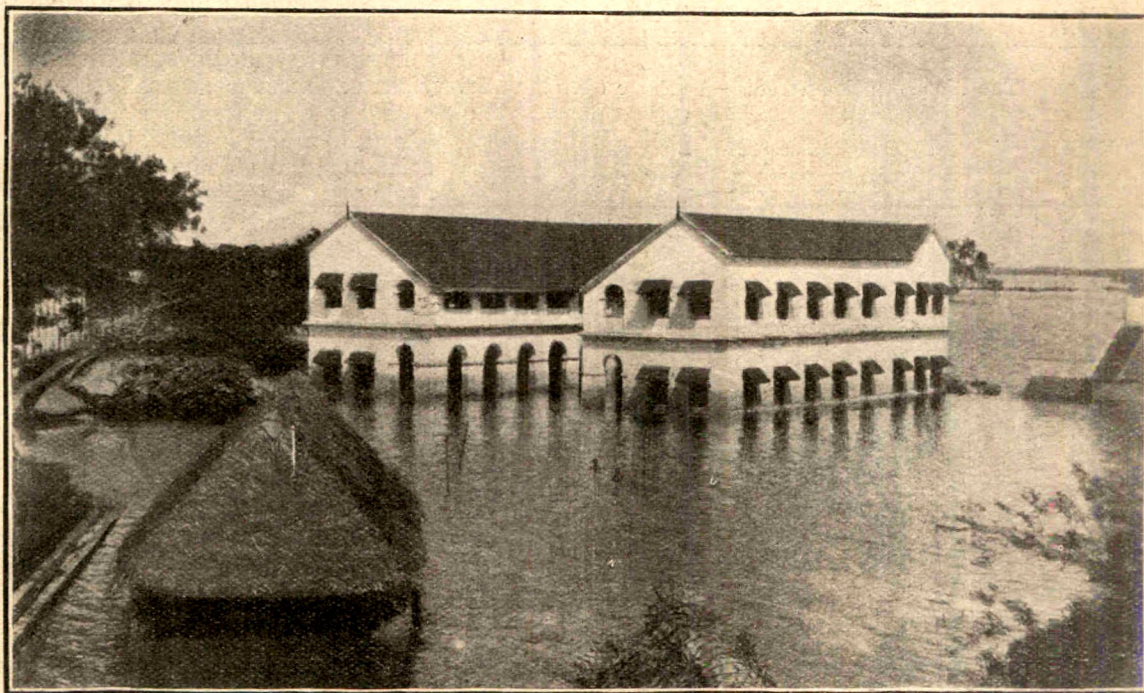
We do not mean that women should shoot at any animals, including mere men, but we do certainly think it desirable that they should do everything that is calculated to improve their physique and their health and increase their self-possession..

#### Destructive Floods in the South.

It is only natural and right that there should be efforts made in all provinces of India to send contributions for the relief

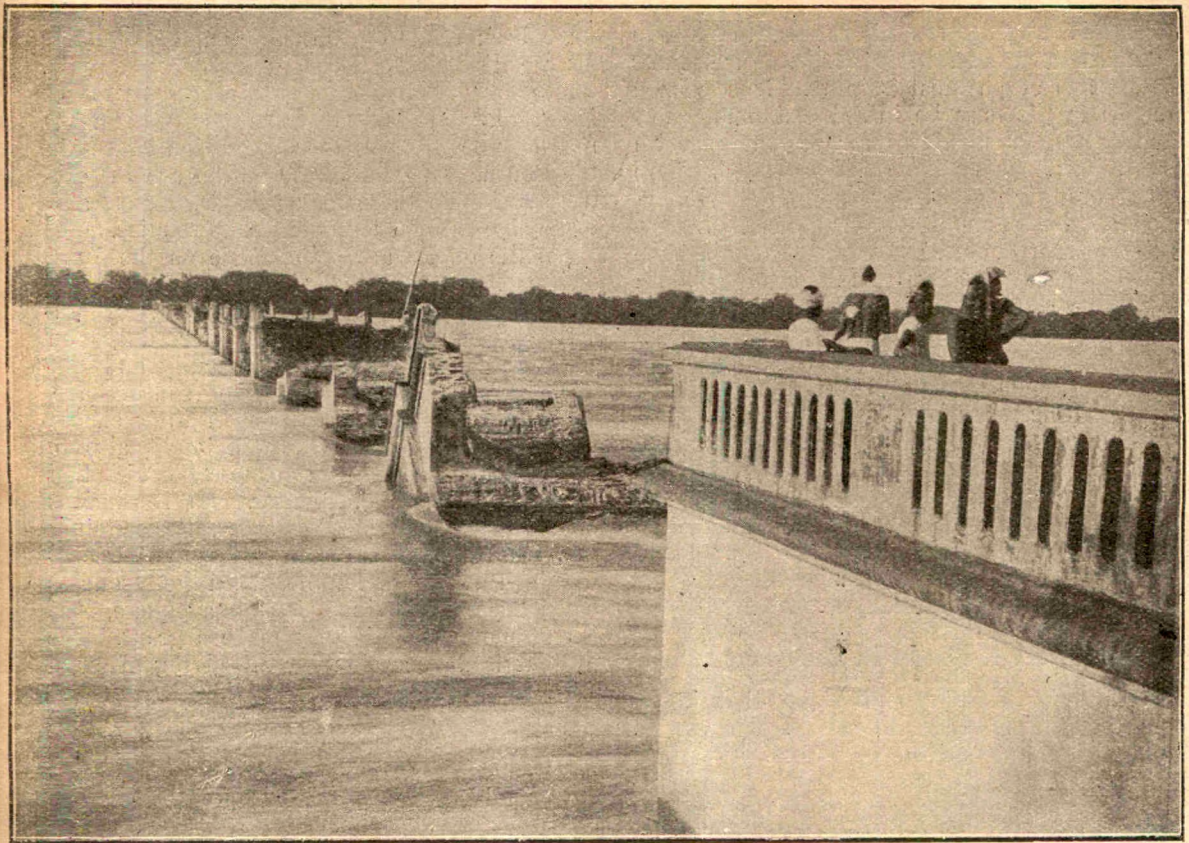
of the hundreds of thousands of people who have been rendered destitute and homeless by the destructive floods in the south of India. There have been floods in other parts of India, too; but the havoc caused by them has not been so great as the devastation caused in the South. Of course, those who are in distress owing to these lesser floods, ought also to receive all the help that they require.

While efforts are being made on the part of the people to relieve distress, similar efforts should also be made by Government. Provincial Governments recognise their duty on these occasions, though often tardily and inadequately. The floods in the south have, however, been so disastrous in their effects, that the Government of India ought also to render adequate help. It cannot be said that it has no duty in the matter. As it derives revenue from the affected areas, it certainly ought to help. The principle is well recognised. In times of famine, when the resources of an affected Province is not adequate, the Government of India may make a grant. The present is an occasion for the giving of such help.

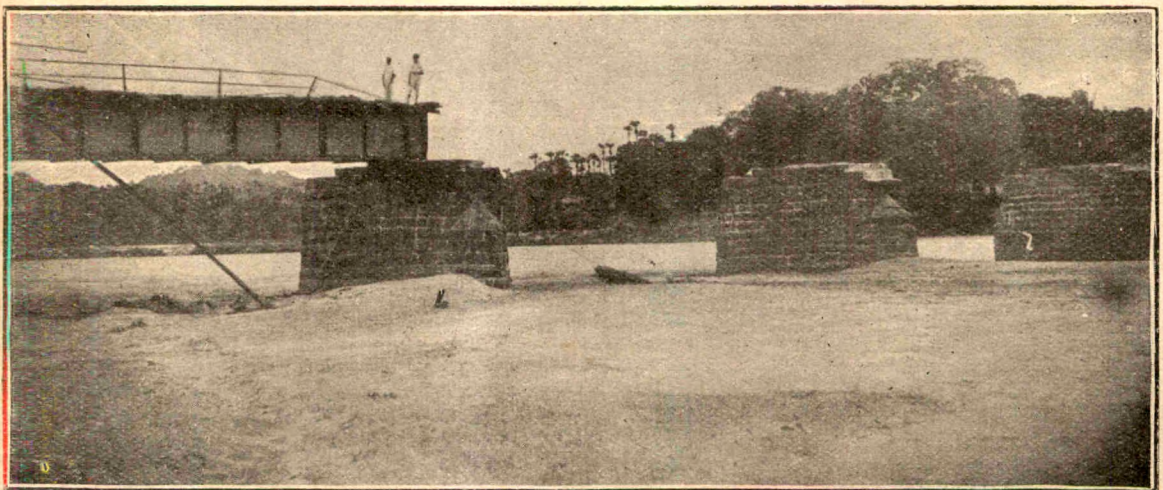


National College Hostel, Trichinopoly under water





The Floods in South India—A Bridge over the Cauvery almost washed away

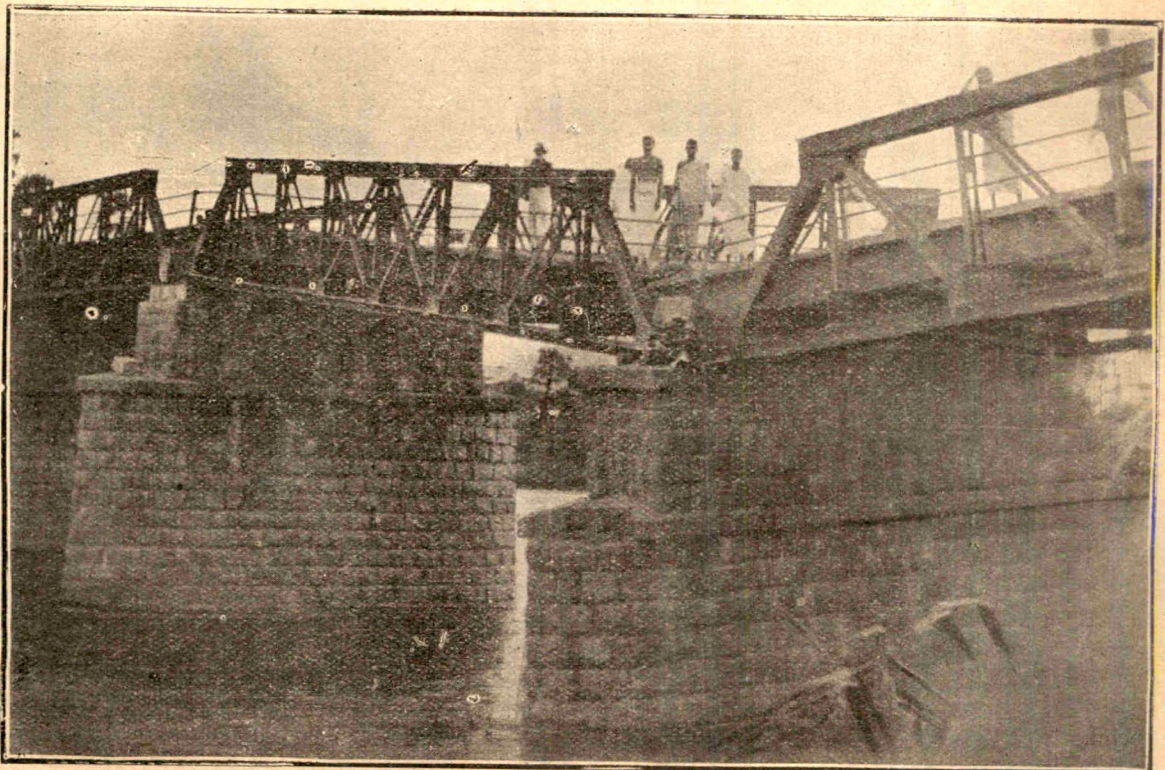


The Shoranur Bridge, on the Cochin State Railway, under water





Shawari Bridge Washed away by the Recent Flood





### The Hundredth Anniversary of South American Independence.

When America is spoken of, it is North America—and particularly the United States of America—that is understood thereby. Similarly when the war of American Independence is referred to, the war of the then British colonies with their mother country is understood. But South America also has fought for and won liberty, and there are glorious chapters in her history, too.

*The Current History Magazine* for August tells of some of the historic and inspiring memories evoked by the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of South American independence on August 6. It was in 1824 that the Spanish armies in South America were virtually annihilated and freedom for the entire continent was achieved.

### Indian Affairs in House of Lords.

During the adjourned debate on India in the House of Lords,

Lord Inchcape said that he had not proposed to intervene in the debate, but Lord Lee, in the speech last week, had asked him whether as a purely business proposition, apart from any philanthropy, he had increased the emoluments of his various staffs in India compared to those before the war. He now replied that young men now went out in his business on emoluments considerably higher than those before the war. The expenses of Europeans in India had greatly increased during the last ten or fifteen years both in the way of food, rent, servants' wages, clothing and railway fares. He was free to admit that the passage rates of Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company were higher than before the war, owing to great increase in running costs. The condition of life of his European employees in India living mostly in the Presidency Towns were altogether different and far more agreeable than those of the bulk of men in the civil services.

The latter were often banished for long periods to the jungle where the amenities of life were to a great extent absent with very little European society and sometimes none, where there was no electric light and no electric fans and very limited area in the shape of decent roads, where food-supplies of good quality were difficult to get and when they could be obtained the cost was far greater than in trading centres. Their wives had to bear the hardship of this banishment in a way which only British women did. They had to suffer in health, loss of their looks, see their children pale and pining through the long hot weather and had to endure separations torn between love for their husbands and for their children. Those of us who had spent twenty or twenty-five years in the plains with the thermometer at anything from 85 to 100 during eight months of the year knew what it was to go through a long Indian day. He could assure such people

that the benevolent sympathy on the part of the commercial employers did exist. They were not tied by any hide-bound rules as he admitted the Government department must necessarily be, and they did have, if he might venture to say so, a certain amount of the milk of human kindness towards those who ground out their corn.

Why does Lord Inchcape and men like him forget that as the expenses of European public servants in India have increased, so have their incomes and privileges? As regards the increase of the emoluments of his various staffs in India compared to those before the war, the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company having to deal with well-to-do customers can increase and have increased their passage rates; and so it has been easy for his Company to pay higher salaries, etc., to their staff. But the Government of India has to derive its revenues from people who are mostly poor, whose cost of living has increased very much faster than their incomes; and therefore, it is not easy and it would not be righteous for Government to add to the bloated salaries of its European servants, which are much larger than the salaries paid to any similar class of officers in wealthy foreign countries.

In this connection, we cannot do better than quote the following passage from an article in the current number of *The Hindustan Review* :

The Lee Commissioners considered it fit to invite comparison in respect of emoluments from British commercial houses in India and talk glibly of the 50—75% increase which the business firms have been forced to concede, of the bonuses and gratuities, of motor car allowances and passages, and finally of the comparatively smaller fund of educational investment in the case of mercantile assistants. The Commissioners seem to ignore the essentially different conditions of service between the two classes. A junior clerk in a business house comes out on a covenant for five years. During this period he knows but few holidays and less leisure; he works under the direct vigilance of a master, who knows no charity. After five years he may or may not be taken on again—he has very little say in the matter. Allowances and bonuses go towards meeting necessary expenses of living in large towns like Calcutta and Bombay where the costs of living are higher by at least 50 per cent than in the mofussil towns. Mercantile assistants in smaller towns and places like Assam Tea Gardens or the coal fields receive much less monetary emoluments. The risks attaching to determination of service after recurring periods of five years do not receive adequate attention from people who go in for comparisons. The Civilian, on the other hand, spends a large portion of his initial years in small settlement areas where you cannot spend even if you wish to. There are no risks of termination of service; promotions and prospects are on a well-determined scale. He is the all-seeing



lord of the district after a few years' probation. The people of the country know how to bend to his slightest wishes—his campings are ever a source of eternal search for gratification of the Sahib's eccentricities in the matter of comforts on the part of his underlings. There is richness of variety in his routine work and his leave rules are ample and sufficient. What hurts him now of course, is the superimposed direction of a Legislature which knows not its job and is incidentally composed of the people of the country of whom he had been accustomed so far to demand obedience and servility. But he belongs to a nation of shopkeepers and you must pay him conscience-money to soothe his ruffled dignity. That this roughly represents the true mentality behind the recommendation, indeed, becomes obvious when we remember that the Indian officers of equal rank and station are denied these extra birth-privileges. So the necessity of increase in emoluments is not inherent in the conditions of the Services, but is demanded by the exigencies of changed political conditions . . . . .

Outside the Presidency towns all or most places where European covenanted civilians are posted are collectively termed, "the jungle" by Lord Inchcape. Most civilians are stationed at the district towns, and a few at sub-divisional towns. "The jungle" is a name which does not at all correctly describe these places. The mercantile lord, who knows it, has been guilty of deliberately misleading the peers and the British public. As regards the amenities of life, such as electric fans, etc., which he refers to, it is necessary to remember that not many years ago not even the Governor-General had these comfortable aids to civilised life, and none of the British empire-builders in India had them. Are the present-day civilians and their wives greater persons than former Governor-Generals and empire-builders that they should bewail their *sans*-electric-fan lot? Lord Inchcape pathetically refers to the banishment of civilians' wives. But there are hundreds of thousands of English women at "home" who would consider themselves lucky if they could have this sort of self-custom exile. As grumblers with a purpose Englishmen would be hard to beat.

The steamer lord refers to the temperature registered by the thermometer in the plains in India. Let us remind him that the conditions of work are not at all better in the Sudan, and yet Earl Winterton writes in *The Asiatic Review*:—

"That hard work, difficult conditions, and indifferent pay do not of themselves act as a deterrent to Civil Service overseas is proved by the case of Africa.

There is, I believe, no difficulty in getting recruits for service in Uganda, Kenya, the Soudan, or in others of our fast expanding African administrative areas. Business and sport happens to

have taken me to different parts of Africa on several occasions. I have been the guest out in the Bush, of Civil Servants, in the Soudan, Kenya and Northern Rhodesia. I can scarcely conceive a harder life than that led, say by a British member of the Soudan Civil Service in the Equatorial Provinces; heat, mosquitoes and risk of fever all the year round, with no real cold season, with fewer British neighbours than are to be found in most up-country districts in India, and a turbulent population to control. Spending, as I once did when recovering from fever, a week or ten days on the verandah of the house of a Provincial Governor\* in the Southern Soudan, I had ample opportunity of observing the daily flow of grievances, petitions, and malefactors from an African Province to its principal officer, unaided by a British assistant. It is hard to conceive that even in India, under similar conditions, the procession could have been greater or its component parts more vociferous. Yet there are no lack of recruits for the Soudan Civil Service.

Lord Inchcape speaks of "the milk of human kindness." But why is not this quality in evidence in thinking of the lot of the poor majority of the Indian population from whom taxes are exacted and with reference to whom Mr. Ramsay MacDonald wrote fifteen years ago:—

"India needs a greatly increased expenditure on its own improvement, e.g., sanitation and education, but the masses are poor. Taxation can be imposed wisely only upon the difference between the cost of decent living and income and that margin in India does not exist for nine-tenths of the population. The official apologists keep reminding us of the low taxation of India, but that has nothing to do with the matter. The question is what is the taxable capacity of the Indian people and as regards the great mass the answer must be practically nil." (*The Government of India*).

Lord Inchcape was very anxious "to get the best brains and the highest class of men to go to India." There is here a sort of begging the question. We know definitely that very many able Englishmen (assuming that Indians, however able, won't do) are without employment in England who would gladly serve here for lower salaries than the Civilians: but then it would be said that they were not the highest class of men. It is this delicious kind of logic which is evident in the following passage from Lord Winterton's article in *The Asiatic Review*:—

I myself believe that if the emoluments of the Services are put on a reasonably good level instead of on the present miserably low one, the right class of recruits from the Universities of this country will again come forward. It must be remembered how small are the entrances to a livelihood open to the successful University man in the present time of world-wide trade depression, and though no one

\* The Office roughly corresponds to that of a District Commissioner in India. The writer.



wishes to see men go into the Indian Civil Services because there is nothing else for them to do, it is legitimate to emphasize the fact that the war has made life in every profession harder than easier. Look, for example, at the terrific strain to which the staff in the higher positions of a British Government Office are put to-day, compared with their predecessors of the eighties and nineties.

Lord Inchcape reminded all whom it may concern that

If the authority of the civil service was undermined, then woe betide the country. (cheers). Murder, riot and raping would be rampant and as even the late Lord Morley said some years ago, remove the supremacy of the British Raj from India and the population would be at each others' throats. (cheers).

The longest lane has a turning. The Russians did fly at each others' throats and have survived the process without the aid of or rather in spite of British political philanthropy. So would it not be better for Indians too, to face the worst and be done with it, instead of having the insult perpetually hurled at their heads? And at present are we very much better off under British rule? Do not thousands of foolish Indians fly at each others' throats even now?

### Mr. Gandhi on Hand-spinning.

*Young India* for August 21, contains the following observations of Mr. M. K. Gandhi on hand-spinning :—

"The cry everywhere is that the Mussalmans are practically not responding to the call at all. It will require a tremendous effort to awaken them to a sense of their duty. And if the Mussalmans come up to the Hindu level in spinning, their work will react upon the Hindus. Boycott of foreign cloth will then become an accomplished fact and with it will be achieved the economic salvation of the masses. With that salvation will come self-confidence. Self-confidence must lead to Swaraj."

We have been using pure Khaddar, i.e., hand-woven cloth made entirely of hand-spun yarn. But we find that its price is more than twice that of mill-made cloth, and it is heavier, rougher and of coarser and more uneven texture. As we mean to stick to Khaddar, we mention, these points in order that improvements may be made in these respects and the price may be lowered.

Every improvement in the condition of the people and whatever they may achieve by their own efforts may undoubtedly be of some indirect help to them in winning

Swaraj. To that extent hand-spinning may indirectly promote the cause of Swaraj. But the direct advantage is to afford the underfed and the unemployed a supplementary source of income, however small, which they cannot have in any other way that we know of. Of course, the spinning wheel cannot be thought of as a permanent institution. But so cannot the common country plough or the hand-saw also; these will be replaced by the steam plough and the power saw. The bullock cart has already been partly driven out of the field in large cities by motor lorries. But the more primitive implements and conveyances still continue to be of use to man over the greater portion of India. And even the most up to date appliances of industry are being constantly scrapped in favour of more improved ones. So, no appliance, however, primitive, is to be despised or rejected, if it can be used to advantage under present circumstances, though it should not at the same time be made a fetish of.

Swaraj can be won only by weapons of the spirit. Of course, the soul will use material means. But where the spirit is absent, no organisation or mechanical contrivance, primitive or modern, can be of any avail.

### Addition to the White Man's Burden.

In reply to a question put in the British House of Commons by Sir Charles Yate, Prof. Richards stated recently that in revising the rates of pay of the Army in India which were to come into force shortly, he would take into full consideration the present cost of living of Europeans in India, which has been estimated by British Government officials to be more than that in 1914 by sixty per cent. That means that British soldiers and officers in India are to get much higher pay than before. But why does not Government institute an inquiry to find out by what per cent. the income and the cost of living of Indians in India have increased during the last decade. It is the height of unrighteousness and political folly to make the yoke of the stranger heavier without ascertaining the human cattle's power to bear it.





### Sakuntala

By the courtesy of the artist, Mr. Ranadacharan Ukil.



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## THE SCHOOLMASTER

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

IF fifty years ago some prophet had come and told me that I was to be invited to a meeting of the teachers of Japan to discuss my ideas of education, it would have startled even the imagination of a poet. For, I suppose, some of you at least know that, since I was thirteen, I have hardly ever been inside an educational institution until latterly when I have my reputation as a poet and am invited to lecture.

Thus, when I felt it my duty to start a school for the children, I had hardly any experience of education. This was possibly an advantage for me. Not being tied down by cut and dried doctrines of education, I had to find my own experience through experiment and failure. I was made intensely conscious when I was young of what was wrong in education. It drove me away from school, and it was that which made me decide, when quite old, to found an institution where some of these mistakes should not be made, mistakes from which I had suffered as a boy.

When, at about the age of five, I was forced to attend school, my whole heart rose in rebellion against an arrangement where there was no tinge of colour, no play of life, where the lessons had no context with their surroundings, and where I was banished from that paradise, to which I had been born, where Nature dwells full of beauty,—and this for no crime but that of being born ignorant. I was banished into a cage where education was provided from outside as birds are fed. My whole heart felt the indignity of treatment, even though I was so young.

Our system of education refuses to admit that children are children. Children are punished because they fail to behave like grown-up people and have the impertinence to be noisily childish. Their educators do not know, or they refuse to acknowledge that this childishness is Nature's own provision and that the child through its restless mind and movements should always come into touch with new facts and stumble upon new information. Thus the child becomes the battle-ground for a fight between the schoolmaster and mother Nature herself.

The schoolmaster is of opinion that the best means of educating a child is by concentration of mind, but Mother Nature knows that the best way is by dispersion of mind. When we were children, we came to gather facts by such scattering of mental energy, through unexpected surprises. The surprise gave us that shock which was needed to make us intensely conscious of the facts of life, of the world. Facts must come fresh to children to startle their minds into full activity. But such activity itself was held to be intolerable by the schoolmaster who reigned in the class I was compelled to attend. The master insisted that I should have to be passive and my mind rebelled every moment; for Mother Nature encouraged me never to accept this tyranny from that man.

It is the utter want of purpose in child life which is important. In adult age, having made our life a bundle of a few definite purposes, we exclude all facts outside their boundaries. Our purpose wants to occupy all the mind's attention for itself, obstructing

the full view of most of the things around us; it cuts a narrow bed for our deliberate mind which seeks its end through a restricted passage. The child, because it has no conscious object of life beyond living, can see all things around it, can hear every sound with a perfect freedom of attention, not having to exercise choice in the collection of information. It gives full rein to its restlessness which leads its mind into knocking against knowledge. Like a stream going over pebbles, it hurls itself against obstructions, and through them finds more and more velocity.

But the schoolmaster, as I have said, has his own purpose. He wants to mould the child's mind according to his ready-made doctrines and therefore wants to rid the child's world of everything that he thinks will go against his purpose. He excludes the whole world of colour, of movement, of life, from his education scheme, and snatching the helpless creature from the mother heart of Nature, shuts it in his prison-house, feeling sure that imprisonment is the surest method of improving the child mind. This happens only because he himself is a grown-up person who, when he wants to educate himself has to take the deliberate course of choosing his own subject and material. Therefore he naturally thinks that in educating children that kind of choice is good which is exclusive, that children should attain special facts and that they should have a special manner of acquiring facts. He does not understand that the adult mind in many respects not only differs from, but is contrary to the child mind.

It is like forcing upon the flower the mission of the fruit. The flower has to wait for its chances. It has to keep its heart open to the sunlight and to the breeze, to wait its opportunity for some insect to come seeking honey. The flower lives in a world of surprises, but the fruit must close its heart in order to ripen its seed. It must take a different course altogether. For the flower the chance coming of an insect is a great event, but for the fruit its intrusion means an injury. The adult mind is a fruit mind and it has no sympathy for the flower mind. It thinks that by closing up the child mind from outside, from the heart of Nature and from the world of surprise it can enable it to attain true maturity. It is through this tyranny of the adult mind that the children are everywhere suffering, and when I was about forty I thought I must save some of them, so far as

lay in my power, from these mistakes made by prudent people of adult age.

There is no room for surprises in the schoolroom, only the perfect symmetry which can be of non-life. Every morning, exactly on the stroke of the clock, the pupil must attend school, must come to a particular class, to hear the same subject taught by the same teacher of forbidding aspect. Exactly at a particular hour he finds his freedom. The holidays are all on the calendar long beforehand, and everything is mechanically accurate and perfect.

This is all right for grown-up people. It is profitable for a business man to be steady and punctual in his work, in his routine. It is even enjoyable when he has a prevision of the profit at the end of the month; he is rewarded when he finds something at its market value.

But the child has no such reward of expectation. From day to day, from month to month he goes on through the routine, not knowing what he is to get from his unmeaning sufferings. At the end of the year he comes to the terrible trial of examinations. Then comes injustice, for boys who work hard, but fail to get full marks, are deprived of the reward of their labour, the consolation of the prize. This is a cruel slavery in which to drill the child mind. It is demoralising. It exacts perfect obedience at the cost of individual responsibility and initiative of mind.

Has it any great or real value? We are saved from trouble when the children, who have their restless wings given them by Nature are at last put into this cage. But we kill that spirit of liberty in their mind, the spirit of adventure, which we all bring with us into the world, the spirit that every day seeks for new experiences. This freedom is absolutely necessary for the intelligent growth of the mind, as well as for the moral nature of children.

Eventually the whole scheme goes wrong, the police have to come and take the place of conscience. We are drilling prisoners for our prison-houses, imbeciles for our lunatic asylums; we are killing the mind of the children by crushing their inherent power of gathering facts for themselves, by generalisation and analysis, through breaking things and being naughty. This spirit of naughtiness is the greatest gift the child of man brings with him.

When I started my school, I was fortunate in having almost all the naughty boys from the neighbourhood and even from distant

parts of the country. Because our parents were not used to sending their boys to boarding-schools, only the most intractable boys came so that I had an interesting gathering of just those children who are most preached against in the Sunday-school books.

Who were these naughty boys? Those who had a special gift of energy which the whole spirit of discipline prevailing in respectable society could not wholly still into absolute passivity. Therefore they were considered troublesome and therefore the parents often asked me to punish them, —even when they did nothing wrong. They believed in the code of punishment itself as though it were some bitter medicine for the liver, a regular dose of which was good for the moral health of wicked boys.

But you must know that vigour and energy are Nature's best gifts to children, and there is always a fight between this vigour and the code of respectability in our civilised homes. Through this eternal conflict have been born all kinds of aberration and real wickedness, through an unnatural repression of what is natural and good in itself.

I never used any coercion or punishment against my unruly boys. Most of us think that in order to punish boys who are wicked, a restraint of their freedom is necessary. But restriction itself is the cause of Nature going wrong. When mind and life are given full freedom they achieve health. I adopted the system of freedom cure, if I can give it the name. The boys were allowed to run about, to climb difficult trees, and often to come to grief in their falls. They would get drenched out in the rain, they would swim in the pond. Through Nature's own method a cure came to these boys who were considered wholly bad and when they returned home, their parents were surprised to find the immense change effected.

Freedom is not merely in unrestricted space and movement. There is such a thing as unrestricted human relationship which is also necessary for the children. They have this freedom of relationship with their mother, though she is much older in age,—in fact through her human love, she feels no obstruction in their communion of hearts, and the mother almost becomes a comrade to her children. This gift of love which Nature has given the mother is absolutely necessary for children because this love is freedom, and so I felt, in this Insti-

tution, that our young pupils who came away from their mothers, should have their freedom of relationship with their teachers.

I became the playmate of my students and shared their life completely. When I had a few, I was almost the only teacher they had, and yet they were not frightened at the disparity of age between them and myself. They felt the spirit of home in this place. What is the spirit of the home? It is the natural kinship of a boy with his brothers, his family, and the resulting atmosphere in which the heart finds its full amount of space.

Most teachers do not know that in order to teach boys they have to be boys. Unfortunately schoolmasters are obsessed with the consciousness of their dignity as grown-up persons and as learned men, and therefore they always try to burden the children with their grown-up manners and their learned manners, and that hurts the mind of the students unnecessarily.

I try to let them realise that though we have our difference of age, yet, like wayfarers, we are travelling the same path together—old and young, we are working for the same goal. It is not that we, the teachers, have reached that goal and they the pupils, are immensely away from us. This immensity of difference is a frightful thing. It should never be allowed to work on the minds of children.

There is a lack of living growth in our educational institutions. These institutions are things completed. They are made with iron bars and skilfully built for the accommodation of children within them. But I wanted to let the boys feel that it was not their cage but their nest—that is to say, they also had to take part in building it themselves. The edifice of education should be our common creation, not only the teachers', not only the organisers', but also the students'. The boys must give part of their life to build it up and feel that they are living in a world which is their very own and that is the best freedom which man can have.

If we live in an arrangement which is not our own, but which is made by somebody else, however wise he may be, it is no real world of freedom for us. For our creative mind craves expression for itself in building its own world. I wanted to give that satisfaction to my students, and to give them freedom to manage their own affairs as much as was possible. I always urged them to realise that this school was not mine, but theirs; that the school was not com-



pleted—that it waited for its completion through their co-operation; that they have come to learn, by collaborating with their teacher. And I think that students in my institution understood my idea and, because they understood it, they developed an intense love for this institution which they always take occasion to visit whenever they find time and opportunity after they have left it.

I had to consider these significant facts: The birds and animals and men are born with an active mind which seeks its freedom. This activity which they bring with them seeks its world of freedom for its self-education. Then it also has its activity of heart, which seeks for its freedom in the natural relationship of sympathy. Then also it has its activity of soul which seeks its opportunity to create the world for itself—a world of freedom. All these we have to keep in mind in our effort to educate children.

This active mind of theirs must not be thwarted by constant imposition from outside; and their active heart must not be restricted through the unsympathetic obstruction of artificial relationship; and the active creative will must not be allowed to dwindle away into utter passivity through want of opportunity. So in my institution I try to make provision for these three aspects of freedom—freedom of mind, freedom of heart and freedom of will.

I have a deep-rooted conviction that only through freedom can man attain his fulness of growth, and when we restrict that freedom it means that we have some purpose of our own which we impose on the children, and we have not in mind Nature's own purpose of giving the child its fulness of growth. When we want to have more leaves from a tree, we try to train it in such a manner as to suppress its energy of producing flowers and fruit and then all its energy can be utilised in producing leaves, but that does not really give completeness of life for the tree.

If we have some purpose expressed through our educational institutions—that children should be producing patriots, practical men, soldiers, bankers, then it may be necessary that we have to put them through the mechanical drill of obedience and discipline! but that is not the fulness of life, not the fulness of humanity. He who knows that Nature's own purpose is to make the boy a full man when he grows up—full in all directions, mentally and mainly spirit-

ually—he who realises this, brings up the child in the atmosphere of freedom. Unfortunately we have our human weakness, and we have our love of power, and some teachers—most schoolmasters—have that inherent love of power in them, and they find this field ready-made for its exercise upon these helpless children.

I have noticed this fact, that those teachers who pride themselves on being disciplinarians are really born tyrants, as so many men are, and in order to give outlet to their inherent lust for tyranny, they make use of these helpless children and impose on them their own code of behaviour. They try to crush their minds with tasks which are lifeless, which are mechanical, which kill the intellectual mind, the fresh mind. They impose all kinds of torture because these tyrants take pleasure at the very sight of it, and such a great opportunity for such enjoyment they can never hope to attain outside their school premises.

This is not only torture and misery for the pupils, but it causes the greatest mischief possible in the human world,—this choice of the schoolmaster's profession by people who ought to have for their vocation that of executioner or prison-warder or something of that kind. An immense amount of sympathy and understanding and imagination are needed to bring up human children. They are not produced and trained for some purposes of display, they are not dancing bears or monkeys. They are human beings, with the treasure of their mind and their spirit. And that work should never be left to the care of those who have no imagination, no real sympathy for children, who cannot be a child. He who has lost the child in himself is absolutely unfit for this great work of educating human children.

Unfortunately for me the language I am using is not yours nor mine, and it is taking a long time. I cannot go fully into details about my system and manner of education owing to this obstruction. But I have given you the general principles of the education which I believe to be true, and it is this—that as God himself finds his own freedom in his own creation and then his nature is fulfilled, human beings have to create their own world and then they can have their freedom. And for that they must be trained, not to be soldiers, not to be clerks in a bank, not to be merchants but to be the makers of their own world and their own destiny. And for that

they must have all their faculties fully developed in the atmosphere of freedom.

We, who only believe in book education, distort the minds of those boys who have their natural gift of teaching themselves through their work, through their direct observation. We force them to accept book lessons, and by doing it we kill for good their power to create their own world. This is happening to most of the human boys. We impose upon them our ideas and also those which are secondhand ideas for us.

That to create our own world has been the purpose of God, we see when we find that, even as children we had our one and only pleasure in that play where, with trifling materials, we gave expression to our imagination. That is more valuable to us as children than gold or banknotes or anything else. The same thing is

true with regard to every human individual. We forget this value of the individual creative power because our minds become obsessed with the artificial value which is made prevalent in society by other peoples' valuation of a particular manner of living, a particular style of respectability. We force ourselves to accept that imposition and we kill the most precious gift that God has given us, the gift of creation, which comes from His own nature.

God is creator, and as His children we, men and women, also have to be creators. But that goes against the purposes of the tyrant, of the schoolmaster, of the educational administration, of most of the governments, each of whom want the children to grow up according to the pattern which they have set for themselves.

## NATIONHOOD OF DOMINIONS WITHIN THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS AND INDIA

By TARAKANATH DAS. M. A., PH. D., AUTHOR OF "INDIA IN WORLD POLITICS", ETC.

SELF-governing dominions within the British Empire are every day asserting their rights as independent nations associated with the British Commonwealth of Nations enjoying equal rights with Great Britain in every respect even in matters of defence and foreign relations. This assertion has been increasingly evident since the conclusion of the World War. The Dominion of Canada is asserting her rights more persistently without making much fuss about it.

Lately a few incidents happened in international affairs which marked the stand of Canada that the British Empire must have to hear Canada in dealing with foreign nations if the latter is to abide by the decision; and if there be any international negotiation with another nation in which purely Canadian interest is involved, then it would be the Canadian representative who would conduct the negotiations and sign the agreement on behalf of Canada, a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Canada asserted this right in concluding the so-called Halibut

Treaty (regarding fishing rights between the United States and Canada). When Lloyd George called upon the dominions to respond to the call to arms against Turkey, Canada paid no attention to it, because she was not consulted in the matter. Recently when the question of ratification of the Lausanne Treaty by Canada was asked for by the British Government, the Canadian premier refused to refer the question to the Canadian Parliament, because no Canadian representative participated in the Lausanne Conference. Canada ratified the treaty merely as a matter of form. The following press despatch shows that a momentous change has come in matters of transaction of foreign relations of Canada.

Ottawa, July 5

A commercial treaty between Belgium and Canada wherein each grants to the other most favored nation treatment on its whole tariff schedule, has been signed at Laurier House, the home of the prime Minister, W. L. Mackenzie King, by Baron de Selys, the Belgian Consul-General, and James A. Robb, acting Minister of Finance, and Dr. Henry Beland, Minister of the Soldiers Civil Re-establishment.

This treaty has the distinction of being the first to be signed in Canada. Negotiations in this connection were begun last year, when the ministers were in Europe. There is a likelihood of a similar treaty being arranged with the Netherlands.

Canada has reached this stage of political independence after strenuous efforts. It is a misconception that after the American revolution and the establishment of the Republic of the United States of America, Great Britain granted the right of self-government to the Canadian people. It is a fact that in 1778 the British Parliament passed an Act to the effect that it would not tax the British colonies in America and West Indies to raise revenue for Great Britain, although it reserved the right of taxation for the purpose of regulation of trade. In fact after the American revolution, the attitude of the British Government in Canada became more autocratic than ever before. The condition in Canada became intolerable and in 1837 revolts broke out. They were easily suppressed; but these revolts produced the beginning of a profound change in the administration of Canada leading to her present status.

In 1839 Lord Durham was sent to Canada to investigate the condition and to report the results of his study to the British Parliament. The summary of this momentous report was that he recommended that the people of Canada be ruled by a responsible Cabinet such as the people of the British Isles have; the Governor of Canada as the representative of the King would exercise his power as the King of England does in relation to the Cabinet and the British Parliament. Canada should have full control over the internal affairs of the country; but matters of imperial interest, particularly foreign policy and imperial trade, should be reserved by the British Parliament.

Both the Whigs and the Tories opposed this solution and extension of self-government in Canada until 1848. After seventy-five years of exertion, Canada has assumed the role of really an independent nation within the British Commonwealth of Nations. After the World War, Canada sent its Premier to sign the Treaty of Versailles and she became a member of the League of Nations as a sovereign State and she sends her own representative responsible to the Canadian Government to the League Assembly. Canada has her special representative in Washington connected with the British Embassy and it is now being discussed that Canadian Legations will be inaugurated in Washington, Paris and other important capitals.

In the matter of asserting of independent status, Australia and other dominions have followed the foot-steps of Canada. General Smuts, the ousted Premier of the South African Union has been a persistent advocate of independence of the Dominions in matters of foreign relations. General Smuts aided in the solution of the Anglo-Irish conflict and helped the Irish statesmen to secure full dominion status. The Irish Free State is certainly exerting its right of a self-governing dominion within the British Commonwealth of Nations to the fullest extent. (Here it may be noted that in the treaty signed between the Irish Free State and Great Britain, the term "British Commonwealth of Nations" has been first officially used in place of the term "British Empire.") The Irish Free State has already sent its envoy Prof. Smidy to Washington and is negotiating with other nations such as France for establishing direct diplomatic relations. The following comments would show that some sections of British opinion are not quite favourable to the idea.

London, June 28.—Commenting on the appointment of a minister of the Irish Free State at Washington, the political correspondent of The Observer writes as follows:

"Mr. Thomas spoke with satisfactory emphasis to the address of those who may cherish the project of appointing an Irish Minister to Washington as a lever toward the attainment of republicanism. Labor is as firm in closing the door to that ambition as any other party in British politics.

"Whether the benevolent patronage extended by Thomas and Lord Haldane to separate Irish representation at Washington is equally judicious is another question. Doubtless Ireland is entitled to take this step under the treaty. But to offer active welcome to this development of diplomatic complexities rather suggests that the Ministers are prepared to bear philosophically the troubles of those who will come after them.

"In constitutional rights, the cases of Canada and Ireland may be the same but in every practical sense they are widely different. Canada has a constant schedule of neighborly business to be transacted with Washington, to which Ireland has no parallel."

The Sunday Times's political correspondent says that the Free State Government proposes also to appoint a Minister Plenipotentiary to Paris.

"The French Government was directly approached on the subject some time back," he says, "but regarded the proposal with considerable dubiousness, and decided to ascertain the views of the Foreign Office. Even when our Foreign Office intimated that they would take no objection, they still hesitated to accede to the request, which they felt to be an awkward precedent. But now that Washington has given the lead, they will doubtless intimate their readiness to receive the Free State's representative."

In the recent election, the South African



Government under General Smuts has suffered a serious defeat and the party headed by General Hertzog has come into power. The campaign was fought out on the issue of "separation of South Africa from the British Empire" and the separatists have won the election. Now it has been frankly admitted that General Hertzog's government does not mean to separate itself from the British Commonwealth of Nations, but it would make vigorous assertion in matter of its sovereign rights including foreign relations. One of the first acts of the present government is to see what can be done to have its representatives in all foreign capitals; and it has been suggested that a South African Diplomatic representative be sent for all the European countries and he should have his headquarters at the Hague. This means self-government within the British Commonwealth of Nations to the extent of fullest assertion in foreign relations.

The people of India do not enjoy self-government. Thus India is not a self-governing dominion; and the Indian statesmen should remember what the Irish Foreign Minister had to say about status of the Indian representative in the last Imperial Conference. India is a member of the League of Nations and pays over 75,000 pounds sterling annually as her share of bearing the burden of maintaining the organization, but her status in the League is questionable and not independent. The struggle for Swaraj in India, if it has any meaning at all, and if it is not merely a mental attitude, means that the people of India are working to recover the full sovereign rights of a nation equal to that of Great Britain, United States, Japan, France, and others. It would mean that India will have full control over her foreign affairs, national defense as well as internal affairs.

The foreign relations of a nation grow with external contact and need of settlement of international complications. We wish to point out that Great Britain is not the only nation interested in India. Russian representatives in London were anxious to come in touch with the leaders of various political parties in London and it was through the enlightened efforts of Mr. Saklatwala that Lala Lajpat Rai and others had the opportunity of meeting the members of Russian delegation in London, now engaged in negotiation with Great Britain. Statesmen of Japan, Turkey,

France are no less interested in coming in direct contact with nationalist India. However, India's great bulk of international relations is with the British Empire; so it is imperative that nationalist India should have its own representative in London and he should be one of the recognised leaders of the nation. He should not only be credited with proper credentials from the Executive authorities of the All-India National Congress as the official spokesman of the All-India National Congress in London, but for all Europe and the League of Nations. He should be aided with necessary funds and assistants to carry on the work of representation of India with proper dignity. Mahatma Gandhi and his "No change" adherents, who do not believe in the programme of carrying on India's struggle for recovery of sovereign rights by all possible means may object to this concrete proposition of establishing International relations of India at London and other centers of the world. But I appeal to the Indian statesmen who have world vision to depute Lala Lajpat Rai to act in England and Europe in the same capacity as Benjamin Franklin represented the thirteen colonies in the deputation sent to this British Parliament in 1765 to plead for self-government of the American colonies, long before the fateful days of 1776 when the Declaration of Independence of America, the greatest charter of human liberty, was signed on July 4, by the representatives of the thirteen colonies assembled in the Continental Congress held at Philadelphia.

I also pray that the All-India National Congress should be persuaded to delegate Lalaji to go to Geneva, before the League of Nations as the spokesman of the Indian nation to expose the hypocrisy of the British Government, on the opium question. Whatever may be the difference of opinion in party politics, in internal matters and tactics of carrying on the struggle for the attainment of Swaraj in India, there is no room for a disunited front when meeting problems of foreign relations. I entreat that all political parties of nationalist India should unite and take proper steps to empower Lala Lajpat Rai to act as the first Indian Ambassador to Great Britain and the League of Nations and other countries in Europe.

NEW YORK CITY.

July 7, 1924.

# THE AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT OF BENGAL—A REVIEW

## I. THE DEPARTMENT.

SOME of our countrymen are always severe on the Department. In their opinion it is more a show than a Department of Science. They compare the results so far achieved with the money spent on it and find nothing to its credit. There are others again who think that money ought to be more lavishly spent than it is, for they argue, if the country has not derived any substantial benefit, it is because sufficient money has not been forthcoming.

We do not agree with either of these two classes of critics, though we confess there is some truth in their opinions. Sometimes the policies of a Department are not sufficiently considered at its inception in the light of the conditions of the country, and when the result appears to us disappointing we blame the Department. We forget that the Government have advisers who are our countrymen and know or are supposed to know the conditions. We have heard it said by a well-informed critic that the policy of the Government in the Agricultural Department is to improve and encourage the cultivation of those crops the produce of which is exported. It may be true that the origin of the Department was due to the *bania* instinct of our rulers and some of the activities may yet be influenced by the British traders. But if the Department does not satisfy us, we believe the fault is ours. For the last three years the Department was under a minister, a countryman of ours. But was he able to effect any change which we all hail with delight? In our humble opinion in spite of conferences and meetings of Advisory Bodies held by the late minister, the Department cannot be as useful to the country as we desire until we the people interest ourselves in its work. With this idea we propose to review the work done by the Department during the last four years 1918-1921 for which we have Reports and to suggest what to us appear improvements.

At the outset we must say that we feel great difficulty in following the Reports. For nowhere do we find the policy of the Department described and the machinery to carry it out. Fortunately for us the aims and objects of the Department are incidentally

mentioned in the Report for the last year. It is said that "the proper function of the Department is research, experiment and demonstration of improvements." As to the organisation, all that we find is that there is a Director, that there are Deputy-Directors, Superintendents, Demonstrators, District Officers, Experts, men in the Lower Subordinate service, in the Upper Subordinate service, in the Bengal service, etc. Possibly the Reports are meant only for the Government to whom the information we are seeking is wellknown. But we must say that this is rather hard on the general public, and the Government cannot justly complain that the critics are "uninstructed." Surely the information would not have occupied more than a page.

As we cannot proceed without an idea of the organisation, we are obliged to piece together incidental references found here and there. As a Director submits the Report to the Government, and as the name implies, he is the head of the Department. Next we find three Deputy Directors submitting Reports to the Director. These gentlemen are in charge of three circles, Northern, Eastern and Western. Apparently there is none for the Southern. But it is curious to find the Directors asking for two more Deputy Directors, one for the Burdwan and another for the Chittagong Division. He speaks of Divisions, and not of circles, as the Deputy Directors do. A question arises here: Is the Province divided for the purpose of the Department into Circles or into Divisions, and are the latter the same as the Administrative Divisions of Government? Do they represent five distinct agricultural areas? We know, however, that the five Divisions are not exactly five geographical units.

There are Experts, and their designations are—Agricultural Chemist, Economic Botanist, and Fibre Expert. There are two Economic Botanists. Here again a question arises: Why are these officers only called Experts? Are not the Deputy Directors so many Experts? Then again, what is the relation of the Deputy Directors to the Experts? The former, though agricultural Experts responsible for the Department, appear, from the Reports, to have lower position. This is

confirmed by the fact that during the absence of the Director, not a Deputy Director but an Expert—the Fibre Expert—officiated in his place. This appears to us an anomaly. For unless the Expert in Fibre is also an Expert in agriculture he cannot direct properly a Department of agriculture. Besides the Experts there are two other specialists, an entomologist and a mycologist. They are, however, styled “assistants.”

Next we are told that there are 16 Experimental Farms. They are classified as follows. Two Research stations, one at Chinsura and the other at Dacca; a cattle farm and a tobacco farm both in Rangpur; two Demonstration farms owned by private bodies but placed at the disposal of the Department; and the remaining ten District farms. The Director suggests the establishment of a research station for Western Bengal; as the conditions of this part are different from those of Eastern Bengal. This is right as it acknowledges the principle of geographical division. But it is difficult to follow the Director when he proposes to have divisional farms, for instance, one at Rajshahi for the Northern circle. For, such divisional farms are bound to receive more attention than the District farms whose work will be necessarily of inferior quality. Without knowing the objects of the two classes of farms it is hazardous to form an opinion. We are, however, not told who are in direct charge of the farms. In the Report for 1918 they are styled Superintendents and they used to submit reports over their signature. Now these are signed by the Deputy Directors who are thus directly responsible for the work in the farms. There is, however, a heavy item of expenditure under superintendence which amounted to Rs. 80 thousand in 1921-22. Surely then there are Superintendents. But who are they, what do they superintend, and what is their position in the scheme?

Among the activities of the Department during 1921-22, we note the following:—

Agricultural education, Research by the Experts, Experiments at the farms, Seed Production for distribution, Propaganda Work, Agricultural Association and shows. There is also a Provincial Board of agriculture consisting of official and non-official members perhaps to discuss the programme of work. There is a Sericultural Department under the Director of agriculture. We shall have nothing to say about this branch.

Before leaving this preliminary and incom-

plete account of the organisation it will be useful to have an idea of the cost for maintenance. Here it is for 1920-21 in thousands of Rupees.

Receipts	Expenditure
On account of experimental cultivation ... 84	Superintendence ... 80
Jute ... 1	Expert staff (other supervising staff) ... 414
	Experimental farms ... 187
	Agricultural Experiments ... 35
Balance ... 674	Seed stores ... 18
	Agricultural schools ... 22
	Public exhibition and fairs ... 3
	759

Under “Expert staff (other supervising staff)” are perhaps included the salaries and tour expenses of the Directors. It will be seen that the net cost on account of the farms was one lac. It is not clear what the “agricultural experiments” mean. Do these include all experiments whether tried by the Experts or the Directors?

There was an expenditure of 18 thousand rupees on account of seed stores. As there is no receipt shown on this account, the seeds were probably distributed gratis to the public. We are, however, constrained to observe that the classification of the expenditure into heads is confusing.

It will be instructive to compare the gradual increase of cost of the Department and appreciate the importance attached to each item. Excluding the account of sericulture we find that the total net cost has increased from 512 thousands during 1918-19 to 759 thousands during 1921-22, and that while the cost of superintendence has remained the same, the increase has been mainly due to the Expert establishment.

The reader will see that we have to guess a great deal in our attempt to form an idea of the Department. We cannot say that our account is correct. It is hoped the Director will write his report not only for the information of the Government but also of the public as well.

## II. RESEARCH.

Before we venture to write on agricultural research we must explain that our object is not to suggest experiments but to consider the scheme or policy pursued by the Dept. and to see how far it has been successful. At the same time we must disclaim any special knowledge of agriculture, which being an art can be learnt only by practice.

• To be able to appraise the worth of a



Dept. it is necessary to take account of the nature of its work, the difficulties it has to overcome and the stage at which it has to begin. If India had practised agriculture since the advent of the Dept., or if her people were illards incapable of observation it would have been an easy task to suggest improvements as quickly as desired. The fact is however otherwise. They have been growing crops and experimenting with them since a time history fails to estimate. The innumerable varieties of soil and climate have afforded innumerable conditions for variation and observation. And if our cultivators cannot produce as much crop as those of advanced countries, it is because the demand has come only of late and because the socio-economic conditions are not easily changed. What we mean to say is that the agricultural practice as followed in most parts of the country is sound, and the late Mr. N. G. Mukerji in his book on Indian agriculture found nothing to add to or modify by way of improvement. In this connection we would advise the reader to read, if he has not done so, the report by Dr. Voelcker. It is as remarkable for the accuracy of judgment, the breadth of vision embracing the details of Indian agriculture, the keen insight into the conditions of the cultivators as for important suggestions. Dr. Leather's Report which followed is like the usual report of a chemical analyst. There are undoubtedly valuable data, but mere data without synthesis is like bricks without a structure. It was at one time believed that life is a chemico-physical process, and chemical and physical analysis of soils and crops exhausted the resources of the agriculturist. Even now the idea persists as if soil and water and the vague term, "Climate" are the determining factors of a crop. Soil and water no doubt play a very important part in the nutrition of plants, but they are still only a part of the environment in which they grow. The study of the characters of a plant in relation to the environment has been long neglected. The delicate instruments devised by Sir J. C. Ecse which would extraordinarily shorten the labour are perhaps more valued in western countries than in the country of their invention.

On referring to the report for 1921-22, we find that the chemical section was occupied with analysis of soils and manures, sugar-cane and tobacco. This was in continuation of the work of the previous year.

The Fibre Expert devoted his attention

to jute. The public are perhaps under the impression, as we were before reading the reports, that a fibre expert is one who knows all about the different kinds of fibres. From the reports it is clear that the impression is wrong. For he is engaged in improving the fibre-yielding capacity of crops, such as jute. It was also his business to discover a means to combat Water Hyacinth, though the weed does not contain anything like fibre. As he is engaged also in paper-making experiments with the husk of betelnut, may we suggest trial with Water-Hyacinth? Recently, he, as the officiating Director of Agriculture, has advised the cultivators to use rotten hyacinth as a manure. Without disputing the usefulness, may we enquire whether the seed contained in the apparently rotten plant will germinate and spread widely in the fields the menace which has hitherto baffled all attempts at eradication? The use of its ash as manure may supply potash to the soils; but does not the ash contain chlorine in large quantity which if added year after year may result in making the soil barren? We do not say that these questions have not occurred to the Fibre Expert, but in the absence of any mention of conditions in the use of the ash we are not free from apprehension. Then again seeing that the plant is rich in nitrogen and potash we wonder why the discovery was not made long ago.

Lastly there are the reports of the Botanists. The second Botanist was engaged unlike the Fibre Expert or the first Botanist who had *aus* and *aman* paddy for research in improving a variety of crops from deep water paddy through pulses and oilseeds to cotton. The cotton is technically not a fibre and therefore not in the province of the Fibre Expert.

At the second annual conference of the Board of Agriculture held at Dacca in 1921, His Excellency the Governor gave an account of the success of the Expert Department. He mentioned the improvement in the variety of jute known as Kakya Bombai and another variety known as Chinsurah Green and also the *aus* paddy known as *Katakara* and the *aman* paddy known as Indrasail as the result achieved by the Experts. He gave also a hint as to the method applied in the discoveries.

He said,

"It is not merely a matter of collecting a large number of seeds and just seeing which gives the best results. These heavy yielding types are produced by a scientific investigation on Mendelian lines of the way in which characteristics are inherited."

The Governor took the audience into confidence and said that the public did not know.

"That the production of these two varieties [of paddy] was only achieved after the careful examination of at least 2000 varieties over a period of five years."

With due respect to the authorities and full appreciation of the value of the discoveries one would like to have a little more information on the point, what the characters are of the original stocks from which the two new varieties have been produced, and what staff and plant-breeders the Expert had to assist him in the examination. A further question also arises,—how long the heavy yielding quality will persist in the open fields? It would seem uncharitable on our part to remind the Department that the expert staff is paid for the work, and no one thinks of thanking another for a thing however valuable it may be, if it is bought. We know that it is customary with Government to thank its officers when they do their duty; but we, Indians, thank only those who do a good service without their receiving any in return. Perhaps we would be considered ungrateful for these remarks and for saying that the eulogium lavished on one branch brings into bold relief the discredit of the other branch of the same department.

A word about the organisation. In the report for 1918-19, we find the Fibre Expert employed as Offg. Chemist. Similarly in 1919-20 a Deputy Director did the duties of both the Chemist and Botanist. We do not mean to say that the duties were not well done, but it appears to us that they did not demand that kind of specialized knowledge which we generally associate with the name of specialists. It is also to be remembered that Bengal enjoyed for years the spectacle of a chemist doing the duties of a meteorologist, possibly on the ground that the works of both require analysis.

### III. EXPERIMENTS.

We have seen that research is carried on by the Experts, while experiments, it appears, are left to the Deputy Directors, who conduct these in the farms. All research by the Experts is, however, not always of enormous difficulty, as for instance the chemical analysis of soils or the juice of sugarcane. Our M.Sc. students, we believe, are quite capable of doing it. Similarly the discovery of a good manure for jute is not dissimilar to that carried out by the Deputy Directors.

In fact, we find the object of the Chinsurah farm thus described. It is,

"to ascertain by experiments what crops, manures and methods of cultivation are suitable for the type of soil existing in Hooghly district generally, and to produce seeds of improved and recommended varieties of crops for distribution."

It is to be remembered that this farm is regarded as one of the two research stations. Hence it is difficult to maintain the classification into research and experiment.

Some may ask why we have been discussing what may appear to them small matters. A perusal of the Reports, however, leaves the impression in one's mind that there is much confusion in the organisation which is reflected in the actual work of the Department. To give another instance. In the reports of the farms which are described as experimental, the work done apart from seed distribution is described sometimes as experiments, sometimes as demonstration, sometimes as operation, and sometimes the two combined. A farm is an institution and unless the object is well defined as in the case of the Chinsurah farm the work is likely to be of perfunctory nature.

Now let us have an idea of the experimental work done in the farms in 1921-22. From the reports for the Western Circle we find that at the Chinsurah farm (150 acres) "experiments were undertaken with a variety of crops and manures. *Dudsar* has been found to be a good heavy yielding *aman* paddy. . . . *Dhaincha* green manuring on *aman* paddy gives the best results. Pusa wheat nos. 4 and 12 were found quite suitable and to be the best yielders . . . The out-turn of wheat from irrigated area was nearly double that of the non-irrigated area." At the Burdwan farm the local *aus*, has for two successive years given better results than *Kataktara* paddy. A farm at Berhampore was started in August 1921 and was not ready except for irrigation of wheat the effect of which was well marked. There was a farm in the Sunderbans managed by the Department but owned by a private gentleman. It was found there "that sugarcane got stunted and that cotton and groundnut would not thrive well on saline soils." The Berhampore farm is in this circle, but it is difficult to see what experiments were undertaken there.

In the Eastern Circle is situated the Dacca farm, the headquarters of the whole Department. The Deputy Director in charge of this circle does not, however, tell us what experiments were conducted by him, but

refers us to the Reports of the farms under him. In the Report for the Northern Circle we give a summary of works done during the year in which we notice irrigation experiments on *rabi* crops and experiments on selected crops as settled by the Experts—the only two items for which we are referred to the Reports of the farms.

A reference to the reports of all the farms shows that the experiments consisted in ascertaining the suitability or otherwise of certain crops to particular soils and climates, of manures to crops, irrigation to crops, and the comparison of one variety with another in out-turn. It is also seen that some of the farm lands was cultivated for seed for distribution among cultivators, sometimes without this definite object in view. As there happened to be more land than was necessary for the trials, a portion, sometimes, a very large portion, was devoted to ordinary cultivation.

It is annoying that some of the Deputy Directors leave the results of the experiments or interpretation to the reader and do not definitely give their conclusions. A detailed statement of experiments without an attempt at analysis is hardly of any value. It seems they do not like to say what has been learnt. It is also surprising that those who initiate experiments feel no interest in their results. If no conclusion can be drawn, the inference is that the experiment was either ill-chosen or that there was some defect in the manner of conducting it. Sometimes we find the Experts dictating the programme. Of course there is no harm in this provided the experiments fall in a line with those that are in progress. There is also a danger of the specialists usurping the function of the agriculturists, the Deputy Directors, and undivided responsibility is always to be deprecated. If the specialists want to verify in the fields the conclusions they arrive at in the Research Farms, the work should, we think, be left to the Deputy Directors.

A study of the Reports of the farms leads us to believe that the experiments are not of such high order for which highly qualified men are necessary, and that a much larger number of experiments could be conducted in each of the farms every year. One must remember that demand for agricultural knowledge is incessant. Indian agriculture on the scientific side is as yet a thing of the future. We are so to say groping in the dark and have therefore to collect as many facts as rapidly as we can. Of course there

are facts which require series of trials for years in various conditions before they can be established, and nobody will be impatient of the delay. The relation of soil constituents to yield of crops is unknown and climatology is as yet undreamt-of not only in this Department but also in others which have a direct bearing on it. The regret is—there has been no attempt at observing the habits of each crop. The first Botanist has just initiated a research in this direction. It seems the importance of the statistical method has not been sufficiently realized.

It cannot be said that because the farms had to raise seeds for distribution or afford facilities for experiments by the Experts that minor experiments such as varietal or manural or what is called Demonstration work could not be more in number or variety than are detailed in the Reports. Sometimes, however, the number of varietal tests conducted in a farm was large and a number of ordinary crops was also included. But it is difficult to discover a system without which the work looks more like that of gardening by the boys of our schools, than of specialists appointed to advance our knowledge of agriculture.

In the Report for 1920-21 issued by Mr. G. Evans, Director of Agriculture is found the following opinion. He writes:—

"I have noticed particularly that apart from the Dacca Central Farm, the experimental work which is being carried out on the Farms of the Department is of decidedly poor quality. This is an indication either that the Deputy Directors have not found time to inspect the farms sufficiently thoroughly or else that they are not sufficiently acquainted with experimental methods."

The same complaint occurs under Agricultural Stations and Farms. He writes:—

"With regard to the experimental work at present being conducted, I am of opinion that apart from the Dacca farm where the standard is satisfactory, much of it is of a disappointing nature and compares unfavourably with the experimental work which is being carried out on similar farms in other provinces. Every endeavour is being made to remedy this state of affairs, but it is a somewhat uphill business. A good many members of the staff do not seem to have had a sufficiently thorough training in experimental work."

Again in the Report for 1921-22 he writes:—

"It is useless opening out agricultural associations or seed farms or expanding in other directions unless the Department can place trained men in charge to supervise or assist and control the work."

It is useless to enquire who are responsible for this state. We fully sympathize with the Director, and endorse his opinion.



Apparently he had to work with men left to him as a legacy by his predecessors.

We do not, however, understand why the Director complains of thorough inspection by the Deputy Directors. In 1920-21, one was on tour for 183, another for 101, and the third for 216 days. In 1921-22, they were on tour for 173, 169 and 183 days respectively. Did the Director think that more tours were necessary? Excluding the Dacca farm the number of farms they had to inspect was 15, on the average of 5 for each. Each farm therefore received a month's attention every year; we do not know where these officers spend the rest of the year. If their time is spent on Office Work somewhere far away from their farms, the system is at fault. Seeing that the farms were in the direct charge of trained officers, we suspect that too many inspections were at the bottom of unsatisfactory work. We know Government believes in inspection and has no confidence in men appointed to do the real work. But what is more wonderful is the fact that the Experts were also on tour. The Fibre Expert was on tour for 86, the First Botanist for 56, the second for 68 days, and the Chemist for 93 days! It appears then that theirs is not quiet and silent work in their laboratories and farms. Of course everyone had good reasons for touring but we wish these were given in the reports. After all it seems the Legislative Council of Bengal was not much to blame if it refused to entertain the host of Inspectors though of another Department. It is only a natural reaction of an abnormal phenomenon, and though we sympathize with the officers who would be deprived of their appointments, we cannot forget the fact that there is such a thing as mis-use of public money.

#### IV. DEMONSTRATION.

Demonstrations form the third object of the Department, but like many other subjects has not been clearly placed in the Reports. Leaving this confusion aside, let us see what agency was employed by the Department for the purpose and what the nature of the work was. In the Report for the Eastern Circle we meet with a class of officers styled Demonstrators to whom the Deputy Director of the circle gives the following certificate. He says that in many cases they were "a forlorn set of people who seemed more like pensioners than active workers." It is therefore no wonder that the Deputy Director does not give a catalogue of Demonstration work as

is done by the Deputy Director of the Western Circle. The latter gentleman was apparently satisfied with the work of demonstration, since he heard that the people were adopting the manures such as bone meal and Dhaincha and other novelties recommended by him.

In the Report of the Northern Circle, however, there occurs a formidable list of 12 different kinds of work in which the word Demonstration occurs twice, *viz.* Demonstration in the District Exhibitions and in the khasmahal and wards estates. In the Demonstration farm at Rangpur, we find the work divided into four classes, *viz.* trials, experiments, non-experimental and Demonstration. We need not enquire into the basis of this classification, but are surprised to find under Demonstration records of trials with paddy, wheat, jute, sugarcane and potato. Evidently these trials were made for the benefit of the farm-men since no cultivators were present in the farm to witness the demonstrations.

If the object of Demonstration be to teach the cultivators any new process, a new crop or a variety of it, or the use of a new manure, the quickest, cheapest and the most effective way would, in our opinion, be the employment of the cultivators themselves as Demonstrators. Formerly, if we remember aright, the farms were intended for Demonstration work and called Demonstration farms. The public are still unaware of the change of name and function and we believe the original object is still in the minds of some of the Deputy Directors. But farms being situated near towns seldom, if ever, attracted any cultivators. The name Government or *Sarkari* attached to them and the grand show they displayed had the effect of scaring them away. Add to this the air of superiority and outlandish dress of the agricultural officers who looked more like the dreaded policemen than friends. This was by no means a rare phenomenon. Nothing could be conceived more effective to create antipathy among the people than this idea of teaching the people by means of such farms.

Happily saner counsel dawned upon the Department, and Demonstration work was separated from the farm work. The result, however, is no better. It will be apparent to anyone who will take the trouble to enquire in the villages that the so-called introduction of novelties is mostly on paper. It is human nature to puff up accounts for the satisfaction of the Heads. There is no remedy for this, unless the system is changed.

Our suggestion as regards Demonstration and most of the simple experiments carried on in the farms is as follows. Let the Department select half a dozen centres in villages representing the agriculture of a District and take from owners three or four bighas of land in each centre for three or four years and cultivate the same in the way it desires. The land is there ready and can be had as a loan temporarily on share-produce system according to the prevailing rates of the place. The cultivation has to be done by hired labour with hired implements, the owner undertaking the work of supervision. The Demonstrator will of course visit the centres as frequently as necessary. After the crop is harvested, the produce will be shared as usual between the owner and the Department, the latter paying all expenses. If there be any Agricultural Association in any centre, the duty of supervision may be entrusted to it. Sometimes it may be possible to interest influential villagers in the experiments. We believe such men will be always found if one knows how to approach them. After the Demonstration is over, new centres will be chosen and the Demonstration repeated.

Thus demonstration will be carried to the door of the cultivators who will themselves be the experimenters. Every teacher knows that the right method of teaching consists in making the pupils teach themselves. We need not describe the effect of this kind of demonstration. The news will be widely circulated, the result keenly watched, and, one can imagine, discussed in the evenings in village parliaments. What better method of education can be devised than this? And what will be the cost to Government? The salary of the Demonstrator and a peon and their touring expenses will form the only charge, a part of which ought to be forthcoming from the produce. For capital is at his command and expert knowledge is there. If the crops fail, the result will be to his discredit. In fact, if the Department is not prepared to undergo this examination by the cultivators in the *conditions* under which they work, it will be wise for it to stop demonstration for the present until it is fully prepared.

With slight modification the same method may be adopted to carry on the three classes of varietal, manurial and comparative experiments conducted in the farms. In this case the required land has to be taken on rent and the experiments to be mainly the work of the Agricultural Associations which will thus have an intimate and organic relation with

the Dept. Since the results cannot always be anticipated, and there may be failures, the cost will be heavier. Yet it cannot be as heavy as it is in the farms. An indirect effect of this procedure will be that the Department will be compelled to study the agricultural wants of the country before it undertakes fresh experiments.

Two objections may be raised against this system. One is that the Demonstrator cannot be present in all the centres when demonstration or experiment goes on and cannot therefore guide the operations. This is frivolous in the case of demonstrations, seeing that the owner doing the work for the Department has interest in the increased out-turn. In the case of experiments it appears to us that these are not of such intricate nature that they can require constant attention of the Demonstrator. The people are not fools; and they know that experiments are not always successful.

Another objection which may be raised is that the men entrusted with the work will not be so mindful in the absence of the Demonstrator. They will neglect the work and the value will be practically nil. We admit there may be occasional difficulties of this nature; but considering the number of demonstrations and experiments that will go on in different centres, it will be possible to check one result with another, and the true value can be in most cases estimated by the people themselves. In view of the fact that the same demonstrations and experiments will be carried out successively for at least three years, if necessary by different men, the conclusion can hardly be wrong.

If this suggestion is accepted, the next question is what to do with the farms. According to our scheme which will be given later on ten farms in ten typical places will be necessary for conducting difficult experiments. Three farms may be kept for cattle-breeding which is as important as crop-raising. For some years to come until people come forward to grow selected crops for seeds only, the Department must supply the want. We think three farms in three selected places will do for the purpose. There is a farm in Rangpur solely for tobacco and its manufacture. That is doing useful work and should be continued. Hence we see that seventeen farms in all will suffice for Bengal, if cattle-breeding and seed-raising be not made a part of the work of each farm.

(To be continued.)

A COUNTRYMAN.

# PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN THE UNITED STATES

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE,

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The nominating conventions are just over. The stage is all set for a wild and desperate political battle among the nominating candidates for the Presidency of the United States.

The Republican party met at Cleveland and nominated Mr. Calvin Coolidge as President, and General Dawes as Vice-President.

The Democratic party after a stormy session in New York City placed John W. Davis as its choice for President and Charles Bryan for Vice-President. In addition to these two major parties, all those progressive groups representing the socialists, farmers, industrial workers, and a fragment of "insurgent" Republicans and Democrats, which might be labelled as "progressive," met in a third nominating convention. It was called the Conference for Progressive Political Action. It named Robert Marion La Follette as the standard-bearer in the coming Presidential campaign and Senator Burton K. Wheeler as his running mate.

## UNCONVENTIONAL CONVENTIONS

The republican convention at Cleveland was a cut and dried, tame, uninteresting affair, which had neither vision nor enthusiasm. It worked like a steam roller, whose main business was to flatten out all opposition and carry out the programme as previously arranged. In fact long before the Republicans met at Cleveland, their programme was secretly decided upon by a few hand-picked leaders. With boss politicians in complete control of the convention, it was a foregone conclusion that Dr. Coolidge would be nominated to succeed himself. A slight opposition there was from a handful of "rebels" of the party: but they were soon steam-rollered much as sardines are pressed into tin cans. The Republican convention was run by the Hon. William M. Butler, the master politician. His one job, as stated realistically by a reporter, was to "jam through Calvin Coolidge on a platform satisfactory to men with money in the bank, and to that business he addressed himself with a ruthless

singleness of aim and even with a touch of ferocity."

The Democratic national convention, which lasted over ten days, had a hard time in choosing its candidates. The principal fight was staged between William G. McAdoo, the son-in-law of Woodrow Wilson, and Alfred E. Smith, the Governor of New York. As the balloting went on day after day, hour after hour, the feelings of bitterness and animosity between the two rival factions into which the delegates were divided, became so intense that fists were frequently employed to emphasize an argument or punish an enemy. The convention on occasions became a veritable bedlam into which policy had to fight their way to restore order. Finally as a compromise candidate, John W. Davis emerged as the convention's choice for the Presidential nominee on the one hundred and third ballot. It is a record unprecedented in American political history.

From the spectacular point of view the Democratic convention was a far more stirring and colourful show than the Republican. It was dramatic enough, I believe, to inspire David Belasco, with hopeless envy. The assembled Democrats, wrote a correspondent of *The Baltimore Evening Sun*, were so vulgar, so twadry, so downright preposterous that a synod of chimpanzees should and would be ashamed of them." The lung-work of the members of the pow-ow was remarkable. Posters and papers were folded into impromptu megaphones to re-inforce their shouting. Speeches of party hacks were punctuated with pre-arranged cheers and catcalls. Almost every device known to human ingenuity to make noise and hubub was in requisition. There was a set of electrical noise-makers so terrible that when the operator pressed the button from the ballyhoo leader, the delegates near the thing grabbed their hats affrightedly and made for the doors. Later the mechanical noise-producers were distributed about room and then no place was safe. Ordinary yells could not be heard in the din. The band worked like mad, but not a scound came out



the instruments. The people thought the musicians were resting.

Electrically-operated applauding devices and hooters, not to mention rattles and parades, did their part to create artificial enthusiasm. Delegates, alternates, candidates, losses, press agents, spell binders, spectators—all were "fired up". The convention, which seemed to have been expressly designed to shut out reason and common sense, had an attack of brain fever. If Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the Democratic party, could leave the spiritland and attend in the flesh the Democratic conclave, he would have a mighty surprise. He would have found the great Democratic convention a cross between a circus and a lunatic asylum.

Even women were not afraid to make fools of themselves and "whoop it up". When chaos was at its wildest, men and women were borne round on the shoulders of delegates amid frantic waving of flags and crashing of bands.

There was, of course, no lack of delicate attention to the fair sex. It was said that one of the aspirants to the Presidential honour had distributed gratis ten thousand compacts. This was done so that the ladies in the convention might keep their dear noses powdered right up to the minute. What a thoughtful attention to women! It was positively devastating.

#### PARTIES AND PLATFORMS

The American government is a government by parties, if not for parties. These parties nominate and elect their officers, and their party-leaders determine the policies of the government.

The two major parties in American politics are the Republican party and the Democratic party. From time to time, there have been many minor parties or third parties, which exerted great influence in shaping the policies of the major parties. One of the most noted third parties now is the Farmer-Labour party, another minor party is that of the Socialists.

Each party holds a national nominating convention every four years to announce its policies and principles, which are called the platforms of the party. On this occasion, the party also nominates the Presidential ticket, the President and Vice-President.

The national nominating convention of both the large parties is made up of delegates from all States, each State having twice as many delegates as it has Senators

and Representatives in the United States Congress. There are also as many alternates as delegates, who are chosen by conventions in different States in April or May of the Presidential election year. The alternate takes the place of the delegate when he is not able to attend the convention.

As I said, it is the custom in nominating conventions to adopt the party platform. This is done before choosing the standard-bearer. The platform of the two major parties, as a rule, is such a jargon of words on all important issues that, no matter who the Presidential nominee, he is able to accept it without any reservations. For one thing, the sawyers of planks for the platform, adroit politicians, veil the issues in such vague words that the platform may mean anything or nothing. For another, there is no way for a voter to compel a successful candidate to adhere to the party pledges.

Political observers from foreign lands often wonder why so few first-class men are elected to the United States Presidency. The reason is not hard to guess. Elections are manipulated by party machines which see to it that no man "who will not stand without hitching" is nominated for office. Independent candidates who insist on having their own way have about as much chance of success as a dead fish on the beach. The machine, says the author of *The Mirrors of Washington*, "writes the platforms of both parties and tells the candidates what they may say in their speeches, and when they are elected what policies they may advocate and what legislation they may approve. This machine represents the groups and interests with votes which may swing elections". Some of these interests may be moral, some financial. In either case, the nominee is not free to do as he pleases. He is bound hand and foot. Poor Mr. Harding used to say during the 1920 Presidential campaign: "Of course, I could make better speeches than these, but a candidate has to be so careful". Of course he has to be—that is the pity of it. The machine takes care that he does not get out of the leading strings.

The whole point is that a political party absolutely controls the Presidential nomination of that party. A man who will not blindly follow the party lead, contrary to his own convictions of right and wrong—a man who will not place his conscience under the control of the party machine—can hardly be expected to get nominated in any of the old party conventions. And when he does get

nominated and elected, he must not object to a rubber-stamp role.

Some of the planks of the Republican platform, just adopted, may be briefly noted. The convention endorsed adhesion to the World Court, with some reservations. There was a reference to "co-operation without entangling alliances". No obligations, however, are to be assumed under the League of Nations. European debts, which may not be collected and are serviceable tools of diplomacy, should not be cancelled. The Filipinos are promised independence when they are perfectly fit for it.

The insurgents of the Republican party, under the leadership of Senator La Follette presented a progressive platform to the Republican convention. The La Follette platform declared for tax on excess profits, public ownership of railroads, co-operation between producers and consumers, abolition of injunctions in labour disputes, nation-wide referendum on war. Needless to say that the liberal demands of the La Follette followers were curtly dismissed by the Republican convention as hazardous experiments.

The Democratic platform is not essentially different from the Republican. In fact there is a considerable family resemblance between the two: they are both full of weasel wordings. After a tremendous cannonade against the Republican party, the Democratic platform assails the Republican policies of international isolation, "a prohibitive tariff", and promises to bring about a greater economic prosperity by international co-operation. It declares "there is no substitute for the League of Nations", and calls for a popular referendum on entering the League. It promises "recovery of the Navy's oil reserves and all other parts of the public domain which have been fraudulently or illegally leased or otherwise wrongfully transferred to the control of the private interests". The Democratic platform favours Asiatic exclusion and calls for the immediate grant of Filipino independence.

On the question of Ku Klux Klan, which is anti-Catholic, anti-Jew, anti-Negro and anti-foreign-born American, both the major parties have put a soft pedal. Fearing to lose the organized Klan vote, neither the Democratic nor the Republican party dared to denounce the Kluxers. Without even mentioning the Ku Klux Klan by name, the two large parties contented themselves with a pious hope that law would be obeyed, and nothing should be done which would arouse religious or racial animosity. That's all!

The platforms, as hinted before, are not an honest declaration of a party's convictions. The Democratic politicians in New York, no less than their Republican colleagues in Cleveland were out for votes on any terms. Their simple strategy was to pad the platforms with any high sounding phrase that will cage votes. Consider this paragraph of the Democratic platform: "The Democratic party believes in equal rights to all and special privilege to none." Does it? The Democratic party is fundamentally the party of the southern States, where the dreaded Lynch law and the atrocious Jimcrow car reign supreme. Since the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, the Democratic party has never admitted the political equality of the black in the south. It is indeed a superb comedy to say that the Democratic party is hot for equality of political rights.

The truth is that a great mass of independent voters is sick of the heroic buffoonery of the two leading parties. Eager for new ventures and new leadership, the liberals especially among farmers and wage-earners have turned to Senator La Follette, the apostle of the new order. La Follette platform, which sets forth the programme of the liberal progressive, is practically the same which was laid before the Republican convention in Cleveland and which was indignantly rejected by it. Mr. La Follette does not call his movement as a third party, but it is that in effect. He has found a place for all who are disgusted with the deceit, the hypocrisy, and the falsity of the old parties. The progressive point of view was stated energetically by the *New York Nation*. It said that the liberals at this moment are not asking themselves whether Mr. La Follette will win or not. They are merely giving profoundest thanks that La Follette has raised a standard of revolt to which honest men may repair. They are grateful that "this coming election is not to be left to the guilty reactionaries in both parties", but a Presidential ticket is in the field "for which an upright American may vote without apology and without shame, registering protest against the sale of the government."

The old parties, as might be expected, are opposing La Follette tooth and nail. They are showering upon him such epithets as a "confiscationist", "Bolshevik", "destructionist", "dangerous demagogue", and his party is being denounced as a "lunatic fringe."

While the Republican party may pretend to "view with alarm" the La Follette platform,

the Republican record has not been of the kind to which it can honestly "point with pride." The republican administration has neglected the necessary reforms and remedies. Moreover, President Coolidge has proved to be a colourless mediocre politician. He is a conservative of conservatives, and his party has been smeared with oil and other scandals. The Republican party, viewed from the liberal standpoint, has failed to meet the test.

It would seem on the surface that the chances of the Democratic party for victory at the coming election are favourable; but, points out *The New Republic*, "Democrats cannot win merely by seeking to take advantage of the Republican unpopularity and discredit." Democrats and Republicans stand for the old order. They are affiliated with "big business", privileged interests, in order to foster business and protect predatory wealth at the expense of the rest of the country. The Democratic Presidential candidate, Mr. Davis, is like Mr. Coolidge, a conservative. Davis is an attorney for the J. Pierpont Morgan & Co., international bankers and financial agents for the British government. To elect him, as a paper put it, would be "to substitute the House of Morgan for the White House". During the Democratic rule of President Wilson, Mr. Davis was the American ambassador to England. He is pro-English through and through. As a chairman of the English-speaking Union, he is for a greater Anglo-American entente. The ex-ambassador is without qualification a champion of the League of Nations. "If English voters were choosing the American President this year," observed the New York *Outlook*, "they would without doubt overwhelmingly elect Mr. Davis". But unfortunately for Mr. Davis, anglomania would not make him very popular with American voters who are not pro-English. Even at that, native, white Protestant Americans who believe in the importance of Anglo-American friendship regard Mr. Davis with suspicion and distrust. To the liberals, Davis is the man who has the dollar sign stencilled on his forehead. Is it likely that they will warm up to him? There are tens of thousands of Democrats as well as Republicans who would rather be "radical" like Robert La Follette than reactionary like John W. Davis or Calvin Coolidge.

#### ELECTORAL COLLEGE.

It is well to pause and reflect at this point that the American people do not vote for President directly. The framers of the constitution did not believe the common people

knew enough or could be trusted to vote for the Chief Magistrate directly. They provided therefore for Presidential election through the Electoral College.

The Constitution says that the Electors should be elected in each State on a general ticket. Each political party nominates a "number of Electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress". The nominations of candidates for the office of Elector are usually made by different parties in various States in August or September preceding the November election. And the political party which gets the majority of the votes in a State receives all the Electoral votes of that State. It is these Electors who make up the Electoral College, and choose the President and Vice-President on the second Monday in January.

All this is done according to the letter of the Constitution; but the plan has not worked out in actual practice just as the Founders of the Republic wished. At the present time, the real election is decided by the popular vote in November. The Electors "merely ratify a choice already made by the party convention and the people at the polls."

The Constitution further provides that if no Presidential candidate has a majority of all electoral votes, the House of Representatives should choose a President from three candidates receiving the highest vote in Electoral College. The House would then vote not as 435 individual members, but as State units, making 48 votes in all.

Now there is a strong possibility that Mr. La Follette will make such a big showing in the November election that though defeated at the polls, he will prevent either of the old parties from obtaining a majority of the Electoral College. He holds, it seems, the balance of power in the Electorate. That will throw the election of the President into the House of Representatives, and Vice-President into the Senate.

Right here is where the great obstacle to the election of a President would be encountered, for no party would have a majority of the votes cast in the House for the President. Neither Republicans, Democrats, nor the La Follette following actually control the House. A deadlock would naturally ensue, which might be prolonged until March next. And should the House of Representatives fail to elect the President before March 4, 1925, the Senate would proceed to elect one of the



two candidates for Vice-President as its chairman, who would then automatically become the President of the nation.

#### ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

The party lines are being tightly drawn. Party passion is becoming fierce and rampant. Then too, the disappointed Presidential candidates and their lieutenants are as sore as boiled owls. There is a pronounced lack of harmony within the ranks of both the old parties, especially the Democratic. I do not say that the jealousies and hatreds could not be extinguished; but it will require, to adopt an expression understandable to American party leaders, some doing. Altogether, a lively time is in prospect from now on till November, 1924, and may be till March 4, 1925.

The election campaign is under way. Party leaders, committees, and workers are busy trying to influence public opinion and win votes. The candidates and political speakers are perfecting their plans to go over the country to address meetings and hold "rallies". They will also employ press agents, bill boards, and bands to advertise themselves and their so-called "issues". Campaign documents will be printed and circulated by the millions. In order to reach the foreign-born vote, the campaign literature will be printed in the language of nearly every nation on earth.

It has been estimated that the whole cost of conducting the campaign in which Abraham

Lincoln was elected President for the second time amounted to only 300,000 rupees. It costs now a great deal more money to elect the President. Each of the major parties will probably spend 60,000,000 rupees or more, before the election is over.

Some one remarked that Athanasius enunciated three Incomprehensibles, and the United States was a fourth. I believe the most incomprehensible thing about America is American democracy. In spite of every effort to get the voters out to the polls, a goodly portion of them deliberately refrain from voting. In 1908 Presidential election only 66 per cent of the voters cast ballots; in 1912, 62 per cent; and in 1920, less than 50 per cent. Is the descending curve of American democracy going to turn upwards in the election of 1924?

Be that as it may, the country will now be treated to a rip-snorting campaign. Which way will the majority sentiment swing? It is too early yet to make a political prophecy. It seems, however, that there is little contrast between Coolidge and Davis in fundamentals of character or political outlook. They are nearly of a type. The progressive liberals, dissatisfied with both, will in all probability turn to La Follette. He may not win the election; but La Follette and his following are going to prove the deciding factors in the contest.

July 28, 1924.

## THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

By K. M. PANIKKAR, M. A. (Oxon).

**I**DEAS like currency have a habit of becoming inflated. The national feeling which is prolonged backwards in attempting to see in the past a golden age is such an inflation of the ideal of nationalism. We attribute to the past an increased meaning in relation to the present and put a value on it which is fiduciary and fictitious and passes current only by what the students of primitive culture characterise as *Representation Collectif*. The confessional ideas of today are traced back to the past. For our weaknesses of the present

we satisfy ourselves that the past was a glorious one. The attempt to trace back into Indian history the existence of a well-developed system of representative institutions is an instance in point. There is no doubt that representative institutions of a type did exist in ancient India but they were crude primitive and tribal. Their existence two thousand years ago has no more than a historical value to us. Still the false sense of exaggerated nationalism which tickles our pride to see the germs of everything imbedded

in our past makes us seriously claim it as a source of present-day political inspiration.

The fact is that this dependence on the past is a sign of our decay. For a living nation the present is more important than the past. The past has no value to them except in so far as the present is its result. It is when rejuvenation has come to a deadstop that nations cast their eyes backwards. Nations like organisms live only in growth and this implies that a slow process of change operates on the collective mind of the group which while leaving the relation of the past with the present indisputable, gives it new ideas, a new shape and a new outlook. This constant rejuvenation is of the very essence of national life. It is the greatest indictment against the British rule that for India as a whole this movement has at least for the time stopped completely as a result of forces generated by the inevitable evils of a foreign government.

It cannot be denied that pre-British period in India when states and dynasties were fighting for ascendancy was not so 'civilised' a place as the India of today. But during the whole period of history when Islam came to be the ruling power in Hindustan, Indian national life continued to live and grow. The great religious awakening of the Hindus from Ramanuja to Guru Govind which embraces the whole Bhakti movement, the rise of Sikhism and the elaboration of Vaishnava Philosophy the development of the great systems of Hindu law, the growth of a distinctive school in painting, architecture and music and what is more the recurring manifestations of national spirit in all parts of India clearly showed that the Hindus far from being an inert mass were during all the 6 centuries of Muslim contact very much alive socially and politically. There is strictly speaking no Muslim conquest of India and no Muslim period of Indian history. Except the Punjab, the Ganges Valley, Gujerat and Bengal, no portion of India acknowledged for any length of time the supremacy of the Mussalmans. Rajputana even in the days of the Moghuls had to be left unconquered. Muslim rule never effectively extended to Bundelkand and Central India; and in the South the great empire of Vijayanagar was broken up only in 1565, a hundred and 20 years before the coronation of Sivaji as the Chatrapati of the Maharattas. The Bahmani states had been completely Hinduised. The Mahmmedan conquest was never really effective except in the Punjab in the domains

in Sindh. The local dynasties of Bengal and Gujerat had become national. One has only to glance at the architecture of Ahmedabad to know how in Gujerat the Muslim kings had contributed to the growth of a new spirit of Hindu-Muslim unity.

The traditional methods of oriental government which left local institutions undisturbed, the central authority being a mere superimposed structure, was the greatest factor which helped to keep alive the national spirit. The actual administration fell a great deal on the local Zemindars and chiefs who so long as they paid their quota to the Imperial treasury were left unmolested. That is why Muslim rule even in areas where it became more or less a permanent factor never became a foreign rule. Except during the comparatively short time when the Grand Moghuls held sway, there was no attempt of any kind to rule through a bureaucracy, through Imperial Officers who considered it their business to interfere in everything. The result was that though the rulers of the major portion of India were foreign by birth, the current of national life flowed in a placid stream without any attempt at being dammed or being irrigated. Both Hindus and Mussalmans lived their lives without the State trying to influence their thoughts or trying to spiritually mould them.

The continual rejuvenation of life from inside went on. Worn out ideas were rejected, new impulses and new doctrines took their place with vast groups. The rise of the Sikhs and the impulse behind the Maharatta power are examples of this. There was no fear then of rejecting old ideas merely because they were old. The Brahmo-Samaj was the last light of that period of mental growth. But with the establishment of a modern bureaucratic state which considers itself morally bound to interfere in every aspect of our national life, this growth has virtually come to a stop. The development of a system of exotic education cuts us off from our moral inheritance. We began to accept ideas to which we could lay no intellectual claim. The result was a moral bankruptcy which did not show sufficient courage to reject what honestly we have come to think to be the dead weight of past tradition. We cling to worn out ideas and to institutions from which life has flown many centuries ago. We live in the past, without courage to reject it and renew our life by the acceptance of new ideas. The real reason

sufficient faith in the new ideas by which we want to replace the old. They did not come to us as truth. They were taught us by our foreign masters. Hence when the renewal of life-impetus has stopped we have begun to look backwards to see in the past all that English education claims to teach us. But this is dangerous process; for the worn out ideas of one age as Dr. Scheveitzer says often become like rejected products of metabolism and act as poisons. This is the poison that has enervated us. It is this that interferes with the free circulation of our blood. We have been afraid to question; we have been afraid to reject. Instead of purposive activity and genuine social, thought a kind of dynamic orthodoxy took up cudgels in favour of everything that existed. The painted past in which we live has almost suffocated us. We have resisted the acceptance of new ideas from an entirely false sense of national prestige arising out of the inflation of the doctrine of nationalism.

What India requires now is a principle of rejuvenation. The non-cooperation movement tried something of the kind but it was too limited in its social activities. What we have to do is to attempt an extensive cleaning up of the whole range of national life accepting nothing whose utility or compelling ethical basis is not proved to us. Such a philosophical examination of the basis of our national life—for that is what is required—will throw much that we now unreasoningly hold sacred into the dustheap. The only attempt that was made in this direction was by Raja Rammohan Roy. He wanted to remodel society; he wanted a complete purging of worn out ideas but the time unfortunately was not ripe. Orthodoxy had armed itself and a movement which had in it the germs of a great national regeneration sank into the creed of an enlightened sect. It is one of the greatest tragedies of modern India, for Rammohan Roy's ideas were genuinely revolutionary in social matters and if accepted would have given an impetus to national rejuvenation. He began by questioning the very philosophy behind our social system. His object was nothing less than the breakdown of caste and the *Sangathan* of the whole Hindu Community. He attacked the basis of the Hindu joint family system with its early marriage and group life. He began the reclamation of the submerged classes. He undermined and set to work to blow up the Varnashrama dharma. He introduced new ideas. But alas, moral bankruptcy had already overtaken the Hindu and his effort magnifi-

cent as it was succeeded only very partially. We have to take up where he left and continue the attack the plan of which he drew up if Indian society is to be united into a purposive organism for human good.

The first essential requisite for this is a new social philosophy. Indian life is being choked in the *mortmain* of the Varnashrama Dharma philosophy. It must be replaced by a social theory which is rational, synthetic and non-theological. Society, after all is the collective organisation of individuals in a geographical unit for the purposes of common life, through which alone man attains his highest stature. A systematisation of various activities into ashramas and Varnas may be all right for theoretical purposes but it has never approximated in the least to facts. The Brahmins were never a wholly priestly class and the Kshatriyas were not all given to the profession of arms. Varnashrama Dharma is a purely imaginary division without even the merit of providing a tolerable explanation for existing facts. It is a social theory which is neither in accordance with actualities, nor inspiring as an ideal. Its replacement by a philosophy which will provide a compelling ethical basis for the majority of our people is the first essential for the renovation of Indian life.

Is it not because of the lack of this elementary but guiding factor that we cannot satisfactorily solve the problem of the untouchables. The Hindu efforts at the reclamation of the submerged classes have not so far been successful because there was no consistent theory behind them. The Panchamas simply do not fit into the four corners of the Varnashrama Dharma theory and we have not so far accepted any other principle for our social organisation. So to my mind both these questions are intertwined. The elevation of the depressed classes and their assimilation into the general body of Hindu society is certainly the largest problem in India. A question which affects the human rights and development of 60 million souls is certainly a matter of the widest import to the world in general. Its magnitude is bewildering but without its solution the Indian can claim no justice anywhere, and its solution cannot be successfully undertaken except on the basis of a universally accepted and morally compelling social theory.

Another matter in which Indian life would have to renovate the basis and change the direction of development is the joint family system. There is no doubt that our present



system is bad for the race and worse for the society. It may be an easy solution of housing and poor law difficulties but the method of bringing up children in herds cannot react satisfactorily on the health of the nation. From the point of view of the community, the creation of a new loyalty between the individual and the wider society of which he is a member can only result in disorganisation. That is in fact what we see in India. There is no doubt that if progress on a wide scale is to be achieved then the whole family system must be reconstructed. Here also the Brahmo-Samaj tried to introduce the individualistic basis.

The time has come when we must set our hearts to the disagreeable but the less necessary operation of removing the decayed ideas from our body politic. No society was reformed and no community saved by merely continuing in the old grooves of settled tradition. What is required for it primarily is a clear understanding of the relation between the past and the present. The true perspective in which any living nation will look upon its past is merely as being continuous and alive through its results, in the present day. The past is not to be worshipped because it is past, and is not to be accepted without question of its utility and justice for the mere reason that it once was. In India at the present time, for this reasonable and normal relationship between the present and the past we have enthroned the idea of the greatness of an imaginary golden age. Our

histories are written with that view. Our common modes of thought take it for granted. This unreal and fallacious doctrine must be replaced by a belief in the possibilities of shaping the present and of directing the future, if India is to attain greatness. There is no use in legitimising our claims to greatness as a nation by appealing to a past which exists only in our imagination. If we are to be accepted as a community which contributes its quota to the well-being of humanity and is thus entitled to respect, then we must depend upon our present, or our ideals and achievements of today. That is possible only when we have dropped the beautified mask of the past which we have put on to hide our ugliness. An ugly man alive if he is animated by noble ideals and is devoted to service is of greater value to humanity than the most beautiful man who is dead. The question must be frankly and squarely faced. It would indeed have been an easy matter if the cause of truth and reason always won merely on its inherent strength. But the walls of Jericho do not fall by themselves and truth and justice triumph only when the hand and mind of man actively work for it. That is what is required in India now. The false gods of a dead social theory must be dethroned, and in their place we must plant the banner of a rational social theory which while taking its inspiration from the past looks to the present and the future and is not content to worship the Golden Calf of a bygone age.

## RAS MALA\*

(A REVIEW)

THIS interesting and valuable historical account of Gujarat was first published in A. D. 1856. The author, the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Forbes, who served in Gujarat (1846-60) and in Bombay (1862-64) in various departments, Revenue, Political and Judicial, (he died when on the Bench of the High Court) had intense love for the province, its

history, its antiquities and its people. In writing about the foundation of the Gujarat Vernacular Society at his hands in 1848, we have thus alluded to the lasting obligation he has conferred on Gujarat. "He was one of those Englishmen who by their overflowing sympathy with the people amongst whom their lot is temporarily cast have left an abiding name in History." He began to study Gujarati, and for that purpose called Kavi Dalpatram, one of the well-known poets of Gujarat, to his side: "thus began a literary friendship between an Englishman and an Indian, which the pen of the Indian Poet has immortalised [in a poem called the

\* *Ras Mala* or *Hindoo Annals of Goozerat*, by Alexander Kinlock Forbes, edited by Principal H. G. Rawlinson, I.E.S., in two volumes, with illustrations, and published by the Oxford University Press, London, Bombay and Calcutta.

Forbes Virah]. To the advancement of early modern Gujarati literature, a giant's share was contributed by him. He had a taste for archaeology and ancient monuments and manuscripts. The old archaeological and historical remains of Gujarat intensely interested him, and he wrote a book called the "Ras Mala" in English, which throws a flood of light on the chronicles of old and mediaeval Gujarat. In founding the Gujarat Vernacular Society of which he became the first Honorary Secretary, his immediate object was the collection of old Gujarati manuscripts with a view to their preservation, taking steps to translate into Gujarati books from English and other languages, and also the production of original works by giving a suitable remuneration to writers, and thus enrich the language and literature of the province.....He wanted the old poetry of Gujarat not to perish. He collected a number of manuscripts\* at great cost, while in 1852 he gathered together a number of Gujarati bards and poets at Idar, somewhat on the lines of those old princes who delighted in calling together such men and indulging in a literary contest, one poet vying with another in the composition and recitation of impromptu verses. This resuscitation of an old time usage has been commemorated by his able lieutenant Kavi Dalpatram† in a long poem called the Forbes Vilas§. Apart from the great services he has rendered to the literature of Gujarat, he has by writing the Ras Mala done for it what Tod has done for Rajputana, he has perpetuated the chivalry and romance, which animated the lives of the Rajputs and the Rulers of the province in mediaeval times. The annals, a mixture of legend and fact, lived only on the lips of the bards, "the *Bhats* and *Charans*, the hereditary minstrels of the Rajput clans," and as times became more settled, and the reasons for providing for and encouraging them in their hereditary work, began consequently to disappear, there was great danger of this floating historical literature perishing. It was this kind of literature which he set himself to "catch" and then give it permanent form. The Ras Mala thus represents not only an early attempt at writing a history of Gujarat, but enshrines in it the love of the reciter of the ballad (the Bhat and the Charan) for his master, and the love of his hearer (Forbes) for the lifework of that master. In his political views Forbes was like Hume, Wedderburn and Cotton, "a true friend of India." Ample justice has been done to those views in that respect by the Editor in his Memoir (pp. xi and xv).

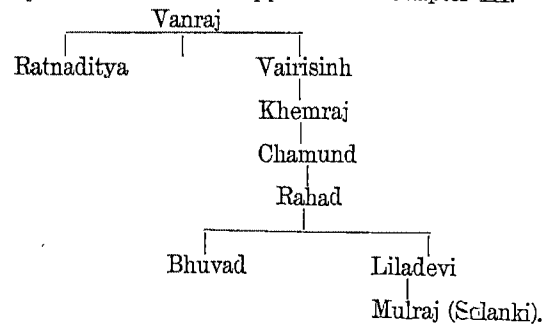
For a long time the book supplied a want in the historical literature of Gujarat. It was translated by an able Gujarati man of letters, the late Mr.

\* He has used many of them, e.g., the *Dvyashray*, the *Prabandh Chintamani*, the *Ratna Mal*, in composing the annals, and has left a rich heritage of them, to the Forbes Gujarati Sabha of Bombay, which has taken steps at great cost to have a catalogue published with detailed particulars, and which is being utilised with great advantage by students of the history of Gujarat.

† The same whom he refers to, in his preface, as "Dalpatram Daya, a Brahmin and a native of Wudwan, on the frontier of Soreth, [to whom] I am still more widely indebted". P.xx of Ras Mala Vol. I.

§ Further Milestones in Gujarati Literature,

Ranchhodbhai Udayaram, with original foot-notes, also in two volumes, in 1869, which was reprinted thirty years after (in 1899). The Forbes Gujarati Sabha undertook a fresh edition of the translation with the help of Mr. Ranchhodbhai only a short time ago, and was able to get out the first volume, when unfortunately Mr. Ranchhodbhai died. He had collected a very large mass of materials to supplement the original work in the light of further researches made since then, that is about five decades ago, and it now awaits sifting and editing. Lately a great deal of activity has been going on on the part of Gujarati students to get at the original sources of the history of the province, and unfold the tale told by copperplate and stone inscriptions, piece together incidents and events related in deeds of gift, sanads, and other documents and altogether work on modern lines for ascertaining correct historical facts. To give only one instance of work done on these lines: There is a provisional dynastic tree of the Chavada Rulers given by Principal Rawlinson in the Appendix to Chapter III, Vol. I. He has gone to available modern sources in English, like the work of the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, the articles in the *Indian Antiquary*, and other authorities mentioned in their proper places. Naturally works published in Gujarati cannot be known to him, and still the fact is that Gujarati students are earnestly working in this direction. The late Mr. Ranjitram Vavabhai has collected many inscriptions and other valuable materials, on the subject and the manuscripts are lying with the Forbes Gujarati Sabha, which is arranging to publish them. The *Puratattva Mandir* and its Magazine are concerned with the same kind of research work. Only recently one such student, Mr. Ramlal Chunilal Mody, of Patan, the very place which Vanraj Chavda founded in A. D. 746, has written a short monograph on the genealogy of the Chavdas, which he gives as under, and which the curious reader may compare with that given provisionally by the Editor in the appendix to Chapter III.



He has also given the years of their reign and given corresponding English and Indian dates, which were supplied to him by the well known Parsi mathematician Mr. M. P. Khareghat, taken from the *Vichar Shreni* of Merutung, a Jain Acharya. In addition to the manuscripts and materials utilised by the author and the Editor, he has extracted information from a Semi-Puranic work, called the *Dharmararya*, a legendary account of the habitat and history of the Modh Brahmin and Banra castes. He has resorted for some of his conclusions to the manuscripts in the possession of the Forbes Gujarati Sabha. This is but an instance of how materials, unknown to English scholars are being collected. Principal Rawlinson has done his work in as

thorough a manner as the sources he tapped permitted him to do, he has taken the assistance of an eminent Gujarati scholar, Principal Anandshanker B. Dhruva, and we have pointed to the above instance in no carping spirit. We only wish to say that one acquainted with both languages English and Gujarati, would have had a larger scope for the exercise of his capability as an editor than one who knew only one language. There is no doubt that Principal Rawlinson has made an interesting work more interesting and useful by his annotations, and the idea of reprinting it should have been taken up long before, and had the cost not stood in the way, would have perhaps been accomplished before now. All the same we are glad that it has been done, and so well done. Those who possess the original, will miss in the present edition the charming colour of the illustrations printed in the former : they were a great asset, and deservedly

made the the book popular. Need we say that the Principal has exercised a very wise discretion in deciding to keep Book IV of the work, though not in any way connected with the historical portion of it. It is a record of the social, domestic and religious life of the inhabitants of Gujarat, and as such a valuable mine of information for all those interested in that branch of learning. As we change very slowly in our manners and customs, the record stands good to-day, and will do so for a long time. Incidentally it helps the Revenue Department of the province, as the different kinds of land tenures described in some of its chapters furnish a very good guide to those who are connected with that part of the administration. Till another edition is called for, we are sure that Principal Rawlinson's work would stand as the most up-to-date publication on the subject.

K. M. J.

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## AGAIN!

If by some jugglery of fate, I start  
 My life once more and have the chance to shape  
 Its course anew, I would not seek escape  
 From deeds which have been done, or grudge such smart  
 As has been mine these years; I would not part  
 From bonds which cling to me, or try to drape  
 Something in secrecy; nor care to ape  
 Others and only be a counterpart.

But there are words I would obliterate,  
 Some youthful judgments harsh I would recall,  
 Some unkind thoughts I gladly would let die,  
 And gains I would forego without a sigh  
 I would obscure all cause of pain and gall,  
 Avoid all bitterness unfortunate.

P. SESHADRI





# A LETTER TO MY SON ON INDIAN POLITICS

BY S. R. DAS, ADVOCATE-GENERAL, BENGAL.

[As this article embodies the views of a prominent member of one of the political parties in India, we print it in order that it may evoke criticism—particularly of a constructive kind. Clear thinking is required as to the means and methods of attaining Swarajya. Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.]

MY dear son,  
I am glad to find that you are beginning to take an interest in Indian politics. Be under no apprehension that I would dislike your holding any views contrary to mine; in fact, I would be sorry if your opinions were merely an echo of mine. I want you to think for yourself and if in the end you come to hold views opposed to mine, I shall not be grieved in the least. But I should be very sorry indeed if you allowed yourself to come to hasty conclusions or to form your opinions only from what you hear from those with whom you happen to associate. Divergent views may honestly be held of the same question and unless you can get into touch with these different views and duly weigh and consider them, you will never be able to form a correct opinion. Do not make the mistake—at your age—of confining the discussion of any question with people who are all of the same school of thought. If you want to get at the truth, to test the value of your own conclusions or of those who hold a contrary view, make it a point always to argue against the view put forward by those with whom you are discussing, even though you happen to agree with them. You will find that an excellent way to prevent yourself from gradually and unconsciously absorbing the views of those you associate with—always a difficult thing to avoid. Do not be in a hurry to formulate definite opinions. I am much older than you, but even now I am learning.

You are fond of history and you have read a little of it. When you go to Cambridge in October you will have further opportunities of studying that subject. Try to bring your knowledge to bear on all these political questions. You will, of course, not find much analogy between the histories of other countries and that of India, but you will find they will throw considerable light and will be of assistance to you in forming your opinion.

I will now tell you, so far as I can in a letter, my ideas on Indian politics. I will give you a broad outline of it; it is not possible to go into details in a letter.

I am as anxious as any Nationalist or Swarajist or Non-co-operator to get self-government or freedom or Swaraj, or whatever you may choose to call it, for my country. The only difference between me and those people is as to the means to attain it.

You suggest that force is the only solution and you express your regret that a manufactory of bombs was recently discovered by the Police. I wholly disagree with you and I am afraid it was a somewhat thoughtless view which you expressed. Did you consider our position? Did you recollect that we have no arms, no means of getting them and that even if we get them, we have no knowledge how to use them. Did you remember that we are not a homogeneous people and have not the necessary unity among us to make use of them even if we could procure arms and acquire the knowledge to use them? In these days of aeroplanes and high explosives, not to speak of the wonderful organisation of the British army, is it possible for India to get freedom by force of arms? A couple of aeroplanes over Calcutta would destroy it in less than an hour and an ordinary machine-gun would scatter whole armies of unarmed mobs. A little consideration on your part will convince you that the attainment of self-government by force is not practical politics. No one in India, with the exception of perhaps a few young and ignorant anarchists, believes that armed force can be of any use in gaining Swaraj.

As to bombs, they are essentially the weapon of cowards and history will tell you that in no country in the world has assassination succeeded as a political weapon. History will tell you that secret societies always engender traitors who betray them.

You need not go far into history to convince yourself of this; Bengal itself produced a number of these societies after the Swadeshi agitation of 1905-1906, whose aim was to attain freedom by the use of bombs and revolvers. Arms were even attempted to be imported from Germany. These societies included among their numbers some exceptionally selfless and earnest young men, prepared to sacrifice their lives for what they unfortunately thought was the cause of their country. But with what result? They succeeded in killing two innocent English women and a number of Indians, mainly policemen, and they were easily caught and the societies were suppressed through informers who betrayed them. Talk to any of those men, most of whom have now been released, and they will tell you of their conviction that violence in the form of bombs and revolvers can never succeed. The present lot of anarchists are mostly new men, young and enthusiastic who have either forgotten or are ignorant of what took place only a few years ago. Like all secret societies of this nature, they also have traitors amongst them and already they are being betrayed. Force or violence or bombs will never help India to gain its freedom. Moreover, in these days of moral pressure of the whole world, do you really think that force is necessary?

Is there then no means or hope of attaining self-government? I firmly believe there is and that we shall get it as soon as we are ready for it. We shall not get it to-day or to-morrow or even perhaps in fifty years—what is fifty years to a people who have been under foreign domination for over seven centuries? But I have no doubt in my own mind that we shall attain it, but not before we have got rid of our internal dissensions and formed ourselves into a nation; and that depends principally on ourselves.

No nation in the world is, as a nation, philanthropic. Self-interest does and will always guide their action. However generous and liberal individual members or particular groups within a nation may be, no nation will, of its own accord and to its own detriment, give up any advantage it has over another. And England is no exception to the rule, though I believe, from a knowledge of its history, that in their action they are often guided by a deep-rooted feeling of righteousness. England will never give India complete self-government unless she is convinced that it is to her own interest, to give it. And we should not expect it. She may

occasionally give us a little power as a concession to agitation or with a view to appease discontent and restlessness in the country—though all concessions of this nature generally have the opposite effect—but she will never give us full self-government so long as she entertains any apprehension that it may have the effect of severing India from the Empire.

Here let me digress for a moment. I do not want you to think that I am against all agitation or the public expression of our discontent with the present state of things in India. England is in the habit of believing that all is well with the Empire, of trusting the men on the spot; she suffers from a constitutional disinclination to believe that an Englishman very often ceases to be an Englishman and even a gentleman when he is out of England. She can only be induced to pay attention to the condition of India by means of agitation. It is the same in her own country. The "Peterloo massacre" was necessary to awake in Parliament a consciousness of the fact that the people wanted a Reform Act, and bombs were required to wake up England from her dream that all was well with India. Subsequent events, details of which I need not enter into, have, I believe, sufficiently convinced England that India needs her special attention and bombs are no longer required; in fact, their use at the present moment can but only jeopardize our cause. But agitation, constitutional agitation of a persistent nature, is still necessary to keep her from falling asleep again.

Unfortunately, our politicians do not understand how far they should go in their agitation and where they should stop. To my mind, they shew a great want of knowledge of the English character, due no doubt to their misreading of what has hitherto happened. Practically everyone in India believes that the Minto-Morley Reforms were due to the bombs which killed Mrs. and Miss Kennedy, that it was the fear of losing India that induced England to grant those reforms; that it was the same apprehension due to the discontent created in this country by non-co-operators which induced Parliament to grant the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The Swarajists, and I am afraid a good many others believe that by paralysing the administration by a course of obstruction, England will be frightened into conceding full self-government to the country. That is not my reading of the English character. The effect of bombs was merely to awaken her and she

gave us the Minto-Morley Reforms, not because she was afraid of losing India but because she realised the discontent that prevailed in the country and felt that India has grown sufficiently to be allowed a larger influence in the administration of her affairs. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms which were inaugurated before non-co-operation was heard of, were granted because England had made up her mind that India must learn to govern herself. It is a mistake to think that fear or even difficulties in administration will induce England to give us what we ultimately desire, Swaraj or full self-government. She has the tenacity of the bull-dog and is not accustomed to confess defeat in the face of difficulties.

England will never give us self-government so long as she believes it is against her interest to do so. On the contrary, the more our agitation takes the form of hostility to her, the more determined is she likely to be to refuse it. Concessions may still be made as a result of Swarajist activities in the vain hope that it will prevent further agitation and discontent. But if my reading of the English character is correct, no amount of agitation or obstruction will induce England to give us self-government unless she believes that by doing so India can be retained as a friendly partner in the Empire. Agitation, as I have said, is still necessary, but any agitation or movement which leads to engendering in our people a spirit of hostility to the English is most harmful to the cause we all have at heart.

To go back to the point from which I digressed; two conditions are necessary to obtain full self-government for our country; a realisation on the part of England that it is to her interest that India should be self-governed and free, and a conviction that if it is granted to her she will be able to govern herself and will not revert to the state of anarchy which prevailed when England took over its administration. The latter is really involved in the first, for it cannot be to the interest of England to have India in a state of anarchy.

Very few of my people will agree with me, but I have no doubt in my own mind that since the war, England has begun to realise that it is to her interest that India should be able to govern and defend herself. Try and look at it from the point of view of England and I think you will find that I am right. She knows that in spite of the fact

that India furnished a large army to fight for her, India was the weakest part of the Empire; she had to keep a certain number of troops here; if any enemy attacked India—if, for instance, Japan instead of being an ally had joined the Germans—England would have had to send a large army to defend her. Whereas, if India was fully self-governed, with its own army to defend her and a friendly partner in the Empire—a *sine qua non*—India could have not only furnished a larger number of men, but England would have been free from all anxiety with regard to her defence. India would then have been a strong link in the chain of the British Empire instead of being the weakest. England also knows she cannot for ever hold India as her dependency. No nation in history has ever succeeded in keeping another in subjugation for ever. A time must come when India will cease to be her dependency, though not necessarily independent. England,—by that I mean her best brains and her most influential men—has begun to realise this and to understand that if India is to be kept as a part of the Empire, it is only possible to do so by making her an equal partner like the Dominions and that that can only be done by training her to govern herself and to depend on her own strength to defend her borders. And I, for one, believe that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were granted and the military school for Indian boys at Dehra Dun was established with a view to give effect to that conception. There can be hardly any doubt, from the point of view of England, that it would serve her interest far more to keep India as a friendly partner than as a mere dependent, liable in the end to be severed from her whether by a revolution in India or by conquest by another power. It is also, I think, equally clear, again from the point of view of England, that it is far better for her to keep India as a dependency as long as she can rather than to grant self-government and freedom to an India likely to be hostile to her.

England is I believe, prepared to train us towards self-government and to defend ourselves, but she has not, as yet, been able to make up her mind as to what the consequences of a grant of full self-government will be—will it keep India as a friendly partner or will it render her hostile to her? Will India be able to govern and defend herself or will she revert to a state of anarchy?



Many believe—and they refer to South Africa—that the grant of complete self-government will keep India friendly to the Empire; many, on the other hand, refer to the activities of the non-co-operators and the Swarajists, to the treatment accorded to the Prince of Wales when he came here, and believe that India is hostile to England and will break away from the Empire. You may be sure, England will never confer real self-government on India until she is convinced that India will remain friendly; it is obviously not to her interest to do so.

It is then for us to convince England that she need have no apprehension on that point. It is in this respect that I think the Swarajists are doing us incalculable harm. Agitation is necessary and must be carried on; agitation for further grant of powers as we proceed to grow to deserve them; agitation which is likely to bring to the notice of England the numerous grievances from which we suffer; but agitation which results in awakening amongst us a spirit of hostility to the English can only increase the apprehension on the part of England that her interests will not be served by granting us full autonomy.

Great objections have been taken to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms on the ground that very little power is given to us to govern ourselves. Personally, I think, a good deal of power has been given to us in particular subjects, though there are obvious defects in the Act and the Rules. But assuming that the objections are justified, we must not forget that the intention of the Reforms was not to give us any real power but merely to train us in the art of self-government under proper supervision. I feel practically certain, that if we had co-operated in working them in the spirit in which they were granted and demonstrated to England that we were willing to act in friendly co-operation with her as a part of the Empire, the attainment of full self-government would have been nearer. After all, if full self-government is given to us, is it not really to our interest also that we should remain a friendly partner? Consider what advantage it will be to India to have the whole strength of the powerful British Empire at her back, without at the same time England interfering with her to any greater extent than she does with the self-governing Dominions. We should be entitled to look to the whole of the Empire to defend us, just

as England or Canada or Australia now does. If for no other reason, the enormous saving to India in the expense of her army and navy will alone make it worth her while to remain within the Empire.

The difficulty is, our people will not look ahead but are concerned mostly with matters of the moment, and the result is, we are creating an impression in England that we are hostile to the English which is really not true. Only a few days ago, the Bengal Provincial Conference, with C. R. Das as the dominating personality in it, passed a resolution commending the patriotism of Gopi Nath Shaha, who murdered an innocent Englishman called Day and tried to escape by shooting at other innocent people and who, when charged with murder put up the defence that he was insane. We all know that the Conference was filled with delegates paid to support Swarajists' resolutions and that the resolution in no way reflects the feeling of the country; already frantic efforts are being made by Swarajists to prove that the resolution which they passed was different from that which was published in their own paper the "Forward." But consider the effect of such a resolution in England.

I fully realise the difficulty our people have in entertaining feelings of friendliness towards the English when we are faced with the acts of some of them in India and out of India. It is not easy to realise that there are people in England, people wielding the greatest influence, who believe that her interests are bound up with existence of a friendly India when we are met by a Jallianwallabagh or the observation of Mr. Justice McCardie, as reported, in the recent case against Sir Sankaran Nair or when we think of the treatment accorded to our countrymen in South Africa or in Kenya. At the same time, we should not allow our natural resentment to carry us away and forget the real factors which cause these incidents. Do they in fact show that England, that is, those of her sons who really count, who guide the destinies of the Empire, do not care whether India is friendly or hostile? Incidents like Jallianwallabagh and the petty but nevertheless very irritating tyrannies from which we suffer, are inevitable in a Government which has to be carried on from a distance, with the assistance of men who are strangers to the land and who are free from restrictions of the public opinion of their own kith and kin. It is quite natural that we should resent these acts and even

that we should sometimes "see red", and it is only right that we should take every possible step to prevent the recurrence of such incidents; but in judging England's attitude towards India, let us bear in mind that she cannot possibly guarantee that everyone of her sons sent out to India will understand or appreciate her true interests. You will no doubt say, if that is the case, the sooner this system of government by strangers from a distance ceases to exist, the better for us. I agree, but is not that exactly what we are discussing, the means to secure that desired end? Are we likely to attain it by giving rein to our natural resentment and refusing to have any but hostile relation with England?

If then it is to the interest of England that India should be a self-governed Dominion within the Empire, it is obvious that the sooner she confers that status on India, the better for her. But we must not forget that it cannot be to her interest to allow India full freedom to govern herself if in the result she reverts to a state of anarchy and has to be reconquered to prevent her falling into the hands of another nation.

Nor, by the way is that to the interest of India herself. I do not know if you have read the history of Rome. As a result of the second Macedonian War, Rome liberated Greece from the thralldom of Philip of Macedon, but instead of retaining her as a Roman Conquest, withdrew her army and gave her full freedom. Greece, at that time, was made up of a number of small States, full of internal and mutual dissensions. Mommsen, in his History of Rome thus comments on this event:—

"It is no small matter that a mighty nation should have already suddenly with its powerful arm brought the land ..... into the possession of full freedom, and should have conferred on every community in it deliverance from foreign taxation and foreign garrisons and the unlimited right of self-government ... If the Romans are liable to any reproach, it is that all of them allowed the magic charm of the Hellenic name to prevent them from perceiving in all its extent the wretched character of the Greek States of that period and from putting a stop at once to the proceedings of communities who, owing to impotent antipathies that prevailed alike in their internal and mutual relations, *neither knew how to act nor how to keep quiet*. As things stood, it was really necessary at once to put an end to such a freedom, equally pitiful and pernicious, by means of a superior power permanently present at the spot; the feeble policy of sentiment with all its apparent humanity, was far more cruel than the sternest occupation would have been ... The war with Antiochus would not

have arisen but for the political blunder of liberating Greece ... *History has a nemesis for every sin—for an impotent craving after freedom, as well as for an injudicious generosity*".

England, then, in her own interest, must feel sure that we are in a position to govern ourselves and shall not, like Greece, fall into a state of anarchy. Very few of our leaders can really believe that we are in a position to govern ourselves or that we are likely to be in that position in the immediate future, and if you find their public utterances full of assertions that we are, that is partly because they believe that by such assertion they will awake our self-respect, partly because they think it is bad policy to admit we are not, and, in the case of some of them, because they have not the courage to risk their popularity by telling the truth. It is only younger men, naturally led away by high ideals of patriotism, who, in their ignorance, really believe we are in a position to govern ourselves. I should like you to examine the facts for yourself and then make up your mind. You need not in this connection consider the question of our administrative capacity. Want of capacity to administer our own affairs will not by itself stand in the way of our getting self-government; that, as England knows, can only be acquired by experience.

Let us start with the state of Bengal, a province with which you and I are more familiar; practically the same state of things prevail in the other provinces. One of the most acute problems now calling for a solution is the Hindu-Mahomedan question. Take the points of difference between the two communities; the social system of the Hindus is exclusive and caste divides them into numbers of water-tight compartments; that of the Mahomedans is communistic and under it all men are equal. As Lord Ronaldshay expresses it in his recent book on India:—"Hinduism is essentially aristocratic; Mahomedanism is as emphatically democratic." The classical language of the Hindus is Sanskrit, of the Mahomedans Arabic and Persian. Hindi may be described as the spoken language of Hindus, though it is a tongue unknown in the South, and Urdu that of the Mahomedans. Hindu patriotism is naturally confined to India; in a Mahomedan his patriotism is subordinated to the call of Islam, which transcends the bounds of countries. It is this attachment to Islam and the consequent neglect of the system of education established by the Government which explains the lower position occupied by

Mahomedans in education, wealth and political power. Do not be misled by what you hear or read of unity between Hindus and Mahomedans; there is a certain amount of mutual toleration, but of unity, there is, in fact, none. They may occasionally join in a fight against the Government, but even that is getting daily rarer. Mahomedans do not trust Hindus and Hindus do not trust Mahomedans. The position is worse than it was, say, 25 years ago and is likely to get worse before it gets better. Apart from the problems created by the call of Islam, a principal cause of friction between Hindus and Mahomedans is the natural jealousy which Mahomedans feel by reason of the better position of the Hindu in the Indian body politic. Until within comparatively recent times Mahomedans held back from all progressive movement, specially in education, with the result that in practically all departments of life the Hindus hold a predominant position. Up to very recent times the exclusive Hindu looked upon a Mahomedan as rather inferior to him—at least in Bengal. Even now there are many who still entertain that feeling. Those Mahomedans who have taken to English education—and their number is growing—naturally resent this attitude. So long as they remained uneducated, they failed to realise their inferiority of position and were content with being the descendants of the last ruling race in India. The position is not dissimilar to that between Indians and the British. Thirty or forty years ago we were more or less content with being the under-dog and the number of Indians who felt any resentment towards those who ruled over us and held all the best positions was very small indeed. Education has opened our eyes and made us realise the inferiority of our position and one of the main causes of the tension between the ruler and the ruled is the natural jealousy of a person who cannot feel that he is on terms of equality with another. The Hindu-Mahomedan problem, in one of its aspects, is due to the same cause, and, as education spreads among them, this tension is bound to become greater. Unity between two peoples is only possible when they are both in a position of equality; there can be no real union between communities or peoples, one of whom feels that he is in an inferior position. I fully believe that in time the present feeling of jealousy and suspicion will disappear, but at the present moment it is very much in existence and will continue to be in existence for some time to come. So

long as it exists, can we call ourselves a nation, in a position to govern ourselves? Is there not every possibility of our flying at each other's throats, if the restraining hand of a Government, to whom it makes no difference whether a man is a Hindu or a Mahomedan, is withdrawn? Self-government, until there is a real union between the two communities, may solve the problem, but it will be a somewhat bloody solution.

Take again, the question of the "backward" classes, the untouchables. It is not so acute in Bengal as it is in Madras, but it will not be long before it becomes equally acute here. Education is spreading amongst them and with education they are beginning to realise their inferiority. They are gradually learning to combine and to fight for recognition as an important portion of our people. It is all to the good and in time, if the Government, to whom a Namasudra is as good as a Brahmin, continues to exist, they will come up to the level of the rest of our people. What, however, would be the consequence, if self-government is granted to us at this stage? There will not be, perhaps bloodshed, as in the case of Hindus and Mahomedans; the "backward" classes are not as yet—at least in Bengal—fully conscious of their inferiority, though it will not be long before they grow to that stage; the chances are that there will be a set-back so far as their progress is concerned—the three higher castes are not likely to help them to rise. They will remain where they are, suffering from their own countrymen a treatment worse than that accorded to Indians in South Africa or Kenya. No one who cares for the ultimate good of India can contemplate such a state of things with equanimity. Outside Bengal and Madras the "backward" classes are still so far behind in education that they are not even conscious that they form any part of the body politic or that they have any rights therein.

Take again our rigid caste system, the number of rigid compartments into which Hindus are divided. How can we ever become one people so long as these rigid social distinctions remain? Even in Bengal, where its rigidity has to some extent relaxed, there was considerable agitation when Dr. Gour introduced in the Assembly a bill to legalise inter-caste marriages. It is true that when we are fighting against the Government, which is regarded as a common foe, questions of caste do not stand in our way. But what if that common foe is removed?



Again, how far have we developed towards a common nationality? Never mind India as a whole for the present; let us take Bengal alone. We—Bengalees all speak the same language; we have a common literature and if the people of any province in India can be called homogeneous, it is that of Bengal. And yet, have we really grown to nationhood? In matters of joint family life, we have undoubtedly reached the highest form of development; we are prepared to make every sacrifice for the sake of our family; the most distant relation has a claim on our bounty and we acknowledge the claim cheerfully; up to now work-houses have been unnecessary in this country. But there our growth has stopped. We are still devoid of the civic sense. We have not yet learned to contribute towards the common good. We have still to realise that if we combine with other families living in the same locality, each contributing something towards some work for the benefit of all, the benefit to us will be greater than if we stood alone. I am not referring to political movements, where carried away by the enthusiasm of the moment, we have been known to combine for

the time being and to contribute towards political funds.

Need I remind you of inter-provincial jealousies? The cry of Behar for the Beharees, Punjab for the Punjabees, Assam for the Assamese, is still fairly strong.

I have not touched on a very important factor which also has to be considered—the question of our army and navy. If we are to be free to govern ourselves, we must also be in a position to defend ourselves, at least, against the aggressions of our neighbours. We cannot obviously expect England to maintain an army and navy, even at our expense while we refuse them all voice in the administration of the country. But the point is so obvious that I need not dilate on it.

These are some of the facts which naturally render England apprehensive that a grant of self-government will mean a reversion to anarchy. We have to solve these difficulties before we can induce her to believe that she can safely, in her own interest, entrust the government of the country to us. They are, I believe, already in the process of solution but must take time.

## THE LAST KING OF THE HOUSE OF SHIVAJI

BY JADUNATH SARKAR

### I.

WITH the rise of the Peshwas to the supreme power in the State (c. 1716), the dynasty of kings founded by the great Shivaji fell into insignificance, powerlessness, and finally captivity. The last independent king of the Marathas was Rajaram, the younger son of Shivaji. His reign nominally covered eleven years (Feb. 1689—March 1700),—but during the first nine of these he was being either chased or invested in forts like Raigarh (1689) and Jinji (1690-1698) by the Mughals. His history during 1689 has been given to our readers in the November 1923 number of this *Review*, while the long siege of Jinji has been described in detail in our January and February numbers of last year.

The later history of Rajaram, from his return to Maharashtra in February 1698 to his death in March 1700 as hitherto known was derived from modern Marathi books only, and is meagre and inaccurate. It is now possible to give full and exact details of the occurrences in the Maratha Court and country during these two years, and also to carry the story of the Maratha royal family and its fortunes down to Aurangzib's death and the restoration of Rajah Sahu (1707), from manuscript Persian news-letters and other unpublished contemporary sources.

The filling-up of this gap in our knowledge of early Maratha history is attempted in the present article.

### II.

Early in January 1698 the fortress of Jinji

was captured by the Mughals. Rajaram fled from it and reached Vishalgarh in Maharashtra at the end of February.

The Emperor Aurangzib was then living in his Base Camp at Brahmपुरi (renamed Islampur), on the Bhima, some 25 miles below Pandharpur. At the news of the Maratha king's return home, he posted his grandson Bidar Bakht to the Panhala region in the south-west, while Prince Azam continued to guard the northern route from his camp at Pedgaon and Firuz Jang held the Berar country in the south-east.

Only a few records of the year 1698 have survived the ravages of time. It is not probable that any unusual activity was shown by the Marathas after Rajaram's arrival. He seems to have taken time to recover from the effects of the loss of Jinji and the destruction of the Government he had set up there, while the feud between Dhana Jadav and Sanaji Ghorpare's son and brother made a combined effort against the Mughals impossible for the present.

In September 1698, the Maratha Rajah's envoy Anaji visited an imperial minister with a letter from Rajaram begging for peace; but nothing came of it. Some of his followers at this time deserted his service in despair and joined the Mughals.

Early in 1699 Rajaram set out on a tour of inspection in Konkan, visiting all his forts and returning to Satara at the close of June,\* whence he went to Basantgarh about 20th July. In September he began to form plans of an extensive raid through Khandesh and Berar, in imitation of his father and elder brother. When the campaigning season opened in October, Aurangzib left Islampur (on the 29th), to attack the famous hill-forts of Maharashtra in person: and in less than a week from that date Rajaram sallied out of Satara.

### III.

Evidently Aurangzib's intention to besiege this fort first of all had leaked out, for immediately after his starting from Islampur, Rajaram removed his family from Satara to Chelna, and himself alighted eight miles outside Satara. Here two envoys of Buland

Bakht, the rebel Gond Rajah of Deogarh (C. P.), met him and invited him to Gondwana to cause a diversion in the Emperor's rear. The Maratha king had been intriguing with the Gond chiefs for some time past; and now, rejecting the advice of Dhana Jadav and Dado Malhar to flee to Jinji once again, he decided upon making a bold counter-stroke by a dash into Berar and Gondwana.

From the environs of Satara Rajaram sent a trusty servant to bring from the fort his turban-crest (*kalgī*) and some other ornaments. On his way back the man was killed and the jewels plundered. Alarmed at this bad omen, the Rajah returned to the fort, but that very day a fire broke out there and burnt some houses. Finally on the 26th he left Satara. Dhana Jadav, Ramchandra, Dado Malhar, and other generals, with 7000 troopers, escorted him to Chandan-Wandan (10 m. n. of Satara) while Ranuji Ghorpare (the son of Santa) was posted at the foot of Satara with 4,000 men.

After a three days' halt at Chandan-Wandan, Rajaram on 31st October left for the Adarki pass [n. e. of Chandan, on the Satara-Phaltan road], where he was joined by 12,000 men and took the route to Surat. The Emperor immediately sent urgent orders to Bidar Bakht to pursue and defeat this body. The Prince, who was then at a place 20 miles west of Miraj, on his way to Panhala, promptly turned aside and leaving his family and heavy baggage in Miraj fort, hastened in pursuit of the enemy.

Four miles beyond the fort of Parenda, Bidar Bakht came up with the Marathas. Rajaram himself stopped in safety eight miles further east, while he sent back his generals under Dhana to check the Prince's advance. After a bloody fight the Marathas were broken and driven towards Ahmadnagar (13th or 14th Nov.) Two days later the Prince was joined by Chin Qalich Khan at Barsi (20 m. e. of Parenda), and resuming the pursuit reached Ausa about the 23rd. A month later (26th December) we find him back at the Emperor's side, and on the same date Rajaram was reported to be 30 miles from the imperial camp below Satara and intending to go to Vishalgarh. The Maratha king's raid into Berar had been nipped in the bud. \* But one division under Krishna Savant

\* In June 1699 Chin Qalich Khan overtook Dhana (then returning from a raid in Bidar via Emdarabad) near Bhalavani and after heavy losses on both sides, captured 200 mares and some flags and drums from him. [Akhbarat] Bhalavani—13 m. w. of Pandharpur.

\* Bhimsen gives Zulfiqar Khan an important part in this defeat of Rajaram, saying "Ram with a

plundered some places near Dhamuni (in C.P.) and returned in safety. This was the first time that a Maratha force crossed the Narmada (*Dil.* ii. 129 a.)

Meantime battles had been fought with the other Maratha bands also. Ranuji was out near Kararabad (1st Dec.) and in the Sangula thanah four days later. Hamiduddin Khan, deputed from the Emperor's side at Satara, left his baggage at Masur, and advanced on Kararabad, fighting a vast Maratha army of five divisions which tried to envelop him. After a two-days struggle (20th and 21st Dec.) with heavy casualties, the Khan fell back on Masur. [Dado Malhar was wrongly reported to have been shot dead in this encounter.] Shortly afterwards Zulfiqar arrived there with his army and took up the pursuit of the elusive Maratha generals. On 9th January 1700, he fought Dhana, Ranu, and Hanumant Rao Nimbalkar beyond Masur, defeating them with a loss of 500 of their men killed. A few days later, Dhana attacked the outpost of Khanapur and carried off its Mughal officer Avji Adhal. On 25th January Zulfiqar, on a return march from Parenda, overtook a Maratha force of 10,000 near Undirgaon (19 m. s. of Parenda, on the Sina) and repulsed them, after slaying about a hundred men.

In the meantime, the Emperor's siege of Satara was going on and battles were fought in its environs. On 27th December, 1699 Hanumant Rao had attacked a patrolling party under Ikhlas Khan, only four miles from the siege-camp, slain the Khan and his son (Md. Yar) with many of their men, and carried off the elephants and baggage of this force. [*Akhbarat*. Zulfiqar Khan's campaign in *Dilkasha*, ii. 129.]

#### IV.

On 2nd March 1700, Rajaram died at Singharh, of a fever which was most probably caused by the hardships of his raid and the vehement pursuit of the Mughals. His family was then in the fort of Vishalgarh. The ministers, with the support of Dhana

large force entered the imperial territory for doing mischief. Bidar Bakht was appointed against him. The Khan Bahadur (Zulfiqar) was ordered to chase the enemy. Leaving his baggage at Sholapur, he met the Prince near Charthana and set out to overtake Rajaram, who took to flight on hearing of it. By way of Parenda, Ram crossed the Bhima near Tamarin, and took the road to his home, sending Dhana and some other generals against the camp at Islampuri. They made a demonstration there, fled before Zulfiqar, and were defeated near Basantagarh." [*Dilkasha*, ii. 129.)

Jadav, immediately crowned his favourite son Karna (the offspring of his concubine Saguna Bai), but this boy died of small-pox in three weeks (24th March). Then his legitimate son by Tara Bai was placed on the throne as Shivaji III., with the support of Ramchandra, the *Hakumat-pana*.\*

An internecine quarrel now broke out in the Maratha Court, between Rajaram's surviving widows, Tara Bai and Rajas Bai, the mothers of Shivaji III and Shambhuji II respectively, each standing up for her son's claim and being supported by a faction among the officers and generals.

Immediately after learning of her husband's death Tara Bai offered submission to the Emperor, through Ruhullah Khan, asking for a 7-hazari *mansab* and the *deshmushi* rights over the Deccan for Rajaram's legitimate son (Shivaji III.), and proposing to supply a Maratha contingent of 5000 men for service under the imperial viceroy of the Deccan and to cede seven forts (including Panhala, Satara, Chandan, Wandan, and Parli.) The new Maratha king was to be exempted from personal attendance on the Emperor, as the great Shivaji had been and the Maharana of Udaipur always was. [*Akh.* 12 March 1700. Aurangzib refused the offer and demanded all the forts in the country. The war, therefore, continued.

#### V.

At the end of March 1700, a long regency began in the Maratha State. But it was a regency of a different kind from the earlier one of 1689-98. There was no longer a grown-up king and a regular court as a final authority and recognised source of reference even in distant Jinji. The new king was a minor, a boy under ten. Nor was his authority undisputed among his subjects, as his half-brother Shambhuji II, was set up as his rival for the throne. The supreme guiding force in Maharashtra now was not a minister but the widowed queen Tara Bai Mohite. Her administrative genius and strength of character saved the nation in the awful crisis that threatened it in consequence

\* The date of Rajaram's death is given in the *Akhbarat*. Karna's accession and death are mentioned in the *Akh.* (1st and 4th April), *M. A.* (420) and *Dilkasha* (ii. 130a) only, while the Marathi sources are entirely silent about the event. This short-lived successor of Rajaram is named Karna in *Dil.* while the other two Persian authorities simply call him Shivaji, which title was also assumed by his half-brother and immediate successor the son of Tara Bai. This latter Shivaji did not die three weeks after his father.



of Rajaram's death, the disputed succession to his throne, and Aurangzib's unbroken victories from 1699 to 1701. Already in her husband's lifetime she had displayed masculine energy and intelligence, and begun to draw the threads of the administration into her own hands. The hostile Muslim historian Khafi Khan is constrained to call her wise, enterprising, expert in administration, and popular with the army. The entire Mughal camp had exulted on first hearing the news of Rajaram's death, "as if the roots of the Maratha disturbance had been thereby cut away. Alas! they knew not God's will. Under Tara Bai's guidance, Maratha activity began to increase daily." [K. K. ii. 469.] "She took into her own hands the control of all affairs,—such as the appointment and change of generals, cultivation of the country and planning raids into Mughal territory. She made such arrangements for sending troops to ravage the six subahs of the Deccan, nay even up to Sironj and Mandesor in Malwa,—and winning the hearts of her officers, that all the efforts of Aurangzib against the Marathas down to the end of his reign failed." [*Ibid.*, 516.]

Immediately after the death of Rajaram, Parashuram Trimbak, out of jealousy for the other ministers then in Satara, came out of his own fort of Parli and offered to join the Mughals. But he did not definitely enter their service, nor did the Emperor fully trust him. Tara Bai won this supremely able officer over to her interest by creating him *Pratinidhi*. She also appointed Shankar Narayan Gandekar as *Sachiv*, after removing Shankar Malhar Nargundkar from that post. "Ramchandra continued as *Amatya* and, seemingly the supreme head of the administration, but Parashuram enjoyed the queen mother's favour most." [Chit. ii. 71.]

But she had to struggle hard before her supremacy could be established. "Some of the generals obeyed her, some did not. Rajas Bai [the junior wife of Rajaram and the mother of Shambhuji II.] began to quarrel with Tara Bai and form her own faction." [*Ibid.* 72.] There was a third party among the Maratha leaders, who wanted to secure peace within the nation by placing Sahu on the throne, as he represented the elder branch of Shivaji's descendants.

## VI.

These dynastic quarrels were complicated by the cross-currents of personal rivalry

among the Maratha generals\* Dhana Jadav, as we have seen, had defeated Santa Ghorepare in 1697, and thus driven Santa's son Ranuji and brother Baharji into armed opposition to him. Late in December 1700 the two factions fought a battle ten or twelve miles from Islampuri, both sides losing heavily in this fratricidal contest. Krishna Malhar sided with Dhana, and the Ghorpares were defeated and fled towards Ahirwari. Three weeks later (16 Jan. 1701) we hear of Ranuji staying at Jagjivani and forming plans for avenging his defeat on Dhana [*Ahirwari*, 13 m. s. of Sholapur. *Jagjivani* 24 m. n. of Bijapur.]

Meantime, the Emperor had besieged and captured Satara (21 April 1700) and Parli (9 June). Towards the end of May, while the fate of Parli was still hanging in the balance, Ramji Pandit and Ambaji, the agents of Ramchandra and Parashuram respectively, visited Prince Azam and begged him to entreat the Emperor to pardon Shivaji III in return for the peaceful surrender of the Maratha forts. These overtures seem to have been insincere. The Emperor suspected the envoys of spying, and after keeping them under arrest for some months, released them on furnishing security (22 Dec. 1700.)

The two sieges and the retreat from Parli in the midst of rain and flood had caused unspeakable loss and suffering to the Mughal army. The Marathas put the misfortunes of the imperialists to the best account. In addition to their usual small raids, Hanumant Rao plundered the thanah of Khatau and killed its Mughal commander Ramchand (16 Aug. 1700.)†

Another Maratha band plundered up to the very tank of Shahpur outside Bijapur city (c. 15 Nov.) Ranuji killed the Mughal *thanadar* of Bagehwari (30 m. s. e. of Bijapur,) and looted that outpost as well as Indi (n. e. of Bijapur.)

## VII.

On 1st January 1701, the Emperor reached Miraj, on the way to Panhala, which had

\* e.g., on 11th March 1700 a false rumour reached the Mughal camp:—"A desai of the lowlands below the ghats, then serving under Ram Chandra, on being ordered to go to Parli, refused to march unless the arrears of salary due to him and his retainers were paid. Hot words followed between them, and at last the desai killed Ram Chandra with his dagger." (*Akh.*)

† Hanumant's adopted son Antaji died of wounds received in this battle and Hanumanto himself was soon afterwards taken ill of dropsy, all his body being swollen.

been besieged by Bidar Bakht. On the 23rd of the month Dhana Jadav appeared two miles from the camp and a fierce battle raged all the day, the entire imperial army being engaged. The Mughals after suffering heavy losses, had to entrench their position at night. Two days later, on hearing that Zulfiqar was coming up from Panhala, Dhana fell back four miles. Hamiduddin Khan followed him; but the Marathas fought while fleeing, and inflicted a heavy slaughter on the Mughals and drew them away 22 miles from their camp. Next day there was another pitched battle in the direction of Raibagh, and yet another battle on the day following. Then Dhana rapidly retreated and the Khan returned to the Emperor's side (29 Jan.) [*Akh.*; *Dil.* ii. 134 b].

The pursuit of Dhana was continued by Zulfiqar, who drove him back 12 miles beyond Chikori (s. e. of Kolhapur), and then returned to Panhala. Dhana immediately afterwards resumed his activity and sent Krishna Malhar with 10,000 horse to raid the highway near Panhala and cut off the grain-supply and communications of the Mughal besiegers of that fort (4 Feb.) Dhana himself tried to intercept some Mughal heavy guns which had reached Kararabad, while Krishna Malhar attacked Khatau, and Ramchandra and Dado Malhar descended into Konkan to oppose Siddi Yaqut of Danda-Rajpuri. On 24th February Ramchandra succeeded in throwing provisions into Panhala under convoy of 2,000 foot-musketeers, after cutting his way through Zulfiqar's army with heavy loss. Throughout this siege the elusive Dhana Jadav was roving here and there, vainly pursued by Zulfiqar, who could not keep pace with him and constantly lost troopers and horses through forced marches. On 20th April, Baharji Ghorpare was reported as having been captured by the Mughals.

Panhala capitulated to the Emperor on 28th May, 1701. When its defeated qiladar Trimbakji went to Ramchandra in Vishalgarh, the latter charged him with treachery saying, "You turned faithless to your master's salt and gave the fort up to the Mughals." Trimbakji retorted, "My artillery munitions ran out, and yet you did not care to inquire about my condition. I had no help but to yield the fort." For this he was cast into prison. [*Akh.* 7 June.]

#### VIII.

Ever since leaving Islampuri in October 1699, Aurangzib had met with unbroken suc-

cess: Basantgarh (1699), Satara and Pa-li (1700), Panhala and Pavangarh (28 Mar 1701), Wardhangarh (6 June), Nandgir (5 July), and Chandan (August), had all fallen to him. The other forts were to be next attacked by him, and the same result might be expected. Therefore, about 15th August, Tara Bai sent 1,500 infantry to Dhana Jadav and her other generals, ordering them to send 1,000 of the men to Singhgarh, Rajgarh and two other forts, and to come once to Vishalgarh to hold a council of war with her as "The Emperor has taken or is about to take all my kingdom." But the Maratha generals quarrelled about their future policy.

On 9th September, 1701, Dhana Jadav and Dado Malhar, with 5,000 men, attacked Hanu-mant Rao near Pachuni (?) beyond the Nira, and captured him with his property. In the same month, Ranu\* and Baharji offered to submit to the Mughals, but the negotiations failed,—like a similar insincere proposal made by Dhana in July 1703.

Wandan and Samangarh fell to the Mughals in October 1701, and next month the Emperor's design to besiege Vishalgarh became known. Tara Bai, therefore, left this fort on 16 Nov. and betock herself to Singhgarh.

The siege of Vishalgarh (Khelna) was the turning point in Aurangzib's affairs in the Deccan. He had gained victories in the field, but his entire administration had broken down, law and order disappeared from the Deccan, and the Government became bankrupt.

In January 1707, Tara Bai sent Dhana to arrest Baharji Ghorpare. The latter took refuge in fort Kurkal, 28 m. from Adoni, but all his property was captured by Dhana, who then besieged him in his fort. Baharji invited Zulfiqar to come to his rescue. Hearing of the Khar's approach, Dhana retired to Mysore, but Baharji, escaped from the danger, instead of keeping his promise of joining the Mughal army, retired to his home in the small fort of Sindur. [*Dil.*, ii. 15c]. Shortly afterwards the Emperor died, and a new chapter in the history of the Deccan opened.

#### IX.

When the newly crowned Rajaram fled away to the Madras coast (July, 1689), affairs in the Maharashtra country were left to his ministers. Ramchandra Nilkantha was created

\*We learn from Bhimsen that Dhana visited Ranuji (probably in 1700) near Firuzabad, 16 m. from Kultarga, with a view to making up their quarrel and forming an alliance for the future (*Dil.* ii. 130b).

Regent of the West, with the title of *Hakumat Panah*, and he guided the fortunes of this virtually kingless state with remarkable wisdom and tact. He checked the progress of the Mughals, organised raids into imperial territory, sent succour repeatedly to his master who was then shut up in the far-off fort of Jinji, and—what was more difficult than all these,—he succeeded in keeping peace among the intractable and mutually jealous Maratha generals, each of whom felt himself to be his own master. Letters, no doubt, passed between the king and his Regent in the West, but the route was long and often unsafe and Rajaram could not exercise any real control over Ramchandra, who enjoyed full initiative and supreme authority in the homeland during the nine years of the king's absence.

Rajaram, in addition to being plunged into debauchery in the Karnatak, was naturally weak-minded. His position made him powerless. He was a king without an army or treasury of his own, or subjects under his undisputed rule. Cooped up in a fort, he had to be all things to all men, and could not say No to anybody, nor enforce discipline among his servants. Any Maratha Captain who could get together a thousand or even five hundred men of his own, could dictate the terms of his obedience to his nominal king.

Rajaram was, therefore, profuse in his gifts of titles and unconquered lands.\* "All the Maratha *Sardars* went to the king at Jinji, and he gave them titles, army commands, and grants for the different districts where they were to go, loot the country, and impose the *chauth*. They were to go there, take shelter in the woods, and establish their rule by acting like *Paligars*, avoiding battles .... and employing the men of their contingents in work .... so that the kingdom would increase .... All his ministers and Captains [thus] began to prosper and became happy." [Chitnis, ii, 35]

### X.

Rajaram's political impotence is best illustrated by his duplication of offices and titles at a time when his kingdom was shrinking to nothing. He could not afford to disoblige any of his proud and selfish chiefs. If we can accept Chitnis's statements, public offices

like the *Amatya*-ship, the chief command etc., changed hands very frequently during his short reign: a man was appointed to a high post one year, and next year some one else, more powerful, or more influential, cajoled or coerced the king into giving him that very post, and the first incumbent was reinstated a year or two later! To provide posts for all his most influential servants, the normal council of eight ministers was expanded by adding two more men,—the *Hakumat Panah* and the *Pratinidhi*. Another office of ministerial rank was the *Rajagna*, which though created by Shambhuji rose to first-rate importance in Rajaram's government.

At Jinji Rajaram created Prahlad Niraji his *Pratinidhi* (king's Proxy), who eclipsed the nominal Prime-minister or *Peshwa* Nilkantha Moreshwar Pingle. We have a parallel to this in the action of Bahadur Shah I, the weak successor of Aurangzib, who could not help appointing Munim Khan as his *Wazir* (Prime-minister) and at the same time felt bound to oblige his foremost noble, Asad Khan, by giving him an equally high position as *Wakil* (or King's Proxy),—with the result of friction between the two. The office of *Senapati* (commander-in-chief) was changed five times in Rajaram's short reign of eleven years; and, in addition, five officers at one time enjoyed titles varying in terminology but all meaning "leader of the army"\* and all being entitled to the rank banner and other paraphernalia of the *Senapati*! [Chitnis, ii. 40-41.]

But this decentralisation of authority was exactly suited to the situation in Maharashtra. The Maratha captains, each acting on his own account, carried on a guerilla warfare (as described in Chitnis, ii. 43-45), and caused the greatest loss and disturbance to the Mughal territories. The imperialists did not know what point to defend, nor where to find a vital enemy position for their attack. The extremely mobile Maratha bands covered long distances and delivered attacks at the most unexpected quarters; and such roving bands were countless. The result was universal unrest throughout the Deccan. "In addition to the (regular) divisions under the three generals (totally 60 to 70 thousand cavalry), and the king's own contingent of 10,000,—

\* Streams of people from Maharashtra flocked to Jinji to get offices, titles and lands or to renew the titles of their ancestral property or rights as hereditary village officers,—as is illustrated in the contemporary documents printed by Baiwade.

\* The titles of *Senapati*, *Sena-sahib-subah*, *Sar-i-lashkar*, *Sena-dharamdhar*, and "with honour equal to the *Senapati*." It would be incorrect to call four of these divisional commanders, as they were declared to be equal to the *Senapati* (o-in-c) and in no way subordinate to him.



there were roving bands of 15 to 20 thousand, who fought their way to Maharashtra levied *Charath* from the provinces, drove out the imperial outposts, and strengthened their own strategic points (*nake jaga*) and forts.

Fortifying out-of-the-way places, they remained encamped in the shelter of woods and cut off Mughal detachments." [Chitnis, ii, 43.]

At this stage the Marathas avoided pitched battles—except when they had to relieve a fort, nor did they stay long within easy reach of the Mughal armies. Their encampments during the rainy months were in obscure and inaccessible places. Their bands did not hold together all the year round but dispersed to their several homes after the campaigning season of six months. (October to April) was over.

## XI.

Ram Chandra's task was no easy one. For one thing, many of his best forts and most of his fertile country were in Aurangzib's hands. He had, besides, to control generals who were inclined to pay him little obedience though Rajaram had publicly proclaimed that the *Hakumat-panah's* orders were not to be upset even by the King. [Chit., 40.] The distribution of territory for plunder made by Ramchandra among his generals was not always respected by them, and hence they frequently came to blows among themselves over the booty or the fields of their raids.

There was mutual jealousy among the ministers left in Maharashtra as well as at the Court of Jinji. Parashuram Trimbak formed a faction of his own and drew Santaji Ghorpare into it. The natural consequence was that Dhana Singh Jadav was backed by Ramchandra. Santa's insubordination proved unbearable; he would not obey the Regent of the West, nor co-operate in any national enterprise (like the relief of Panhala in 1693) planned by him, preferring to conquer an independent estate for himself. Ramchandra had, therefore, to secure the king's consent to Santa's dismissal and even refused for a month together to grant him an interview [Chit. 34]. Then another minister Shankaraji took Santa under his wing, formed a plan of co-operation and division of spoils with him and sent him to Madras with an earnest

request to serve the king more faithfully than he had done in the West. [Zedhe S.] Another refractory and selfish general of great power was Nima Sindhia, but he rose to prominence after the death of Rajaram.

Ramchandra struggled against these difficulties as best he could, and on the whole he succeeded fairly well. As the acute observer Bhimsen remarks about the year 1697, "Among the Marathas not much union was seen. Everyone called himself a *sardar* and set out to raid and plunder [for himself] (*Dilkasha* ii, 122 a).

The rivalry between Santa Ghorpare and Dhana Jadav precipitated a civil war in 1696, as we have seen [Dec. 1922 No. of this *Review*.] Three battles were fought between them, Dhana being supported by the king's authority. The first encounter was a mere demonstration, in the second Santa was victorious, and in the last one Dhana. The murder of Santa (June 1697) created a blood-feud between his son Ranuji and his brother Baharji (surnamed *Hindu Rao*) on the one hand and Dhana's party on the other, which took long to heal. But this internal discord among the Marathas gave the Mughals only a brief respite.

Ramchandra cleverly provided shelters for the families of the Maratha combatants in South Konkan and the Portuguese territory of Daman, which had not yet been penetrated by Mughal armies, and also in the Berad country and the north-western corner of Mysore, which the Emperor was not yet free to invade. Many Marathas also lived unknown for years in the Mughal cities, even at Aurangabad, with the secret sympathy of local residents (many of whom were kin to them).

A change took place at the Maratha headquarters when Rajaram returned home in March 1698. Nominally the king assumed the supreme authority, but in fact Ramchandra still continued to guide the operations and issue the orders. This state of things, however, lasted for only two years. When Rajaram died, in March 1700, another regency ensued.

After the death of Rajaram and the three week's reign of his natural son Karna, (March 1700), Tara Bai crowned her own son Shivaji, a boy under ten years, and ruled with the help of Parashuram Trimbak.

## DR. WISER, OF GERMANY—AN INNOVATOR IN THE TREATMENT OF THE EYE

By EMMA GOLDMAN

**D**R. Count Maximilian Friedrich Joseph Wisser, an eye-doctor who lives and works in a small town in the gorgeous Thuringen Hills, Bad Liebenstein, Germany, is at once the most maligned and hated, as well as much loved and idealised member of that branch of the medical profession which deals with the eye—hated by the caste in Germany which, no less than in other countries, claims the sole monopoly to medical science; loved by scores who had been given up by the profession as hopeless and who have regained sight and health through the skill and humanity of Dr. Wisser.

The man, his personality and achievements are so remarkable that I consider it an act of simple justice to him, and of service to humanity, to bring Dr. Wisser to the attention of the public in foreign lands.

My discovery of Dr. Wisser came about in the following way: In November, 1922, my niece, of New York, was stricken with an infection of the right eye. Treated by Dr. Thorack of New York, she was subjected to various tests and severe measures, with the only result that the condition of her eye grew steadily worse and her general health was completely broken. In January, 1923, she apparently lost her sight altogether, becoming totally blind in the right eye. Later the patient consulted Dr. May, one of the greatest eye-specialists in America. He diagnosed her case as "detached retina" and said that the right eye was hopelessly blind. He also expressed the fear that it may in time shrink and become disfigured and that an operation may be needed in order to prevent infection of the left eye. It is necessary to mention here that before her illness my niece enjoyed perfect vision, never previously having had any trouble with her eyes. The diagnosis of Dr. May and the fear of disfigurement exerted a most depressing effect upon the patient. She felt discouraged and disheartened.

However, I insisted that some of the German specialists be consulted. I had heard of Professor Axenfeld, of Freiburg, as a great authority, and hoping that he might be able

to help my niece, I prevailed upon the latter to come to Germany. While she was at sea I learned of a noted specialist in Berlin, Professor E. Kreuckmann. My niece arrived April 20th in great physical and mental distress, and we lost no time in visiting Professor Kreuckmann.

After several examinations the Professor diagnosed her case as tuberculosis of the eye. "Nothing is to be done for the blind eye," said the Professor in an abrupt, true Prussian fashion. "The left eye is in perfect condition. Take the patient to the mountains and let her be exposed to the sun. Before that have an X-Ray taken and the patient internally examined."

The X-Ray and internal examination proved not a trace of tuberculosis and I thought it rather peculiar that only the right eye should have been infected by the tubercular germs. As specialists have been known to err before, we decided to try again. I turned for advice to Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld, a man of international note as writer and lecturer on scientific topics. From him I learned about Dr. Wisser. Dr. Hirschfeld strongly advised that I take my niece to the latter. "Dr. Wisser, though very much opposed by the academicians, is yet a remarkable diagnostician and has had great results with his new methods", said Dr. Hirschfeld. We decided to see Dr. Wisser.

Bad Liebenstein is a health resort, known for its beneficial mineral waters, for heart and rheumatic troubles. It lies in a beautiful valley at the foot of the Thuringen Hills. On one of the lovely spots stands Villa Georg, the private clinic of Dr. Wisser. He is also at the head of a large sanitarium, built exclusively for the use of Germans.

It was on June 3 that we visited Dr. Wisser. The attending nurses handed us a circular signed by twenty-two of the best known eye-specialists of Germany, setting forth that in 1915 they had petitioned the Medical Department of the War Ministry to have Wisser removed from the Herzogin Charlotte Eye Clinic for wounded army men. We were taken aback. We felt that there

must be something wrong about Dr. Wiser if such noted men could array themselves against him. We were yet to learn that petty envy and trickery are characteristics not only of shopkeepers. Presently we were called into the consulting room of Dr. Wiser. Half an hour in his presence proved reassuring. The very personality of the man, his refinement and charm, his infinite patience, must needs instill confidence. One feels at once that here is a great man, entirely dedicated to his chosen work.

After a painstaking examination which lasted an hour and tests with various lenses for muscular gymnastics of the eye (which method plays such an important part in Dr. Wiser's treatment) he diagnosed the case as *iridocyclitis*. He said that my niece was abnormally far-sighted, that she had evidently overstrained her eye, causing excessive blood-pressure which resulted in the formation of a blood clot that was now obscuring the vision of the right eye. "The thing to do is to remove the obstruction which though difficult, is not impossible", said Dr. Wiser. He prescribed certain treatment and turned the patient over to his very capable and charming nurses.

Later I shall return to the methods of Dr. Wiser and their effect on my niece and scores of other patients I have observed carefully and whose history I have noted down. For the present I must state that the "hopelessly incurable" eye of my niece began almost immediately to yield to the treatment of Dr. Wiser. After three days she began to distinguish shadows, and at the end of the first week she was able to decipher large letters at a distance of three inches. Each succeeding day and week the "blind" eye reacted more and more actively to the treatment. His method involves most strenuous application that physically almost exhausts the patient, and therefore the treatment was suspended at the end of the third month, my niece being ordered to take a complete rest. She went to England, whence she returned after five weeks to continue treatment for three weeks more.

Her "blind" eye completely lost its glazy expression, its general condition and appearance improved to a most remarkable degree, and to a great extent vision was restored. It is certain that she would have regained her full sight, could she have continued to be treated by Dr. Wiser. But the turbulent conditions in Germany necessitated her departure home. Dr. Wiser himself advised

her to leave, because he could not conscientiously expose her to the excitement and possible shocks every day might bring. "I am confident", Dr. Wiser said to her, "that your eye will continue to improve and that you will regain normal vision".

Who is this man and what are his theories and methods that bring results where some of the biggest specialists have failed? Dr. Count Wiser comes of an old aristocratic family. He was born on the 24th of July, 1861, at Köstheim, a little place near Mainz. His father, Count Carl Joseph von Wiser, an officer in the Austrian Army, disliked his calling to such an extent that he devoted himself to natural science. Later he visited the United States, where he perished in the great Chicago fire, in 1871. Dr. Wiser was educated in Austria and Bavaria, at first studying jurisprudence, much against his inclination. In 1889 he became ill. It was thought that his lungs were affected, and he went to Italy where his mother resided because of her health. Referring to this period, Dr. Wiser said to me:

"After many unsuccessful 'cures' a certain physician advised me to settle down on an Alpine meadowland and to live only on milk and bread. The advice proved excellent. After four months I was in perfect health. During the time I learned Goethe's "Faust" by heart, first and second part, and made botanical studies. When still a student of law, I became interested in medicine and in my spare time attended many lectures on the subject. What I had learned enabled me to save the hand of a poor old woman, whom I once met in the mountains and who had been advised to have her hand amputated. When I became well I went to Bonn and matriculated for the medical course."

After his graduation Dr. Wiser became assistant physician to Professor Saemisch, of Bonn, a famous eye-specialist, now dead. In view of the charges of ignorance and quackery brought against Wiser by some of his colleagues—the persecution of an innovator of which I shall speak later—it will be interesting to reproduce here a letter of Professor Saemisch concerning Wiser.

Bonn, May 31, 1900.

Doctor of medicine, Graf von Wiser, has been assisting physician in the Royal University Eye Clinic since Aug. 1, 1896, and since Aug. 1, 1898, First Assistant. He filled his position to my fullest satisfaction, performing his work with especial devotion and conscientiousness. He has gained splendid experience in the treatment of the disease of the eye, and he possesses the ability to practically apply his knowledge with confidence and skill.

As first assistant in the Eye Clinic he had repeatedly to take the place of the undersigned Director, during the often long absences of the latter in his official duties as well as in his private



practice. He did the work in a manner fully to justify the confidence placed in him.

The undersigned is also glad to mention that Dr. Graf von Wiser has used to the utmost his opportunity during the many years of his connection with the University Eye Clinic, to familiarise himself with accident insurance, and he has thus gained experience and skill in the professional judgment of such matters.

(Signed) Director of the Eye Clinic,  
Professor Dr. Saemisch  
Gen. Medizinalrat.

Had Dr. Wiser remained in the folds of the medical church, he would now undoubtedly be holding a chair in one of the leading universities, and be looked upon as an honourable and worthy member of the professional world. But men like Wiser are not content with limited folds and old dogmas. Their restless spirit is ever in quest of new paths. Thus Wiser, while still assistant to Saemisch, had ample opportunity to realise the inadequacies of the old methods, and especially the criminal practice of applying the knife too readily, often with disastrous results. At the same time Dr. Wiser came upon the book of Dr. W. Schoen, "Functional Diseases of the Eye," published in 1893. This work helped to clarify his ideas and to suggest newer methods for the treatment of a number of eye troubles. For several years, Dr. Wiser practised his profession independently in Mainz and Wiesbaden, also holding the position of eye-specialist in the St. Vincent Hospital in Mainz. He performed operations where such were necessary, and enjoyed a splendid reputation for the success he had in his chosen line. Subsequently he settled in Bad Liebenstein.

The theory and methods of Dr. Wiser are based upon a conception entirely different from that of the old school. In Dr. Wiser's own words:

"The profession considers concave and convex lenses as merely aiding the better to concentrate light rays on the retina; while I, on the contrary, believe that the convex lens can with much greater success be used as a means of developing and curing the eye.

"By the help of convex lenses and prisms we can most effectively influence the circulation of the blood, stimulate the growth of the eye, and clear the occluded tissues of the eye, which in their healthy condition are transparent.

"The interrelation of the two eyes can also be essentially influenced by the use of the proper lenses. Squint-eyes can be corrected, weak sight can be strengthened by practising with appropriate glasses and the wearing of the same, and eyes afflicted for work may be made fit again by the use of the right lenses.

"The wearing of strong concave glasses is detrimental to the eye. We must return to the former view that concave lenses should be as weak

as possible and prescribed only in cases of real near-sightedness.

"I have reached this conviction after years of experience, and since I have been treating my patients accordingly I have had very good success.

"I am of the opinion that an operation is to be considered only when all other means have failed. Not all operations are successful, and no physician can guarantee their outcome, because the processes going on in the body of another person can be guaranteed as little as those within our own body."

During my three months in Liebenstein of which six hours daily were spent in Villa Georg, I watched not only my niece's case but scores of others, cases of blindness in various stages, and those given up as hopeless by many eye-specialists,—tragic and desperate cases that came to Dr. Wiser even as my niece had come, as a last hope. The improvement brought about within a few weeks in almost every case was truly amazing. To be sure, the treatment every patient has to undergo is most severe. It involves eye practice so drastic that it affects most people, resulting in headaches and general exhaustion. Hours of straining to decipher letters of different sizes through convex glasses of varying strength at carefully measured distances, concentrating on all script held closely before one's eyes and to be read through a microscope lens, and finally the use of ointment, salve, and the injection of drops, followed by sprays of salt water solution—the whole process being repeated daily. "The patience of an angel is required", as Dr. Wiser himself says. Often patients become discouraged because of the strain on their physical and mental system. Often they almost give up hope but in the end each one realises the severe optical discipline worth while because it gives results. Of the large number of cases under my observation, space will permit me to cite only several.

I have already spoken of my niece's case. Of the others I may mention:

Mrs. K. Chemnitz. Age 27. At the age of nine, she began wearing glasses which were frequently changed and increased in strength. At the same time, the condition of her eye grew steadily worse. A number of doctors had been consulted and various cures attempted without results. On May, 1919, she came to Dr. Wiser. Examination proved her condition as astigmatism, myopia, and muscular spasms. Since then the patient underwent treatment every year for a period of four to six weeks. In July, 1923, the spasms and astigmatism had already been eliminated. Before she was discharged by Dr. Wiser, her



optic nerves had regained normal condition. By means of a convex lens, she can now read and write without trouble. For distance she also uses a lens, though she can see quite well without it.

Mr. H. Hamburg. Age 50. This patient was suffering from progressive blindness. Treated numerous times without result, he came to Dr. Wisner in 1920. At that time his eyesight had become so bad that he could neither read, write, nor recognise acquaintances on the street. Wisner's diagnosis—*Neuritis* (inflammation of the optic nerve).—Continued treatment by Wisner a short period each year. In June, 1923, patient had regained normal vision.

Miss H. Rheimland. Age 20. Began wearing glasses for near-sightedness when ten years old. Could keep up at school only by means of increasingly stronger lenses. Later was threatened with blindness, and after much doctoring came to Wisner in April, 1923. He diagnosed her trouble as a case of neglected 'school near-sightedness'. (Dr. Wisner makes a speciality of arresting the growth of that frequent disease among children, during the summer of 1923 his clinic looked like a school-house, scores of children from all parts of Germany being there for treatment.) Miss H. underwent the usual treatment. On the 10th of August, 1923, she had gained so much of her normal vision that she could read small script at a distance of six inches, and could see large letters at a distance of thirty-nine yards, by the use of carefully chosen glasses.

Mr. V. C. Berlin, an Indian. One of the two Indians treated by Dr. Wisner the past summer. Age 43. This patient lost the sight of one eye by years of eye-strain caused by day and night eye-work. Other specialists stated that his optic nerve was paralysed, causing his blindness. After a thorough examination Dr. Wisner told him the optic nerve was not paralysed, that he was abnormally far-sighted, that his constant night work had seriously overstrained the eye, causing excessive blood-pressure and the formation of a blood-clot that obscured the vision. The case was not serious. This patient was unable to undergo treatment for more than two weeks, but during this short period of time his eyesight improved by 50 per cent. After trial for two weeks he was fitted with perfect glasses which enabled him to read for an unlimited period of time without the serious headaches and pains from which he formerly suffered.



Dr. Graf von Wisner—Innovator in the Treatment of the Eye

Mrs. Z. Berlin. Age about 40. Came to Dr. Wisner in May, 1923. Was nearly blind and in a very distressed state of mind. She had been treated by many specialists in Berlin. Wisner found inflammation of the retina and vein. At the time Mrs. Z. could distinguish only black outlines. After five weeks of strenuous exercise, and repeated changes of convex lenses, the patient could see large letters at a distance of seven and a half yards, could read and write without difficulty, and could go about without assistance, which she had been unable to do for a number of years. I was particularly interested in this case, because she was alone and I had occasion to assist her in her daily optical exercises.

The most remarkable case besides that of my niece and that of Mrs. Z. was the case of Miss K., a school teacher from Vienna. Inci-



dentally it disproves the charge that Dr. Wiser is incompetent to operate, and that he, for that reason, repudiates operations. Miss K. came to him suffering from primary and secondary cataract in the right eye, and a cataract infection of the left eye. She had been treated by specialists in Vienna who told her that both eyes would have to be operated on. Dr. Wiser decided that the right eye had gone beyond medical or optical treatment, so he performed two operations on it. The introductory operation took place in August, the main operation in September, 1915. Both proved successful. He then began the treatment of the left eye which could be carried out only slowly and between long intervals. She was again at Wiser's in 1923 for treatment for the whole summer. Her condition had improved to the extent of enabling her to perform not only her own school tasks, but also a considerable amount of secretarial labour which often required night work. She told me, she did not feel fatigued, though her eyes would be employed for ten or twelve hours daily.

The above cases, out of many, convinced me of the skill and ability of Dr. Wiser, the sincerity with which he approaches every case, the conscientious and infinite patience he shows in diagnosis and treatment, in order to restore his patients to sight and life.

One would assume that Dr. Wiser's extraordinary achievements would be hailed by the medical profession as a notable contribution to medical science. Alas for the iron-clad dogmas of the academic caste which excludes everyone as an interloper who dares to go his independent way! Like most innovators, Dr. Wiser is an alien in his own land—so far as the medical profession is concerned—misrepresented, repudiated, and persecuted by the caste, to such an extent, indeed, that it has been almost impossible for him to induce physicians to assist in the work or to study his methods. Young eye-doctors often fear for their own future if they study under a man who is not considered orthodox.

Vilification of Dr. Wiser dates back many years, but it was first in 1915 that an open and concerted attack was staged against him. It was in connection with an appeal for funds made by the Duchess Charlotte, sister of the ex-Kaiser, and other patrons of the Liebenstein Eye Clinic for wounded soldiers, at the head of which was Dr. Wiser. That was too much for the medical caste! The idea of that man Wiser, a "discredited" physician,

receiving the support of right and high-placed patrons: Something had to be done. That "something" happened on October 29th, 1915, when twenty-two physicians, directors of the University Eye Clinics of Germany, sent a round-robin against Dr. Wiser to the Medical Department of the Imperial Prussian War Ministry. That official document is so characteristic of the professional attitude against Dr. Wiser, that a few excerpts will be of interest to the reader.

"... We are compelled to take this unusual step in view of certain things known about Dr. Graf Wiser. It is true, he was professionally trained as Assistant of the late Saemisch, of Bonn, and is to that extent capable of practising as an eye physician. But... it must be emphasised that Dr. Graf von Wiser entirely lacks experience as an operator. For many years he had performed no operations. Indeed, the peculiarity of his method consists in that he pretends to be able to cure without an operation the disease of the eye which needs an operation; as, for instance, gray cataract, glaucoma, etc. Thus he 'saves people from the knife', as he pleases to put it. That of course nets him a big clientele and a tremendous income, as is frequently the case with non-operating medical quacks. But such methods have unfitted him for operations, because of lack of practice, if he ever was capable of performing an operation. It may also be that his incapability to operate is the reason for his questionable methods of treatment. This man is entirely incapable of performing eye operations, and without operative skill it is impossible to conduct conscientiously an institution for eye diseases and optical wounds... There are also other very serious reasons to believe that Dr. Graf Wiser lacks the necessary knowledge for correct diagnosis as well as diagnostical conscientiousness. On numerous occasions he reversed the correct diagnosis in cases of undoubted eye disease, as pronounced by the proper authorities.... Again his claim that by his methods real myopia can not only be lessened but even removed, is in complete contradiction of truth.

"... We the signatories are responsible for the education of the rising medical generation... In Germany, where medical quackery is in high bloom, there are enough examples of how fame and wealth may be gained by easy, irresponsible methods. It is the more disastrous when a physician sets such an evil example. Therefore we could not permit without protest that money from the funds of the war sufferers be devoted to Liebenstein hospital purposes, thus giving Dr. Wiser a larger field of activity. We can conscientiously consent to the admission of wounded and optically diseased soldiers to Liebenstein only on the condition that Dr. Graf von Wiser be eliminated from that institution."

Not content with this official denunciation some of the signatories exploited the opportunity to undermine Dr. Wiser in an underhand private manner. These are too ridiculous to recount. But the role played by a well-known physician, Dr. Bielschowsky, is



worthy of publicity. That honourable gentleman visited Bad Liebenstein as the official "secret" investigator of the signatories of the round-robin, although he could have made his investigations openly and with the aid of Dr. Wiser. He started his work at a time when Wiser was entirely unaware of the denunciation sent to the Ministry, as was proved by the court proceedings in the libel suit subsequently brought by Dr. Wiser against his detractors, and published by Dr. Wiser's attorneys, Messrs. Dr. Werthauer and Dr. Seidl. (Potsdam, 1918 under the title: "Verbereitender Schriftsatz in Sachen Wieser gegen Greeff und Gen.")

Bielschowsky lost no time in sending a most scurrilous report against Dr. Wiser to the military authorities, denouncing him for "encouraging laziness among the soldiers" who were treated in the Liebenstein institution "far beyond the necessary period", and trying to impress the military authorities that Dr. Wiser's methods "withdraw from the army and from industrial life, men fit for service and work, a proceeding obviously destructive of good discipline and detrimental to our social life."

Those who suffered most from Bielschowsky's report were, of course, the poor blinded or half-blinded soldiers in the Liebenstein Eye Clinic, men who had already done their bit in the war, and who were entirely dependent upon Wiser's skill for their recovery. The idea of permitting soldiers to be treated for months as if they were really human beings! A patched-up soldier is better than no soldier, and here was this man Wiser, whose concern was not war, or the particular rank of the patient, but to restore their sight, to send them back to life newly equipped with their spirit raised. "I know nothing of politics and care little about them," said Dr. Wiser during one of our interviews. "I know only suffering humanity, the flower of the land shot to pieces by senseless hate. My aim and sole interest are to help them and to instill in them new faith in life". Naturally, such a man was out of place at the head of a military hospital. He had to resign.

The campaign which resulted in Wiser's resignation from the Clinic turned out to be of importance to him and of great benefit to many helpless and hopeless cases. Duchess Charlotte, evidently aroused over the persecution of Dr. Wiser, in 1915 built a sanitarium to enable him to practise his theories and test his

methods without let or hindrance, at the same time making it possible for him to treat a large number of patients. The sanitarium is for the exclusive use of Germans without regard to station or means. It was opened in 1916, and until October 1923, when it had to be closed for lack of fuel, it sheltered, fed, and treated hundreds of thousands of eye patients.

The opponents of Dr. Wiser did not shrink from charging him, among other things, with being mercenary, a charge even more absurd than those involving his professional integrity and skill. In fact Dr. Wiser would long ago have had to close Villa Georg, where his private patients are treated, as the sanitarium had to be closed, were it not for the more practical spirit of Sister Senta, the business genius of the institution. It is she, aided by Sisters Maria and Francisca, whose entirely selfless devotion and intense application enabled the institution to continue in the present most difficult conditions of life in Germany. The Doctor himself feels very apologetic when it comes to charging a fee. On a certain occasion he said to me: "Those who surround the Pope are usually more zealous than the Pope himself. My nurses are most devoted to me and very faithful to my interests. But to me, my patients are the chief consideration. We all have pride and ambition and mine are to get results where others have failed. That is my greatest reward."

Dr. Wiser's patients are never presented with a bill before the end of a cure, a proceeding which in present-day Germany is practically ruinous for a physician. A certain foreign patient is charged German prices because she is the wife of an artist. The Indian patient mentioned was charged low German prices because he is a political exile. Another, an American physician, well able to pay a substantial fee, is treated by Dr. Wiser without charge, because it is "unethical" to make a colleague pay. A German writer is treated free because "German intellectuals are already in a terrible plight," etc., etc. To be sure, when Dr. Wiser knows that a patient belongs to the newly rich, or is engaged in lucrative business in his country, or is a foreigner able to pay, he charges pre-war fees, but that certainly cannot be taken as an indication of greed. For the benefit of the patients in his sanitarium, one might well wish that Dr. Wiser were a little more concerned about the financial results of his labours.

• Maligned and misrepresented by his



professional enemies, and prevented by the tragic fate of Germany to be of much help to his own countrymen, Dr. Wiser looks to other countries—particularly America—for a chance to be heard. But even America, although a young country, is also developing an orthodox medical caste who suspects the innovator. Such countries as India are perhaps still in a stage where they welcome

such men. Dr. Wiser is now writing an extensive work on his theories and methods, and expects to find a publisher. I trust that he may also be invited to lecture before foreign student bodies, which he desires more than anything else. It is this hope which has prompted me to write this article, to call to the attention of the world, Wiser the Physician and the Man.

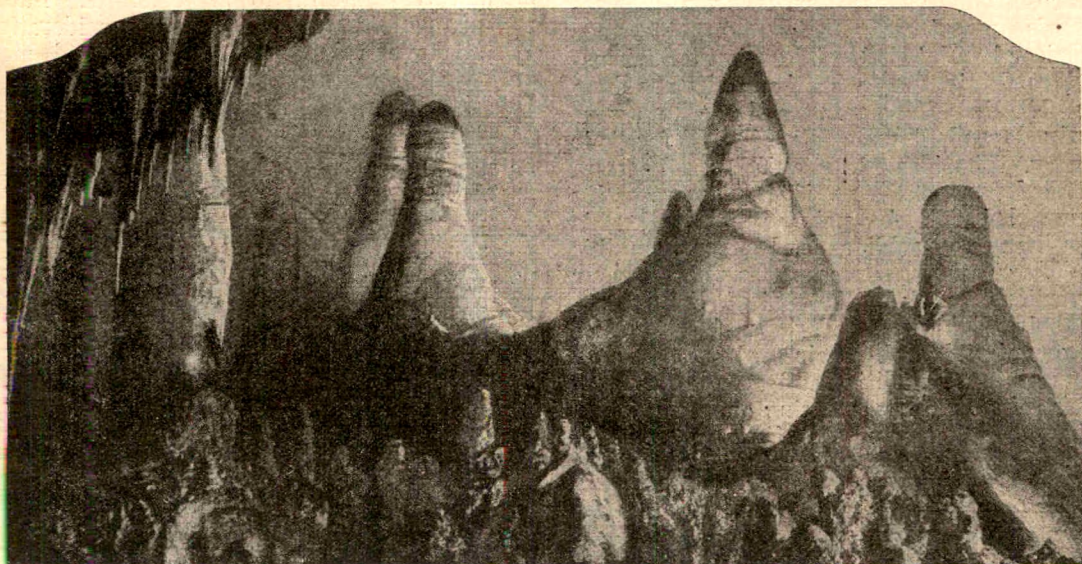
## GLEANINGS

### Exploring World's Greatest Cavern

With fantastically beautiful rock formations and cathedral-like chambers glittering in a hundred shades of color, the vast cavern near Carlsbad, New Mexico, is believed to be the largest ever discovered. Although its existence had been known since 1901, when swarms of bats were seen to fly from a hole in the side of a hill, it was only recently that its interior was explored by scientists of the United States Geological Survey,

One of the great chambers of the Carlsbad Cave, is more than half a mile long. Columns range from the length of a needle to heights greater than 100 feet. The ceiling is more than 300 feet high.

The slow seep and drip of mineral solution through incalculable ages shaped the weird architecture shown below. Drips from the vaulted ceiling, built up the dark stalagmite rising like a pillar in the foreground, and the stalactites that hang from the ceilings like huge icicles. Except for millions of bats, the great Carlsbad Cave shelters no animal nor

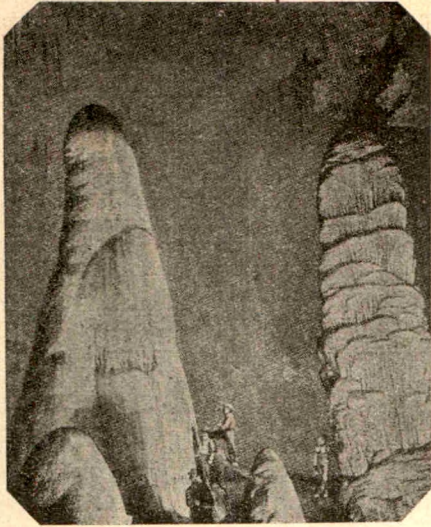


One of the Greatest Chambers of the Carlsbad Cave. The ceiling is more than 300 feet high

A small party, headed by Dr. Willis T. Lee, entered the lofty chambers while seeking to discover why waters impounded in dams along the Pecos River disappeared underground. One of the enormous rooms was found to be half a mile long and a quarter mile wide.

vegetable life. In the early morning and late afternoon, the echoing darkness is vibrant with the beating of their wings as they dart among the grotesque formations





Two massive columns of the cave, rising to 70 feet above the floor of the cavern

### Science Nears Tomb Of First Man

A band of American scientists this spring will guide their motor cars again into the great Gobi Desert of Mongolia, seeking to wrest from the bosom of the earth a scientific solution of the supreme mystery of nature—the origin of man.

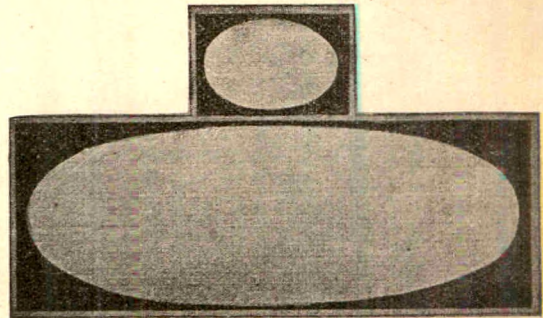
The expedition will be led by Roy Chapman Andrews, of the American Museum of Natural History, who returned recently from Mongolia after two years of exploration that resulted in what have

been called the most important and spectacular discoveries of their kind.

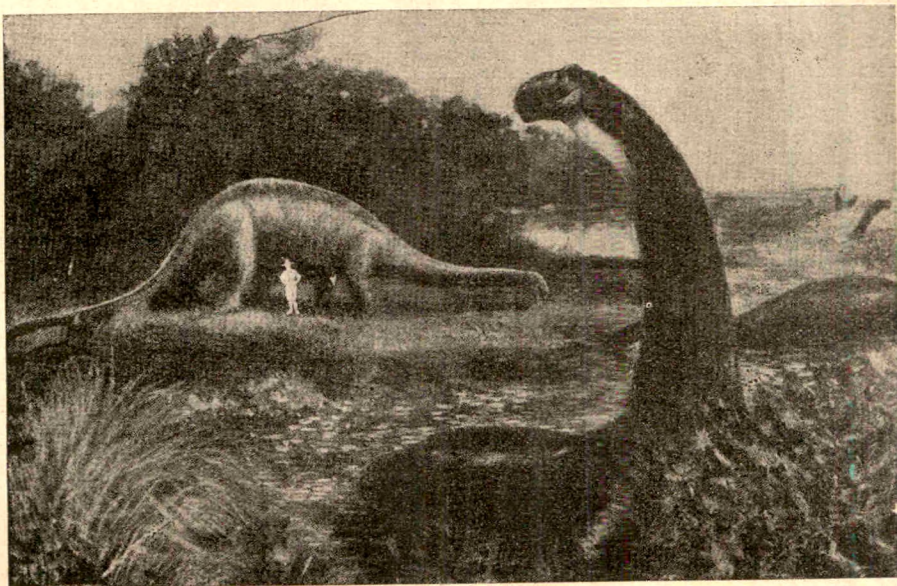
These discoveries, scientists say, prove indubitably that North America and Asia at one time were linked by land, and supply all but direct evidence that central Asia was the fountainhead from which sprang human life. That Central Asia was the source of most of the other forms of animal life now on earth, the recent expedition proved virtually beyond question.

In the search for evidence of the birthplace of man, the scientists will seek the fossilized bones of primitive men believed to have lain buried in the Mongolian rocks for millions of years. That the bones are there the members of the expedition are certain.

"I believe unquestionably that Mongolia will yield the remains of primitive men," said Mr. Andrews recently, speaking through courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History and *Asia Magazine*, joint sponsors of his first expedition. "We did not exhume the bones of the progenitors of the human race on our initial exploration simply



A dinosaur egg compared with a hen's egg



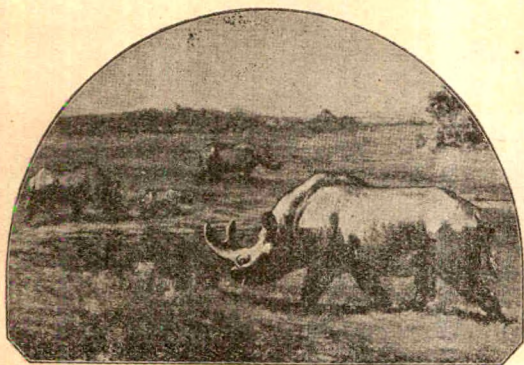
Dinosaurs as they appeared in pre-historic ages. They were 60 to 80 feet from head to tail



because we did not reach the proper strata of rock, we learned much as we searched, however, and I am confident that on our next trip we shall get there."

Probably the most important scientific treasures unearthed were 25 dinosaur eggs, some of them containing embryo dinosaurs. A number of eggs were found in the nest where they were laid more than 10,000,000 years ago.

This discovery was the first revelation science has had that dinosaurs—huge lizard-like creatures that walked the earth aeons before the dawn of history—laid eggs and cared for their young as do the tiny reptiles that we know to-day. Moreover, when the rocks about the nest gave forth 70 skulls of the dinosaur *Protoceratops*, the layer of the eggs and ancestor of the great horned dinosaurs that once inhabited America, they supplied incontrovertible evidence that Mongolia and the Rocky Mountains once were connected by land. In other words, in the early age of mammals, America and Asia made up one continent.



The Giant browsing rhinoceros, was the largest mammal that ever walked the earth

The explorers reason that since the Mongolian plains once fed the ancestors of the animals of America and Europe, the ancestors of man likewise must have lived there.

Picture a hyena, more than twice the size of a horse, with a jaw spread of little less than a yard, capable of devouring a man almost in a gulp! That is the sort of creature that stalked through the American-Asiatic continent when man first appeared on earth. The expedition brought back with it the skull of this enormous animal.

Larger still, though probably not so dangerous, since it was a vegetable-eating animal, was the rhinoceros of that period. The expedition also exhumed the skull of one of those—the largest land mammal known to science.

Twenty skulls of a huge beast that science knows only as *Titan-otheres* likewise were discovered, additional evidence that America and Asia once were united; for the first fossilized specimen of this beast was found some time ago in South Dakota.

Ten years' work, says Mr. Andrews, was accomplished in two summers of five months each, made possible by the fact that the expedition traveled in motor cars—supported by a caravan of 75 camels. These carried gasoline, food and other supplies to camp sites. Thus the expedition used one of the



Left to right: Prof. H. F. Osborn, Roy Chapman Andrews and Walter Ganger. Standing on the ruin of a pit from which a large number of dinosaur bones was unearthed. [Mongolia]

oldest and one of the newest methods of transportation known to man. The automobiles covered from 125 to 150 miles a day, and amazed the natives, whose laden camels can negotiate only about 15 miles in a day's travel.

Pushing the expedition to its successful completion, however, was by no means as simple a task as Mr. Andrews modestly pictures it. The scientists met with no thrilling adventures, he declares; yet it is a matter of record that on several occasions the members of the expedition were attacked by the giant, savage dogs that infest the country, probably the fiercest creatures on earth. The dogs feed almost entirely on human flesh, due to the Mongol custom of casting the bodies of their dead out on the plains.

On one occasion a pack of fourteen of these savage brutes attacked Mr. and Mrs. Andrews as they slept in the open at night. A lucky shot from a small-caliber rifle killed the leader of the pack, and, while the other dogs devoured their fallen leader, Mr. Andrews was able to get a larger rifle and kill enough of them to send the whole pack scurrying away in panic.

Venomous vipers, that constantly lodged themselves in the shoes, socks, and clothing of the explorers, constituted another danger with which the expedition contended. At first the explorers encountered hostility from the natives, who could not believe that an expedition of more than 30 members, traveling in "wind cars" (*chi-churs*), would invade the country for any such absurd purpose as to "hunt bones." This hostility was not manifested in any violent form, and it subsided rapidly when the quest of fossils actually was the only purpose of the white foreigners.



### A Shave at High Speed by Motorcycle Barber.

No longer need the hurried businessman slash ruthlessly at his face in the morning in a desperate race against time to catch the 8.20 train. A motorcycle barber shop, in which he can enjoy all the comforts of a clean shave by an expert barber while he speeds along the streets on the way to his office, is the latest motorized novelty to be introduced at Los Angeles Calif. U. S. A.



A High Speed Shaving

The customer sits in a motorcycle side-car, which is equipped with an extra seat for the barber just behind the driver's seat. A small electric heater provides plenty of hot water for the shave.

A regulation barber pole surmounts the hood of the sidecar.

### Brothers Hike across Bay on Water Shoes

Hiking across San Francisco Bay recently, A. N. Sheldon, inventor of ingenious water shoes that



Side-View of the Water Shoes

made the feat possible, with his brother scored man's latest conquest of the water.

These shoes are 10 feet long and 14 inches wide and of pontoon construction. They are walked with much as one walks with snowshoes. A top framework prevents the pontoons from spreading sidewise, at the same time accommodating the alternation of the stride. Handlebars aid in steering the course, which although slow, is said to be safe and certain.



Front view of the Water Shoes

The decks of the "shoe pontoons" are covered, except for four small openings just large enough for the two operators to insert their feet.

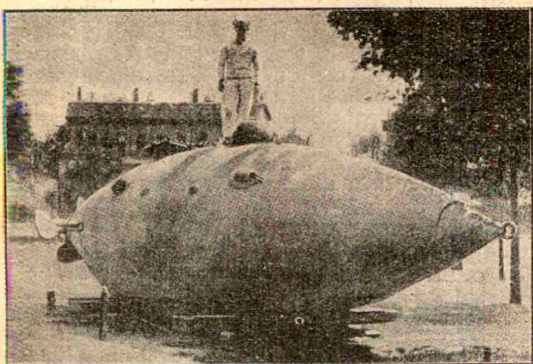
Bicycle saddles mounted on the framework enable the walkers to rest.

### Forefather of Modern Submarines

Here is one of the world's first submarine boats, built in 1864, by Messrs. Bushnell-Rice and Halstead of New Jersey, and now one of the relics on exhibition at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, New York.

It had a speed of four knots and was propelled by hand. A crew of 10 men was carried, although it was only 28 feet long and nine feet high. The cost was \$ 60,000. The first successful submarine vessel was by David Bushnell in America in 1775.





The Hand-propelled submarine, built in 1864, is on exhibition at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, N. S.

### The World's Greatest Spectacle

Here and there in the heavens the telescope would disclose cloudy patches of light, and when you see them you actually would be carried back at least 10,000 years. For those cloudy patches are star clusters, containing tens of thousands of stars, some undoubtedly larger and brighter than our sun, but so far away from the earth that their light, traveling 186,000 miles a second, requires 10,000 years to reach us! Which means that when you see that light, you actually see something that left those stars thousands of years before the dawn of the oldest civilization that existed on earth! A perfect link between the present and the past!

Moreover, though some of these far distant star clusters cannot be seen without the aid of powerful glasses, they are so large that it would take a



The Spiral Nebula, Canes Venatici—a whirling disc of Stars so huge that it takes from 25,000 to 50,000 light-years for a beam of light to travel from one side to the other.

beam of light 500 years at least to cross one. And only from those relatively close does the light reach us in so short a time as 10,000 years.



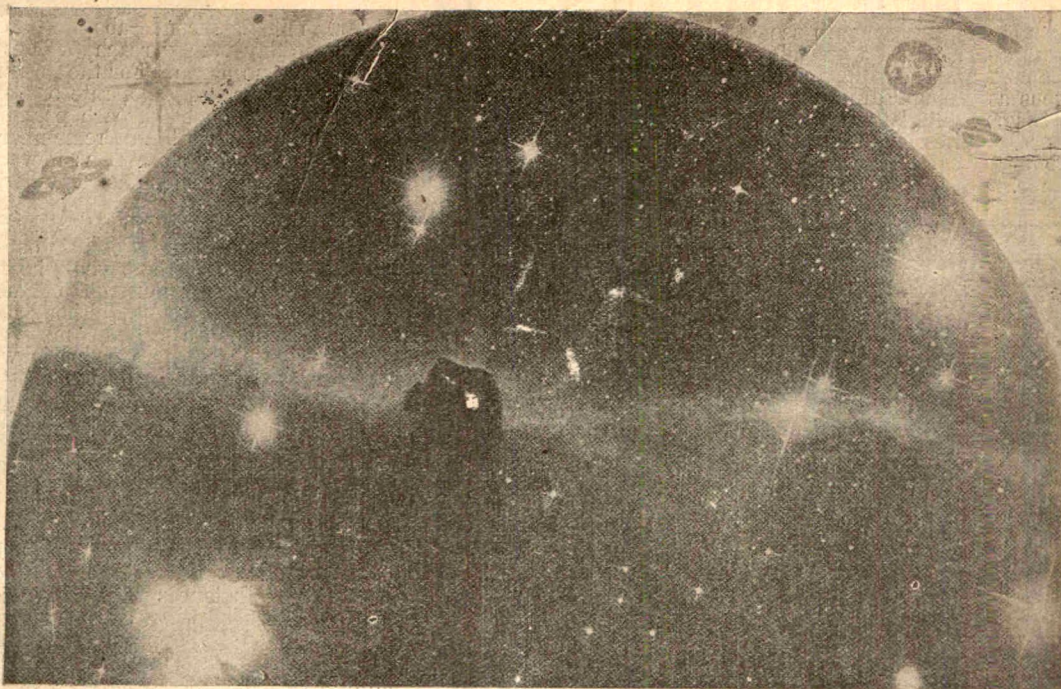
Trifid Nebula in the Constellation of Sagittarius—apparently a cloudy patch of white-hot gases almost invisible to the unaided eye.

Astronomers estimate that the light from many of them does not reach us in less than 200,000 years, while only a few months ago there was discovered in the constellation Sagittarius a faint haze whose light is estimated to take 1,000,000 years in its journey to the earth! This is by far the most distant object ever viewed by man, and yet astronomers do not say that it marks the limits of the universe.

To speak of the components of those distant patches in the skies as "suns" is quite correct. All stars are suns, and the sun is a star. Also, our sun, which seems to us the undoubted ruler of the heavens, is only an average star. In an area of the Milky Way only as large as the full moon, telescopic photographs have shown 80,000 stars, as many of which are larger than the sun as are smaller.

Many of the tiniest specks of light you see in the sky on a clear moonless night are stars that are immensely greater than the sun. In fact, if you pick out any faintly luminous star at random, the chances are that it is just as bright as the sun, just as large about 855,000 miles in diameter and of about the same mass, which is about two billion billion billion tons,





One of the unfathomed mysteries of the heavens is the dark nebula in the constellation of Orion—a black "hole in the sky" "seen near the center of this magnificent photograph made with a powerful 100 inch reflector. It is called "the Horse's Head." Astronomers believe it actually a colossal mass of non-luminous matter that blots out the light of bright stars beyond it.

If you pick out a brighter star, it is altogether likely to be a greater sun than ours. It might even be Antares, which is 400 times larger than the sun, or Betelgeuse, more than 200 times larger, or Arcturus, about 25 times larger. There are between two billion and three billion stars from which you may choose, according to the estimates of astronomers, although only a few of these can be seen without a telescope.

To attempt to measure the size of the real universe in miles would be futile and merely confusing. To most of us distances greater than 25,000 miles, the approximate circumference of our relatively tiny earth, are incomprehensible. Thus, even to speak of the sun being 93,000,000 miles away from the earth—a short distance by the standards of stellar space—conveys no clear impression. What are we to say, then of the star clusters whose distance from us is 1200 million billion miles? To give an intelligible idea of distances like this, astronomers have selected the light-year as their unit of stellar measurement. This is the distance that light will travel in a year—approximately six trillion (6,000,000,000,000) miles. In the case of those far-away star clusters, astronomers would say that they are 200,000 light-years from the earth, which means that it takes light 200,000 years to pass from them to the earth. When we remember that light from the sun reaches us in a little more than eight minutes, we begin to perceive what stellar distances actually mean.

A nebula may be defined as a celestial cloud, a

mass of light, a mist of fire, apparently composed of a huge expanse of white-hot rarefied gases. Some astronomers believe that the nebulae are the source of stars.

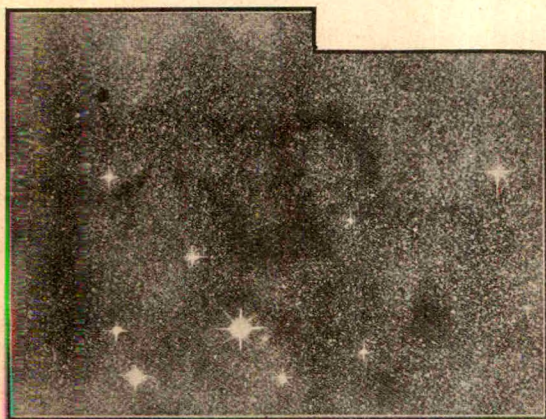


The Morehouse Comet photographed at the Yerkes observatory in 1908. Note how the far distant stars shine through the diffused cloud-like substance of the tail.

Now, the nebula in Andromeda is 100 million times as large as our sun. Its diameter is a million times greater than the distance between the sun and the earth. If you could place a radio transmitter on one edge of it and a receiver on the other a signal sent out by the one would not be received by the other for almost 20,000 years. And yet, were an astronomer to give you the exact location of this huge cloud of fire, you probably would



strain your eyes vainly to see it unless you had a telescope. For this tremendous area of luminous gas is comparable with the entire expanse of the heavens as a single drop of water is with the torrent of a Niagara. And that is not because it lies at the outer boundaries of space. On the contrary, by the reckoning of astronomers, it is only in the middle distance.



In the centre of this photograph is seen the mysterious S-shaped dark nebula of Ophiuchus, surrounded by countless jewel-like suns.

This nebula is moving slowly toward the earth—slowly, that is, according to the speed at which celestial bodies move. It is approaching us at some-

thing around 200 miles a second—about 60 billion miles a year. Some day it may reach us but that fact need occasion us no alarm. For the nebula is so far away that, even moving at a rate of 60 billion miles a year, it would not approach perceptibly closer to us in a billion years! And remember that this fiery cloud is reasonably close to us if we compute its distance by the tremendous standards to the skies!

Sometimes we have visitors from the heavens. You have seen them in museums. Possibly one has reached the earth close enough to your home for you to have seen it before a museum claimed it. These visitors look like huge rocks, although they often are solid metal, and are called "meteorites."

They are bits of cosmic flotsam, varying in weight between an ounce and more than a ton. Astronomers say that from ten to a hundred million of them are hurled at the earth every day. Few, though, reach the earth's surface. The rest are burned in the heat generated by the resistance of the earth's atmosphere to their terrific speed.

Even to the instruments of astronomy, the far-distant objects in the heavens—star clusters, for example, that may be from 50,000 to 200,000 light-years away—seem to vary in size and luminosity, but the fact that their distances vary widely is not readily apparent. That is why astronomers can offer only estimates of the approximate distance from us of the stellar bodies that lie close to the apparent limits of space.

After observing thousands upon thousands of stars, however, astronomers have learned to interpret differences in luminosity in terms of differences in distance; hence, they are able to make quite accurate estimates of the distances of the most remote heavenly bodies by comparing the amount of light they give off with the amount of light that issues from stars of known distance.

## GLIMPSES OF BARODA \*

### IV

#### TOURS THROUGH THE DISTRICTS

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

#### I

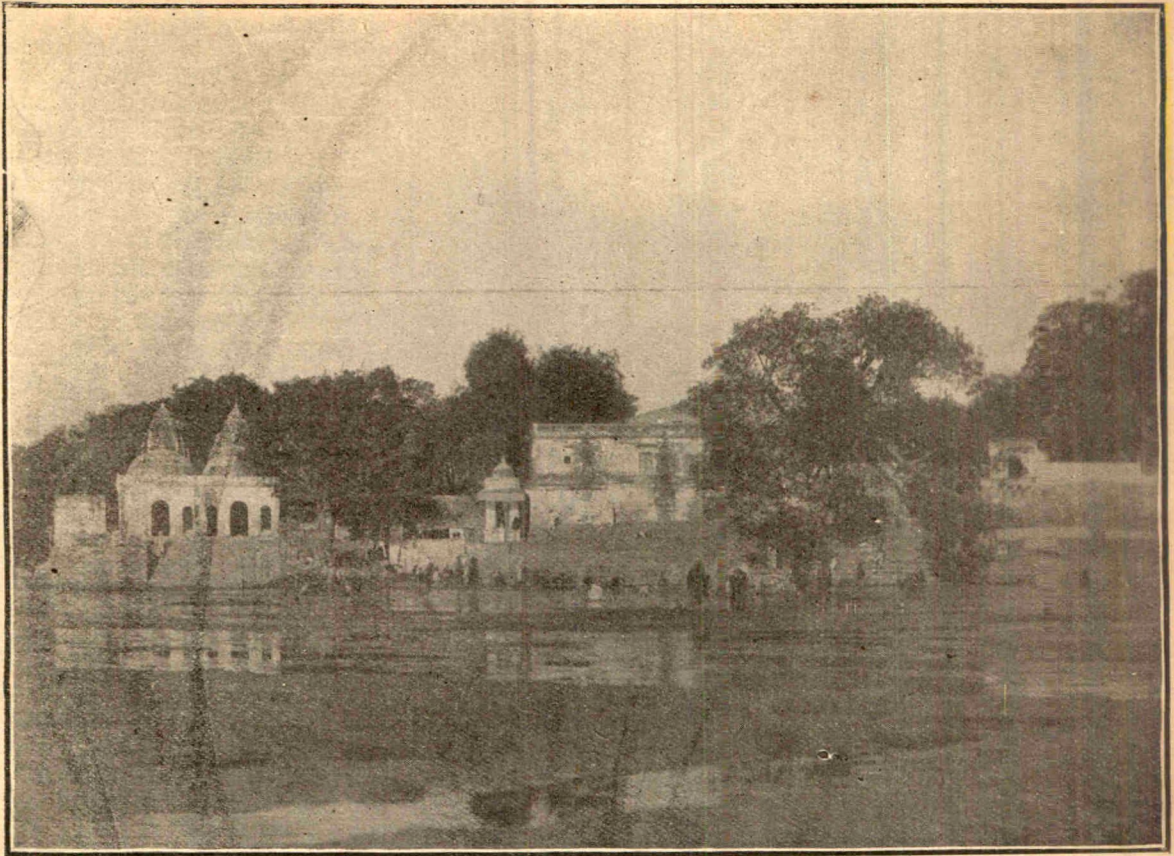
I did not have the opportunity of visiting any other portion of the Maharaja-Gaekwar's State until twelve years later. Early last year I went to Naosari, the second largest town in His Highness' territory, and saw something of the country immediately surrounding it. A little later I toured through Kadi-Pattan—the most northerly prant (district), and, a few weeks' later visited

Dwerka—the westernmost extremity of India—which constitutes the head-quarters of the strip of land in that part of Kathiawar belonging to the Maharaja. While engaged in Baroda in writing the biography of His Highness, I now and again motored to places lying within easy reach of the Capital. In this way I was able to get a glimpse of the administration as it was carried on in all the districts of the State.

It will help the reader to form a concrete idea of the difficulties with which the Maharaja and his officials have to contend if I append to the impressions which I gathered in these towns a slight description of the

\* The first article of this series appeared in the March, the second in the April and the third in the May number of the *Modern Review*—Editor, M. R.





The River at Sidhpur—the water of this river is considered sanctified by the Hindus.

State. The way it was scattered about Western India reminded me of bits of a jig-saw puzzle thrown on the floor by a perverse child to whom it had been given as a plaything. Portions of British India and Territories belonging to other Rajas are interspersed with Baroda districts, cutting up the State into blocks of various sizes and shapes, taking one back to the days when the Mughal rule over this part of India had completely broken down and the ancestors of the present Maharaja seized as much territory as they could, being obliged later to surrender large slices of it to "the Honourable East India Company", on one pretext or another.

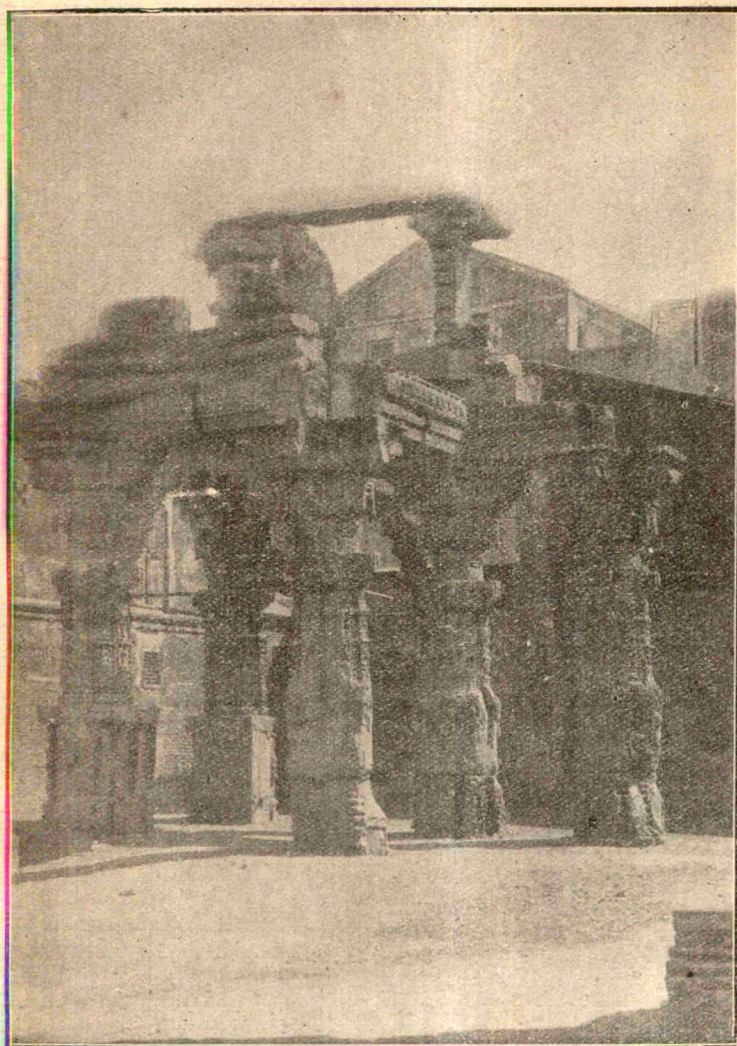
The Naosari *prant*, 1,940 miles in area, lying north and south of the river Tapi, played an important part in the fortunes of the Gaekwar dynasty. Their rise to power dates from the capture, in the seventeenth century, of the fort of Songad, situated on the crest of a hillock overlooking the plains for miles

around, to the north-east of the town of Naosari. It does not have much military value, judged by the standards of to day; but three centuries ago, when it constituted the Gaekwar's stronghold, it proved to be a formidable fortress. Much of the territory over which the Maharaja of Baroda now rules was conquered by armies operating from it.

The district, though no longer containing the capital of the State, continues to be important. Watered by several streams, and possessing a good rainfall in normal years, its rich soil yields large crops of food-stuffs and cotton, and contributes much money to the State treasury. Banyan, peepul, mango, tamarind, and other valuable trees grow in profusion, and a part of the district is under forest. The climate is temperate, particularly in the proximity of the sea, one or two places being capable of development as summer resorts.

Baroda the *prant* containing the capital of





The Rudramala of, Sidhpur in a state of disrepair

the State has a total area of about 1,900 square miles. Its central block lies between the **Narbada** and **Mahi** rivers, the **Broach** district forming its south-western and western boundary. The **Petlad** subdivision, belonging to it, runs in horse-shoe fashion around a detached portion of the **Kaira** district, which forms its northern and eastern boundary, while **Cambay** is on the west and the **Mahi** is on the south. The **Baroda** division is exceedingly hot in summer, relaxing during the monsoon, and dry during the cold season. The soil, though generally black, is red in the north. Few trees grow in the former portion, but the latter is thickly wooded.

**Kadi-Pattan**, covering about 3,100 square miles, lies west of the **Sabarmati** river, and is

surrounded by villages belonging to petty Chiefs and by British Territory. It has a fairly equable climate, and is considered the healthiest district in the State. It is at once the largest and most productive *wheat*, though, curiously enough, its outward appearance belies its fertility, for its plains look dreary, trees are scarce, except in a few localities east of the **Sabarmati** which are well wooded. Most of the soil is of a light, sandy character, and is capable of yielding abundant crops if properly fertilized and irrigated.

**Amreli**, of which I wrote in the preceding article, is about 1,560 miles in area, and is situated in the southern portion of the peninsula of **Kathiawar**. In the north of the same peninsula lies **Okhamandal**, about 250 square miles in area. Almost surrounded by water as it is—it is bounded on the north by the **Gulf of Cutch**, on the west by the **Arabian Sea**, and on the south and east by the **Arabian Sea**, **Porbandar**, and the **Gulf of Cutch**; it has a moist atmosphere and presents the appearance of a verdureless plain, almost a desert,—its red soil, sparingly mixed with black mould,

being far from rich in the best spots. Practically nothing can be grown except two or three varieties of millet and sesamum; and since the rainfall is slight and fitful, even those crops cannot be depended upon. The inhabitants consequently suffer from more or less permanently from famine though the attempt to exploit deposits of cement and other natural resources is expected to bring prosperity to it in the near future.

This, then, was the territory, portions of which I visited last year.

## II.

In May 1875, when the **Maharaja-Gaekwar**, a lad of twelve years, was brought by the



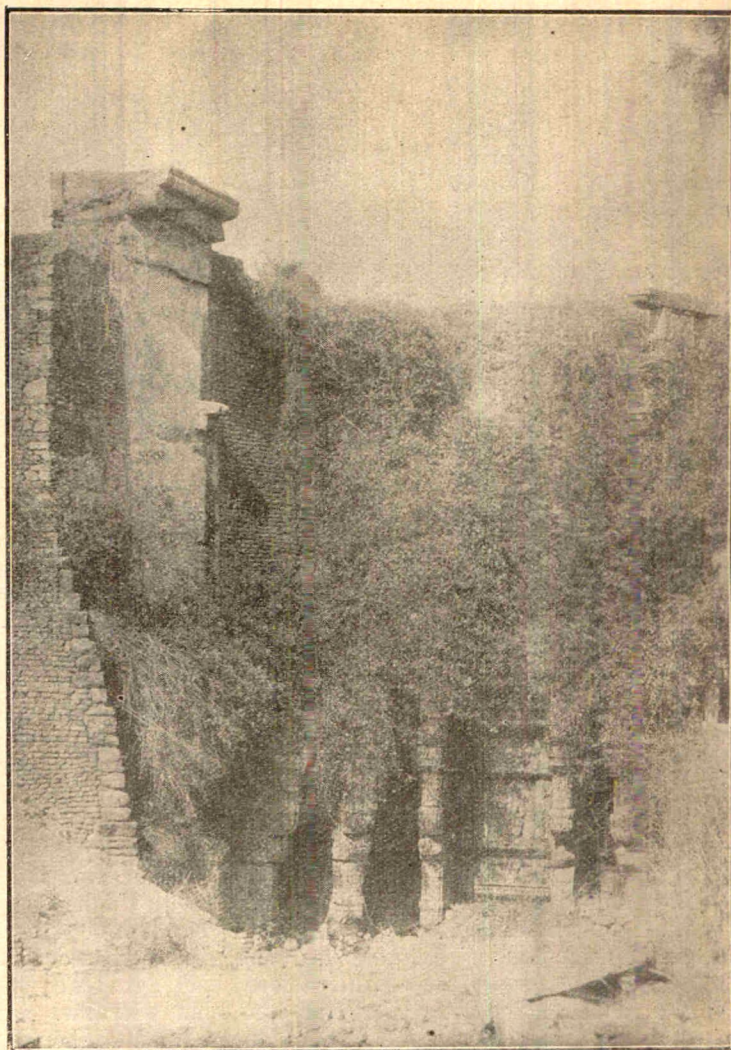
British from his village home and installed on the Baroda *gadi*, Naosari was the only place in the State which had a library. That institution owed its existence to the initiative of a few far-sighted individuals, and not to official effort. As the Maharaja discovered, however, when, a few years after assuming the reins of administration, on December 28, 1881, he paid a visit to the district in order to gain first-hand knowledge of its conditions and needs, the people differed widely in respect of cultural standards. The residents of the town, engaged in business of one kind or another, were exceedingly shrewd, and more or less educated, as education in India went in those days, while the country-folk were extremely simple and almost cent per cent illiterate.

The tribes dwelling in the forest had not yet entered the pale of civilisation. They did not know how to prevaricate, much less how to tell a lie; and subsisted upon roots, herbs, fruit, and nuts. The youthful Maharaja, curious to meet these primitive people, sent his men to fetch a few of them, only to find that they had fled into inner recesses of the jungle, frightened at his overtures. After much coaxing

and bribing with gaudy coloured fabrics and bright baubles, some of them were brought to His Highness. He was greatly touched by their simplicity and transparent honesty, and soon afterwards provided special facilities for educating them.

I had meant, in 1911, to get a glimpse of Naosari, and to judge for myself the effect of the Maharaja's effort to advance the people. By the time I had finished examining the activities of the State departments in the capital, however, the hot weather had come on, and the time for my departure for Europe was at hand. The visit, therefore, had to be deferred until I returned to India in December, 1921.

At the time of my arrival in Naosari the

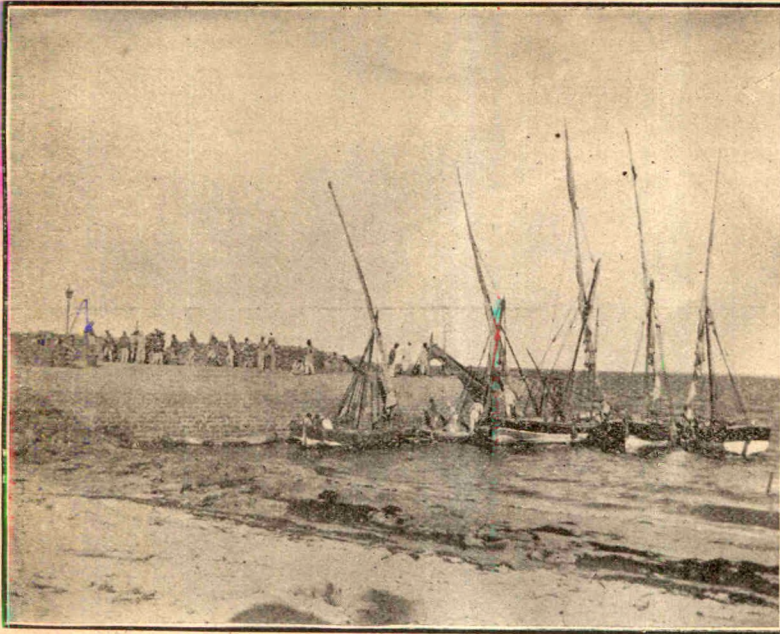


The "Queen's Well" at Patan. The beautiful carving is being defaced by the moss and other vegetation.

district was being administered by Mr. Satyavrata Mukerjee, who had entered the Baroda service in 1910. He had done exceedingly well at Oxford, but just missed getting into the Indian Civil Service.

I met Mukerjee not long afterwards, when an exploit of his was being much talked about in Baroda. An American who apparently thought that by maligning Indians he would be able to win his way into the hearts of the British in India, spoke disparagingly of our youngmen who had been educated at the British 'Varsities, at a tea party given by one of His Highness' Ministers. Mukerjee, who was present, quick as a flash stripped off his coat, rolled up his sleeves and invited the American to go out into the





Existing Pier at Beyt Harbour

compound with him so that he may show him one thing that young Indians learned at Oxford and Cambridge. The man was flabbergasted, and stuck to his chair, while the Minister, his wife, and others with great difficulty succeeded in pacifying the irate young Bengali.

The story got out, as everything that happens in the innermost recesses of Baroda does, and made Mukerjee quite a hero in the eyes of the people, who theretofore had considered him as an interloper and left him more or less severely alone. The educated classes in Baroda, I may point out, looked in those days upon the employment of "outsiders" much as we in British India resent the fact that Britons monopolise the high posts. The Gujaratis felt that the Marathas and even the Deccani Brahmans received more than their legitimate share of the loaves and fishes because they had influence at Court. Since the appointment of a Gujarati (Sir Manubhai N. Mehta) as the Dewan, and the elevation of several other Gujaratis to high posts, the feeling is not as bitter as it was then—though it is by no means dead.

There was only one other Bengali in Baroda at the time—Mr. Behari Lal Gupta, who had retired several years earlier from the Indian Civil Service and was at the head of the Legal Department during my first visit, and later was appointed *Dewan*, and, if

I remember correctly, died in the saddle. The two used to spend a good deal of their leisure together.

Mukerjee would look me up now and again, especially after I went to live at Chimanbagh, within the palace enclosure. He would read to me by the hour the poems and prose writings of Rabindranath Tagore, and translate them as he went along. I became so enthusiastic about them that I sent a few of the patriotic lays composed by our National poet to the *Nation*, of New York, and they appeared in print just a few months before he went to Europe and was awarded the Nobel prize.

Immediately after Mukerjee was admitted into the Baroda Service he set to

work to master the intricacies of the revenue system and to learn the language of the people amongst whom his lot had been cast. To the difficulties which he would, in any case, have encountered, were added those especially created by persons who were jealous of him and did not scruple about the means which they employed to block him. Possessed of great will-power and pertinacity, he succeeded in overcoming all obstacles, and gradually pushed his way up in the Baroda Service.

When I visited Baroda in 1922 Mukerjee was engaged in preparing the final draft of the Census Report. He had made use of such initiative as the Census Commission in India had left him to collect valuable data bearing upon social progress, and was setting forth, as lucidly as he could, the conclusions at which he had arrived. As the finished report shows, he performed his task with remarkable skill. The Maharaja, pleased with his work, appointed him *Suba* (Collector or Deputy Commissioner) of Naosari.

Mukerjee kindly met Mrs. Singh and me on our arrival at the station and conducted us to a building known as the "Council House" which had been placed at our disposal. Probably that name had been given to it because, when a Member of the Executive Council visited the place, he occupied it. It might possibly have been originally intended



for the use of the Maharaja whenever he honoured Naosari with his presence.

As soon as I entered the house I found that it was meant to be well appointed ; but the original intention had miscarried. The lavatory accommodation, for instance, would have left nothing to be desired even by the most fastidious European or American, but the arrangement did not work. I suppose in anticipation of a visit from the Maharaja or one of the Councillors, men would labour at high pressure to make everything look spick and span, and thus the normal state of slackness would go undetected.

Situated in the heart of a rich agricultural and forest region, and serving as the centre of distribution for the products yielded by them, Naosari is a prosperous town. Until recently its population depended almost entirely for a living upon commerce, but of late years cotton gins and presses, and even cotton mills, are beginning to make their appearance. A cotton mill in which the Maharaja of Darbhanga is interested had been opened shortly before my arrival there. Commercial and industrial operations are largely conducted by Parsis and Baniyas. The Parsi colony, is one of the oldest in India, and has the distinction of having produced men like Dadabhai Naoroji and Jamshedji Nusserwanji Tata whose sons have built a magnificent school in his memory. It worships at a temple where the original fire brought from Persia has been continuously fed and kept alight through the centuries. Some of the wealthy residents in Naosari live in fairly large and prosperous-looking houses. Many handsome bungalows were rising at the time of my visit.

On the whole, I was greatly disappointed with the appearance of Naosari. A town of its size and wealth in other parts of the world—even in much abused British India—would be far better built. Its main street would, in any case, not look so dingy, nor leave so much to be desired from the sanitary point of view.

If I had been disappointed with the town, I was still more disappointed with what I saw of its immediate neighbourhood. On the day after my arrival Mukerjee kindly borrowed a motor car from some friend of his and accompanied by a guard of two police *sowars* riding on horseback ahead of us, we set out towards a large village six or seven miles distant.

Hardly had we left the city behind when I found that the road on which the motor

was travelling became worse as we proceeded. If that was the condition in midwinter, what would it be like during the rainy weather?

Mukerjee reminded me that practically all the "road-metal" used in most parts of the State had to be imported, and, therefore road-making was a costly operation. The Maharaja, in fact, had been driven to recognise that railway-making, in the long run, was more economic than road-making, and hence had spent a large amount of money and made much progress in building railways.



The Rajmahal, Mehsana

Some time later when I mentioned that fact to a "Baroda Subject" he sneered and replied: "Railways yield revenue to His Highness, but he cannot very well compel each pedestrian who uses his roads to buy a ticket every time he goes out of his home or office."

When I heard this remark I had yet to travel over really bad roads in the State. Of them, more later.

### III.

As we neared the village for which we were bound I alighted in order to inspect a school. The building was substantial, well ventilated and well lit. The benches, black board, maps and diagrams hanging on the wall showed that His Highness' Education Department had not neglected to pro-



vide equipment. Apparatus for teaching even elementary sciences, was, however, wanting. Compared with similar institutions in other parts of India, the school was as well—or perhaps better—equipped. That is not saying much, however. As an examination was being held at the time of my visit, I did not have the opportunity of seeing any teaching going on. A talk with the head-master showed that the Education Department exercises great care in the selection of teachers and in training them for their work. He took an enlightened view of his avocation, and though very poorly paid, was devoted to his profession.



Police Naib Suba's Office at Mehsana

The school, instead of being set down in the heart of the village, had been built, to my great surprise, at some distance from it. As there was no road into the rural settlement the motor could not take us to it, and the *Suba* and I ploughed our way through sand and dust, part of the way through the bed of a stream which, I fancied, would be almost impassable at times during the monsoon weather.

Arrived at the village, we first sat under an old tree chatting with the headman, one of the school-masters, and several villagers who had turned up. They brought chairs for us from the library not far from the place, and grouped themselves around us.

The headman was an exceedingly intelligent person. Replying, through Mukrejee, to my questions with great readiness, he gave me the extent of land which belonged to the village, and the amount of revenue which the villagers paid to the Government. He

was not content to reel off round figures from memory, but insisted upon my having them correct to the minutest fraction.

The village had a *panchayat*, I was told. I saw some of the members. The answers elicited by my enquiries as to the work actually done were of a mechanical nature, as if read out of a manual on petty local Government. I could see, however, that the people felt that so long as there was practically no money for the *panchayat* to spend, little good could be accomplished.

I was glad to notice that the villagers were not afraid of speaking out their mind in front of the head of the district, and that he did not try to keep back from me their grievances against the Government. The stream to which I have already referred ran through the village. During the rainy weather it was often difficult—and sometimes actually perilous—to cross it when it was swollen by floods, since, despite numerous petitions, no bridge had been built. The lads attending the school—and I was reminded that the compulsory clause in the Education Act was not a dead letter in the village—had to wade through water during the rainy weather and there was danger of accidents occurring.

The men who made this complaint appeared to me to be exceedingly intelligent and remarkably valuable.

There was one among the villagers gathered round me who struck me as particularly acute. Upon making enquiries, I learned that he had spent several years in East Africa. When I asked him to tell me how he had happened to go to that country, he modestly replied that many people from those parts had gone to Africa and that, therefore, there was nothing unusual in his going. I could see, however, that travel had enlarged his intellectual horizon, and that he, in turn, was serving as a centre of rural progress.

"What do people like you who have returned from abroad do in this village?" I asked.

"Most of us," he replied, "go back to the soil, some engage in tailoring or some other business."

"But you are never quite the same after you return as you were when you went?" I suggested.

The silence of the man (and of the people around him) was far more eloquent than any words of his could have been. The returned emigrants—*pardesis* I think they call them



in that part of Gujarat—find it difficult to fit themselves back into the old groove. They long to go abroad again. The treatment received by them while in the Colonies, however, does not encourage them to return. They come back home, in fact, with the iron in their soul.

After a rambling chat about the general affairs of the village, we went into the library. It was a single-room building but bright and airy. Upon tables occupying a little less than half of the space in the centre of the room, lay a number of newspapers and magazines, most of them in Gujarati and a few of them in Hindi. After I had been told the names of the publications that I could not read, I casually said to one of the villagers: "With such means of information (pointing to the papers) at your command, I am sure you do not lack news as to what is going on in India and even in the world."

The man to whom the remark was addressed, as also the other people in the room, smiled and said: "We do manage to know a little—but not so much as we should like to".

"And what sort of books do they read?" I asked of the Librarian.

"Religion, philosophy, fiction" he answered.

"You see" said the *Suba*, "religion in India is still able to compete with fiction."

"What about history, biography and science?" I asked.

"Few books which deal with those subjects, particularly science and technology, are available in the vernacular," replied the librarian, "but the deficiency in regard to history and biography is being slowly removed and in course of time scientific books will also come".

I was glad to notice that with the infiltration of new tendencies, the villagers had not lost their national sense of hospitality. Before they permitted my companion and me to leave the library, they insisted that we should have some hot milk which had been sent for.

Travelling under official auspices has its disadvantages as well as its advantages. But for the fact that I had friends who knew this part of the State and had the courage to

speak to me quite freely, I should have not known that at the time of my visit some of the Parsi landlords and drink contractors were very apprehensive about their tenants and agricultural labourers. They blamed the "Gandhi movement" for making them restless and unmanageable. They were even more afraid of what was called the *mata* movement which was taking hold of the *Kaliparaj* people (forest folk) and making them give up drink, to which civilization had introduced them. A man or woman would suddenly begin to talk as if he or she was possessed by the goddess (*Mata*), and curse everyone who continued to displease her by drinking liquor and leading unclean lives. It, therefore, was no longer possible for landlords to coax the *Kaliparaj* people by "gifts of liquor" to work in their fields, and consequently they looked with disfavour upon a movement which, in freeing them from the curse of liquor, also freed them from their yoke. The liquor contractors and licensees specially dreaded it, and were seeking to induce the authorities to curb it upon the plea that it was making for lawlessness and becoming a menace to property.

The attitude taken by the higher officials was that of officialdom in any part of the world towards a traffic which, immoral though it may be, puts large sums of money into the treasury.

They showed much greater interest in protecting the revenue than in safeguarding the morals and happiness of the people.

Efforts were therefore, made to repress the *Mata* movement—the excuse being not that if permitted to spread it might have a disastrous effect upon the excise (*Abkari*) revenue, but because it was menacing law and order—an excuse dear to the heart of the bureaucrat, whether brown or white in complexion, much agitation resulted, and complaints went up to His Highness. As I shall show in another article, however, the Maharaja Gaekwar, though always ready to redress a just grievance, has so far not shown a courageous attitude towards paying the price of extinguishing the liquor revenue and thereby promoting sobriety among that section of his people who are unable to resist the cup that inebriates.



# THE INDIAN SUGAR INDUSTRY

By V. P. IYER, B.Sc.

## SUGARCANE CULTIVATION.

**H**INDUSTHAN is generally considered to be the original home of the Sugarcane. The very name Shakkar, Sugar, Sucre, Zucker and Azucar in various tongues indicate its origin and derivation from Sarkara (Sanskrit) and Hindusthan. Sugar was known as Indian Sweet Salt in Greece in ancient times.

From Hindusthan the Sugarcane spread to



Hawaii. The plantation owning this field recently produced 130 tons cane per acre

Persia, Arabia, Egypt, Sicily, Spain and countries round the Mediterranean, whence the Europeans (chiefly Portuguese, Spanish, French and Dutch) carried it to the Americas. The Europeans are therefore indebted to the Arabs for carrying the Sugarcane to their countries from Hindusthan. In the East, the Sugarcane spread to China, Siam, Formosa and Japan, and neighbouring countries, chiefly through the Chinese.

Not only was Sugarcane cultivated in Hindusthan, but the art of solidifying the juice into sugar (gur) also originated therefrom. The Chinese Emperor Tai Tsung (627-650) sent his men to Bihar to learn the art of Sugar Manufacture. The Arabs and Egyptians learnt how to purify the crude raw sugar by crystallisation. The proper art of refining was taken from Cairo to China. In the 13th century sugar could be bought in China, at low prices, compared with other countries, owing to the large number of sugar factories. In our own country, towards the end of the 13th century, according to the Muhammadan writers, great many kinds of sugar were produced from the evaporated cane juice. In the 13th and 14th centuries, countries bordering on the Mediterranean sea produced sugar from their plantations. Later on the Cane-Sugar Industry spread to the Azores, the Canary Isles and the Americas, being introduced there by the Europeans. After passing through labour shortages due to abolition of slavery and after several political changes till nearly the end of the last century, most of the cane-sugar countries of the world have increased their sugar production to an unheard-of extent, in several places, with the help of indentured Indian labour, while in Hindusthan our sugar production has practically remained stationary.

As the Beet Sugar Industry is not likely to play any important part in Hindusthan for some time to come and as the amount of datepalm and palmyra sugar production is very small compared to that of cane-sugar production, our attention will be confined chiefly to Cane-Sugar Industry.



Sugarcane needs a hot climate and large quantities of water. Its cultivation is found in regions between 37 Deg. N. and 30 Deg. S. Some of the larger cane-sugar-producing countries are Hindusthan, Java, Phillipines, Formosa and Japan, Australia, Hawaii, Mauri-us, Louisiana, Porto Rico, Cuba, Peru, Brazil and Argentina. From the list of countries, we can see that the sugarcane is a cosmopolitan plant (as long as it stays within the torrid zone), as far as the soil requirements are concerned.

A soil whose physical texture is such as will suit the climatic conditions regarding the retention and drainage of rain and irrigation water is good for cane. Soils rich in lime generally yield high results. Frequent and sufficient rainfall or irrigation at proper intervals along with proper amounts and kinds of manures will produce good crops. Sugarcane in this respect is similar to any other crop.

no organised efforts are made and the land does not yield much.

A thorough preparation of the land is absolutely essential, before planting the cane seeds. The old method of scratching the



Hawaii. Planting Cane

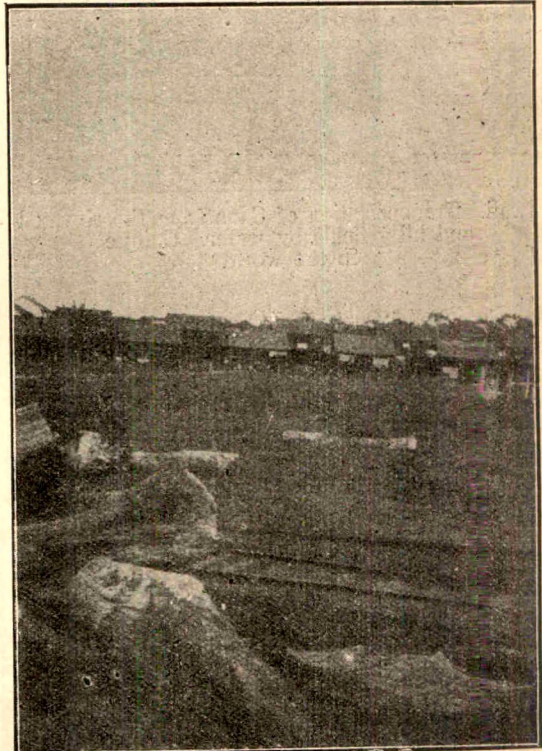
land with a country-made bullock plough for six inches or so must give way to the modern methods of 14 to 24 inches ploughing



Hawaii. Animal Cultivation

Considered from the point of view of climate, Southern Hindusthan is better suited for Cane than the North; but competition with other staple crops as rice etc., lack of canals, rivers and deep wells to supply the ample water required for cane, and the density of population prevent the extension of sugarcane cultivation.

In other countries, *e. g.* Hawaii, the cane soils are studied by agricultural Chemists and Experts, both in the laboratory and the field. All means are devised to restore the fertility of the soil and to push the growth and yield of cane. Whereas in our country,

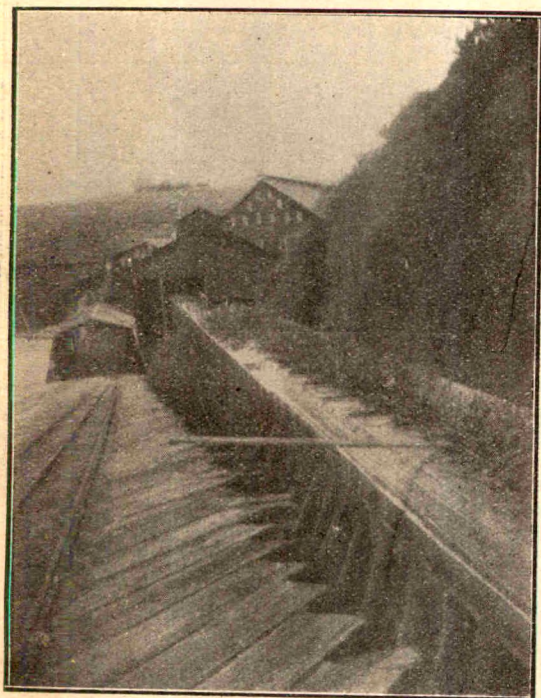


Hawaii. A plantation labour camp. Each labourer with a family is given a separate free house, free fuel, medicine etc. Foot-ball field in the foreground



with tractors and steam ploughs. By using the latter, the cost of ploughing will be less and better results will be obtained. Already some advanced European planters have introduced steam ploughs in the cane-fields in Hindusthan.

Only sound and good cane seeds should be used. Recently the Government Sugarcane



Hawaii. Transportation of Cane from the elevated and hilly fields by water. Unique in the world

Experts, Dr. Barber (no longer in Hindusthan), and Rao Saheb Venkata Raman have produced new varieties of cane suitable for the Northern conditions specially. Some of them are full of promise. Such canes are expected to yield more sugar per acre. Our farmers have to be educated in the use of the new and improved varieties of cane rich in sugar and strong against the attacks of jackals, white ants, borers and other pests, and adverse climatic conditions.

The distance between rows and seeds has to be found out for each region and variety of cane, in order to get the best results. Too much stress cannot be laid on this point.

The amount and kind of fertilisers needed require studies of soils and actual experiments. As it is now, the average farmer cannot undertake such problems into his hands. Hawaii, the leading Cane-Sugar Country in

the world in efficient production, believes in and uses large amounts of commercial fertilisers.

Without depending entirely on the public irrigation canals, uncertain rainfall, shallow wells, reservoirs and tanks, we should form irrigation companies or large agricultural companies and sugar factories, to pump and convey the water from rivers and deep wells to fields at long distances. Water can be sold to the farmers at a reasonable rate, and the farmers may also take shares in the companies. In 1914, about 15.78 per cent. of the total investment of Capital in Sugar Industry in Hawaii, was made on irrigation equipment alone. Our irrigation practices have to be studied in the light of modern science and efforts for the better use of available water should be made.



Hawaii. Application of Science. Cane from an Experimental plot weighed by Experiment Station Staff

Constant care is necessary to keep the weeds and undesirable plants away from the cane fields. The usual methods of cultivation in our country entail a great expense. Animal cultivation should be resorted to as in other countries.

The cost of transporting the cane from the fields and placing it on the cane carrier in the factory must be very high, owing to the use of bullock-carts and many hands employed. Further, cane from distant places cannot be brought to the factory and ground quickly, without deterioration of cane and consequent low yields of sugar and high cost of manufacture. The use of tractors to haul



the carts requires fairly decent roads. In the long run, it will pay to have a narrow gauge railway line running through the cane tracts round the factory. If owned by the factory, worries and annoyances of lack of cars, delays, etc., of public railways may be saved, and the factory can be more sure of its raw material at any time and regulate its work properly.

It is evident from the above that only large cane-sugar factories and agricultural companies can improve the sugarcane yields. Either the farmers will have to form themselves into agricultural companies, join the factories and companies as shareholders, or else sell the cane to the factories. In the last two cases, they will have to get the land thoroughly prepared and the planting of good cane seeds done by the factories and companies and pay for such operations. The factories can purchase good and guaranteed fertilisers on behalf of farmers

better for the farmers and factories that the farmers lease the lands to the factories for a number of years, with privilege of using the lands themselves for one or two years after each cane crop, as the lands need a rotation of crops. By such agreements, the farmer will gain very much on account of the residual effects of heavy fertilisers,



Hawaii. Carrying fertilisers from the field-roads to the cane-rows



Hawaii. To prevent fires and the damage of tracks, the transportation department keeps the rail-tracks clean

thorough preparation of land and better agricultural practices used in cane cultivation, and will eventually utilise the improved methods with modifications for other crops.

Further, the farmers may persuade the factories and companies to sell irrigation water to them for the growing of rotation crops, and if necessary, to increase the irrigation equipment and available water for irrigation.

As the price of land is very high, in regions where cane is already under cultivation, we leave the question of the ownership of land by the factories aside.

By means of organised efforts and the application of science alone, we can improve the agriculture of our country. Within a few years, we can practically double our crops of cane from the present cane area, and indirectly help other crops also. For instance, six representative plantations in Hawaii increased their yields from 3.82 tons of sugar (2,000 lbs.) per acre in 1895 to 7.40 tons in 1914, while six unirrigated plantations increased theirs from 2.65 tons to 4.90 tons during the same period. While in Northern Hindusthan, 10 to 20 tons of cane per acre are obtained, Java gets 40 to 46 tons, and

on better terms, and because of their organisation, they can advise the farmer the proper amount and kind of fertilisers, and the time to be applied. The irrigation water can also be bought from the factories. It is



Hawaii 35 to 60 tons of cane. One irrigated plantation in Hawaii has broken the world's record by producing 130 tons (2000 lbs.) of cane in a field of 49 acres, equivalent to over 15.5 tons of sugar per acre, while the same one over three years ago produced over 11.8 tons of cane per acre in a field of nearly 150 acres.



Hawaii. Cane Seedling Experiment.  
New Varieties of Cane

Truly therefore does the United States Tariff Commission say about Hawaii thus: "Nowhere else is there so effective an application of highly specialised machinery to Agriculture, such extensive use of commercial fertilisers, such a comprehensive system of irrigation, such attention given to discovering and applying of the principles of scientific agriculture."

The population of Hindusthan is over 70 per cent. of that of the entire British Empire, while the area is only 13.5 per cent. of that of the Empire. We ourselves are to be blamed a lot for this, for we are not willing to trust and help each other and to progress. Unless we develop our agriculture and industries along modern lines, with the farmers and workers getting at least a decent part of the increased profits due to our organised and scientific efforts, as soon as possible, and unless our men and women work day and night in solving the eternal problem of weakness in all activities of our national life, our children and grand-children will be cursing us for ever.

Our country has not increased its sugar production to any extent, and will remain so, unless we have large sugar factories to solve the agricultural and manufacturing problems. We have sent over 280 Crores of Rupees to other countries during the last twenty-five years on Sugar alone, and our loss by the importation of sugar is annually increasing. Why should we not form companies with the interests of the farmers, the workers and the investing public taken care of, and develop our Cane Sugar Industry, as in other countries? This is the best time to do something along this line, otherwise the fast rejuvenating Europe will crush us with cheap Beet Sugar.

Only organised and scientific efforts along modern lines can save our Sugar Industry. All attempts to make the Sugar Industry a cottage industry will result in absolute failure as has been the case in other countries.

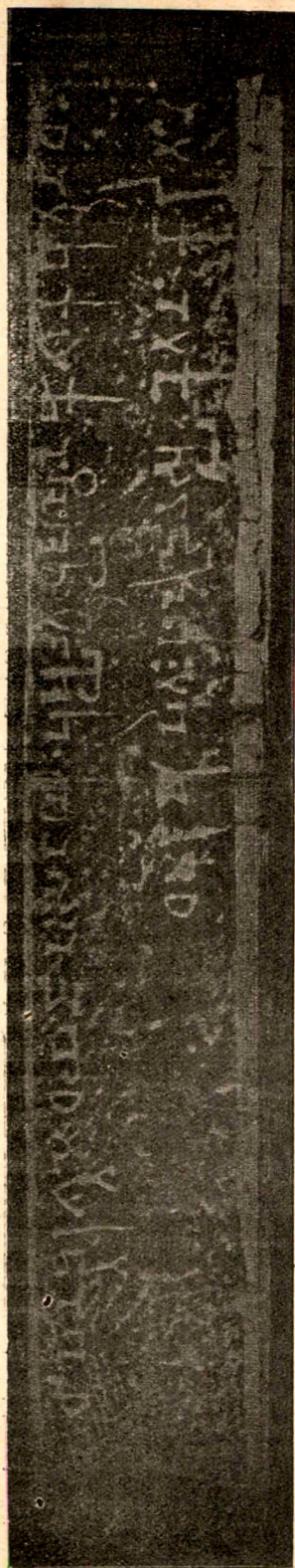
## AN INSCRIPTION OF THE SUNGA DYNASTY

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. (OXON.), BAR-AT-LAW.

THE Brahmin dynasty which uprooted the Buddhist Mauryas and succeeded to the imperial throne of India about 188 B.C. brought about an orthodox revolution in Sanskrit literature and Hindu society. The dynasty adopted the *Gotra* name *Sunga* as its title. This is evident from the inscription recorded by Dhanabuthi at Bharhut "in the

reign of the Sungas" (*Sunganam raje*) and the Puranas which describe the dynasty under that name. The first Sunga was *Pushyamitra* according to the Puranas, the Jain tradition and Buddhist books. A son of his, probably not the eldest, was *Agni-mitra*, made famous by Kalidasa through his drama *Malavika-Agnimitra*. *Pushyamitra*, according





Ayodhya Inscription of the Sunga Dynasty

to the Buddhists, carried on a war on the monks and monasteries of their faith. During his reign the great grammarian Patanjali, the author of the Mahabhasya, lived at Pataliputra and has recorded that Pushyamitra was engaged in a sacrifice while the grammarian was writing his book. Kalidasa in his drama mentions the Asvamedha or the imperial horse-sacrifice of Pushyamitra and makes his daughter-in-law refer to him with the title "the *Senapati*". According to the Puranas Pushyamitra had been the chief of the military department or the army of the Mauryas ( *Senani* or *Senapati* ). Both Kalidasa and Patanjali imply that there was a Greek invasion and that Pushyamitra defeated the Greeks.

No inscription of the dynasty had been found. A few months back Babu Jagannath Das, B. A., the manager of the Ayodhya Raj estate, came to know of an inscription at the door of a temple at Ayodhya. It is in two lines, as will be seen from a plate prepared by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Benares and supplied to me by its Secretary. This turns out to be a record by one of the brothers of the great Pushyamitra and confirms Patanjali, the Puranas and Kalidasa in several details.

I read the inscription thus :—

Line 1. (Kosa) *ladhipena dvir-asvamedha-yajinas Senapatch Pushyamitrasya shash-thena Kausik (i) putrena Dhana*—

L. 2. *dharmarajina(h)pitrh Phalgudevasya ketanam karitam.*

Kosa is clear in an impression supplied by Babu Jagannath Das.

Translation :— The *Ketana* (funeral memorial, a statue-house) to Phalgudeva, father of the *dharmaraj*\* is caused to be made by Dhana (deva), the ruler of Kosala, the son of (the Lady) Kausikî, the sixth (brother) of *Senapati* Pushyamitra, who performed two *Asvamedhas* (Horse-sacrifices).

The line which begins after *Dhana* is obliterated in the beginning and the latter part of the name is gone. I restore the name as *Dhanadeva* from the coins which have been found at Ayodhya bearing writing of the period and symbols of the Sunga dynasty coins (bull, etc.). The name *Dhana* comes after the

\* If the reading turns out to be *Dharmarajna*, *dharmaraj* will qualify *Dhanadeva*. In any case Phalgudeva would be the father of Pushyamitra. "The sixth of Pushyamitra" I have taken to be the sixth brother of Pushyamitra on the authority of Bhasa who uses *madhyama* to denote "the second brother."



mother's name exactly as in other inscriptions of the time, e. g., that of Ashadhasena at Pabhosa and Dhanabhuti at Bharhut, with which it agrees very closely in epigraphy.

The inscription applies the title *Senapati*, which had been an ex-title like our 'Nizam' of the Moghul and British times. This confirms the datum of Kalidasa. Pushyamitra had been an Asvamedha-sacrificer as Kalidasa says. But he performed that sacrifice twice. The reason for this probably was that he had been defeated by Kharavela, evidently after his first sacrifice. (Kharavela gives the name as *Brihaspatimitra*. Coins also give this name. The Sungas and Mauryas had often double names.) He re-established his imperial position a second time by a second sacrifice.) About five hundred years after, the Guptas introduced once again this orthodox imperial ritual and noted in their records that it had been long out of practice evidently for the reason that Buddhist and foreign and local dynasties had been ruling.

Kalidasa must have had contemporary records before him to note the intimate reference to him as *Senapati* by the family members of the first Sunga. He was probably reviving the court traditions of the Sungas in literature as the Gupta kings were doing in political rituals. The Sungas had been fond of histrionics, as recorded by Bana.

If Dhanadeva was the sixth son of Pushyamitra, we shall have to recall what the Puranas say, viz. that he ruled through others and the Vayu Purana adds that "Pushyamitra's eight sons will rule equally".

Does this mean that Pushyamitra had

eight sons as provincial governors? It seems to have been so in view of what Kalidasa describes. Agnimitra, a son, is ruling over Vidisa with full powers and a council under him. Dhanadeva we find as the ruler of Kosala. Dhanadeva was the sixth, and Agnimitra probably the second son. We have the coins of both Agnimitra and Dhanadeva from their respective areas. There are several other coins of the class bearing names which could not be identified. Now in the light of the new datum and the above discussion they may be assigned provisionally to other sons and similar relatives.

(We cannot say whether Pushyamitra was alive or dead when Dhanadeva inscribed the note on the memorial of his father or grand-father Phalguadeva

It is in consonance with the Brahmin orthodoxy of the Sungas that their inscription should be in Sanskrit. The Maurya and Kushan records are in Prakrit. The only other Sanskrit inscription, discovered in Brahmi belongs to the Sunga period. It is at Nagari, an old town in the Udaypur State; it was inscribed in a temple dedicated to Vasudeva and his brother. At Nagari another inscription mentioning *Asvamedha* was found. It is fragmentary. I think that also referred to Pushyamitra.

The script of this inscription is a death-blow to the system of dating inscriptions by the index of letter-forms. It proves that two styles—cursive and monumental, were in vogue. Our inscription is in the cursive style which reappears under the Kushans. Side by side with the archaic form, it was in use in Sunga times, and earlier.

## MR. S. R. DAS'S LETTER TO HIS SON

By C. F. ANDREWS, M.A.

Comments have been invited by the Editor of the *Modern Review* upon Mr. S. R. Das's 'Letter to his Son.' In this review of it, I intend to deal mainly with the psychology which lies behind it. For, as an educationist, this aspect has naturally a very special interest to me. It has been my privilege and responsibility to deal with young men all my life.

Therefore, I shall judge the letter from the standard of what its effect would be upon a young man on the verge of manhood as he goes abroad into the world.

I find that this son of Mr. S. R. Das is by nature an idealist. This becomes clear from his father's letter. He has evidently a passion for freedom; and his heart's longing is to see

his country set free from the yoke of a foreign power. He can no longer endure subjection. His father seeks to give him advice about his conduct in life. This is the origin of the letter.

Let us take that singular figure in modern history, Garibaldi, and consider what sort of an appeal he would have made to such a young and ardent spirit. He would have said: "I have nothing to offer you but suffering and death. But I can offer you also an immortality, the honour of belonging to that immortal band of young men who have set their country free". To such an offer of service, the pure heart of youth in every country will surely respond.

When, only two years ago, the call suddenly came to the young men of Bengal to flock into the prisons, they did not hesitate to do so. If the lamp of sacrifice, which then shone out before the world, was not afterwards kept bright, the fault was not so much with the young men as with the old. For, the older generation seemed to have somehow lost the power of directing this luminous spirit of youth. The flame burnt itself away, instead of generating energy and heat. The invincible things, which only youth can do, might at that time have been achieved. But timidity crept in, and the movement ebbed away like a receding tide.

In the very ebb-tide of that earlier faith in freedom, Mr. S. R. Das's letter has come. Instead of awakening afresh the high moral idealism to which the generous spirit of youth always, responds he seems almost to decry it and to advise instead caution and expediency. This is my critical comment upon his letter, and I must now justify it.

In the first place, he argues with his son against the use of bombs. But instead of employing the supreme argument, which Mahatma Gandhi would have used, namely, that Satan can never drive out Satan, he begins by stating that bombs are essentially the weapons of the coward. He then goes on to employ all emphasis possible to show that in India they are futile. His argument here takes a very peculiar turn. It amounts to this. Englishmen can use these cowardly weapons much more effectively than Indians. While Indians can only throw bombs of a small size, which would kill one or two innocent people, Englishmen can throw bombs from aeroplanes which would kill all the innocent people in Calcutta, and reduce Calcutta in a few hours to a heap of ruins.

He then goes on to alarm his son still

further about the ruthlessness of England. England, the military power which possesses the latest bomb-throwing aeroplanes, has also (so he tells his son) the tenacity of a bulldog. It is futile, therefore, even to think of wearing down her military strength.

All this crude realism might have been excused if it had been merely employed as an argument from the lower leading up to a higher level. But Mr. S. R. Das, instead of rising out of this lower plane of argument, appears to me to descend even lower still by going on to make his final appeal merely to self-interest on both sides. In doing so, he fails to do justice, both to his country and my own. He states, in so many words, that the only motive which is effective with Englishmen is that of 'self-interest'. Therefore the youth of India, including his own son, must concentrate all their energies on that. A certain amount of agitation (excluding bombs) may be good in order to create in the English mind the self-interested apprehension of losing India, but this must not be carried to the pitch of rousing the 'bull-dog' in the Englishman; for then no concessions will be granted. A judicious mixture of agitation and docility is most likely to succeed. If Indians play that game successfully, always watching the Englishman's temper, and avoiding anything that may too seriously annoy him, then, in the long run, Indians will get some of the crumbs which fall from the Englishman's table. Therefore the supreme need of the hour is caution, and the supreme consideration is fact. What I have written appears to me to be involved in the line of argument used.

Once upon a time, I ventured to call this programme, of waiting upon the Englishman for favours, the 'Little Jack Horner' policy. For the nursery rhyme runs as follows:—

"Little Jack Horner  
Sat in the corner,  
Eating his Christmas pie:  
He put in his thumb  
And pulled out a plum,  
And said 'What a good boy am I!'"

I pointed out that there is undoubtedly a weak side to the Englishman's character;—his national vanity as an Empire-builder. He eagerly seeks for approval on this side, having a somewhat uneasy conscience about his previous acts of land-theiving. It is also true that Indians may play on this weakness and gain some inferior concessions. India may sit in the corner and receive plums from the Empire Christmas pie. This



process from the English side of giving plums for good behaviour is called 'keeping India contented', and it used in earlier days to succeed very well. Mr. S. R. Das is evidently enamoured of the process. He writes: "Consider what advantage it will be to India to have the whole power of the British Empire at her back." He seems strangely unaware, how demoralising such a process always becomes,—demoralising both to the Indian and the Englishman.

I turn, however, from the general proposition to the case of Mr. S. R. Das's son. It would be difficult to imagine a less inspiring appeal to a young idealist like him than that which his father makes. Of all the characters in fiction, the character of smug little Jack Horner saying 'what a good boy am I!' was the one I disliked most in my early nursing days. I feel certain that Mr. S. R. Das would not wish his own son to emulate that attitude of self-satisfaction. Yet if his one aim and object in life is concentrated on pleasing the Englishman and looking for boons and favours, this is what he will surely develop into as years go on and the attitude becomes a habit.

I turn back from this picture to Garibaldi's appeal; I think also of the still greater appeal that Mahatma Gandhi made in 1920 and 1921,—the appeal of perfect suffering in the cause of righteousness without returning blow for blow, or evil for evil. It is easy for me to imagine the inspiration of such a call as *that* to a young man on the very threshold of manhood; but I cannot conceive of any vital inspiration coming from such a policy of caution as Mr. S. R. Das has sketched out.

The writer of this letter to his son has quoted a long passage from Mommsen about the so-called 'Liberation' of Greece by the

Roman armies of conquest. The facts related there may bear another interpretation. But we have all of us heard of another book, by one greater than Mommsen, called the 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire'; and we know from that book what was one of the main reasons of that decline and fall. It was because the centre of that Empire, at Rome, sucked the blood of the provinces and this process never seemed to have any end or limit. It is true that the British Empire cannot suck the blood of Australia or Canada to day; but India has been 'bled white' again and again in more ways than Lord Hardinge meant when he made his memorable war speech. Let Mr. S. R. Das's son, when he is at Cambridge, read what historians have to say about the effect of the Roman Empire upon the ancient Britons. He will find that they were so emasculated, by dependence upon the Roman army and navy, that when these failed them, they were the prey to the very first horde of barbarians who invaded their coasts. India has not reached that ultimate point of emasculation yet; but there were ominous signs that this very disaster was impending when the national movement began.

When Mahatma Gaudhi said to me one day, "I believe that I love Englishmen better than you do yourself," I knew for certain that one great part of his love was this, that he would never for a moment appeal to their weaker side. He would not accept their 'boons'. And he was right. For a weak reliance upon the Englishman can do no good; it is not bracing; it is not healthy; it is not morally uplifting. It leads inevitably to decline and fall: it involves decay and death. It cannot either inspire or point forward to progress and life.

## CHECKS TO TYRANNY IN ANCIENT INDIAN POLITICS

By AJIT KUMAR SEN, M.A.

**I**N this article an attempt will be made to enumerate and describe the different forms of checks to tyranny which the writers on Ancient Indian Politics assumed

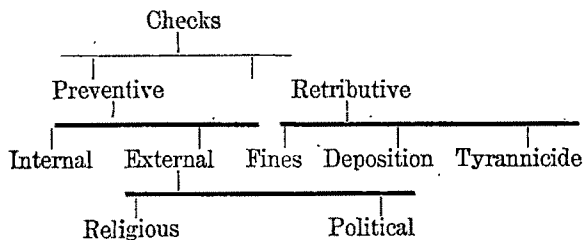
as essential adjuncts in their systems of political thought. We shall mainly concentrate our attention on the doctrines of checks and resistance but shall, where possible, refer



to actual facts. Moreover when enumerating these checks, it need not be taken for granted as a matter of course, that they had an existence in the objective world (1). In short our main concern is with the "subjective" aspect.

There is an idea abroad, especially among the Europeans and the Americans, that the most important category of political thought among the ancient Hindus is an unfettered kingship, an undisguised tyranny. The truth is exactly the reverse. If unfettered kingship had been one of the postulates of political thought amongst the writers on Hindu politics, surely the doctrine of passive obedience would have loomed large in the pages of the *Dharmasastras* and the *Arthasastras* of old. The doctrine of passive obedience implies not only that the subjects are to implicitly obey their king, but that they must not think of resisting an impious and oppressive ruler. In fact, this doctrine, in its most obnoxious and extreme form is scarcely to be met with in the political literature of ancient India.

The checks which are contemplated by ancient Hindu writers and examples of which are to be found scattered in the various *Dharmasastras*, *Arthasastras*, *Puranas*, *Niti-sastras* and epics may be broadly classified under two heads, *viz.* Preventive and Retributive. Preventive checks may be defined as checks which by their very nature tend to prevent a king from degenerating into a tyrant. By retributive checks kings are punished for wrongs committed by them; there is an element of retribution in the latter kind of checks. These checks are, on a final analysis, sufficiently preventive in their nature. By their examples future incumbents in the office (2) of kingship were prevented from perpetrating wrongs. Preventive checks may be subdivided into internal preventive checks and external preventive checks. These external preventive checks may again be classified under two heads, *viz.* religious and political. Retributive checks are of three kinds, *viz.* fines, deposition and tyrannicide. Here is the classification:—



"During the period of studentship the

prince has to live the austere life of a Brahmacharin, observing celibacy and undergoing the hardships involved in the study of the different subjects" (3). Kautilya (4) lays great stress on the restraint of the organs of sense on the part of a king by abandoning lust, anger, greed, vanity, haughtiness and overjoy. Sukracharjya considers that 'discipline is the chief thing to the king' (5), and that 'the king should first provide discipline to himself, then to the sons, then to ministers, then to servant, then to subjects' (6). In fact, the ancient Hindu writers on politics cannot conceive of a king who has not got this moral training. Manu is of opinion that the king should possess knowledge of his own self. For our purposes, the importance of this moral discipline as the most effective check to tyranny is patent; since a king who has conquered his senses is not likely to degenerate into a tyrant. A check which acts from within is more effective than the one which acts from outside and it is from this point of view, perhaps that the ancient Hindus preferred the internal preventive checks to the legal and constitutional checks so dear to the heart of a moderner. A king who has abandoned greed, is not likely to make illegal exactions and thereby become a tyrant and need not die like Aila in his attempt under the influence of greed to make exactions from Brahmans, as well as Ajahindu the Samvira (in a similar attempt) (7). To a student of politics in the 20th century familiar to all the apparatuses of democratic government, the importance which the Hindus attached to moral discipline on the part of a king may seem queer and well-nigh grotesque; but in ancient India when democratic government on a big scale was unknown, when the king was the mainspring of the whole mechanism and kingship was looked upon as a sacred trust the importance of this moral discipline (8) to the body politics cannot be overestimated. "Yet I am inclined to believe that such religious and moral restraints as self-denial, conquest of the Sex Passions, Preparation for Moksha or Nirvana by renunciation frequently preached to the prince and poor alike scarcely less powerful than the constitutional and legal checks of western nations of modern times. How far the modern constitutional checks based more on utilitarian than ethical principles are preferable to religious or philosophical restraints which are applicable to all is a question yet to be decided." (9)

The second class of preventive checks which were religious in their nature was

effective inasmuch as they took advantage of the religious beliefs and prejudices of the age. But it must be remembered that it was the Dharmasastras more than the Arthasastras that utilised this class of checks,—obviously for the reason that the standpoint of the Arthasastras was secular. Manu says, "A king who (duly) protects (his subjects) receives from each and all the sixth part of their spiritual merit; if he does not protect them, the sixth part of their demerit also (will fall on him)" (10); and again, "A king who does not afford protection (yet) takes his share in kind \* \* \* \* \*" will (after death) soon sink into hell (11). In the Agnipurana also, we find that an oppressive king lives in hell for all time to come. Sukraniti ordains hell (12) or the condition of lower animals (13) for *tamasa* kings. Kautilya who treats politics from a secular standpoint is not free from this religious touch because "the king who guides his subjects in accordance with the above rules will attain to heaven; otherwise he will fall into hell" (14). In the insertion of dialogues amongst the spies, the kings are made answerable for the sins of their subjects when the principle of levying just punishments and taxes has been violated.' (15)

The prospect of hell for a modern tyrant will not in the least dissuade him from his career of tyranny, such a check is sure to evoke a peal of laughter from a modern audience; but its utility in ancient times cannot for a moment be questioned, when we remember that the mass, not excluding the king, really believed in heaven and hell.

The "political preventive" checks are Laws and Customs, Public Opinion, Ministers and Assemblies. In ancient India, kings had very little legislative sovereignty; the only sovereignty which they exercised was rather executive in its nature (16). The rules of socio-religious conduct were laid down in the *Srutis* and *Smritis* and the king only administered them. Besides these, custom was not to be neglected even if it conflicted with current ideas of morality. The sphere of king's legislative power was still further circumscribed by the laws and customs observed by the various corporations, social and economic (17). Local customs, however objectionable, must be maintained, 'for otherwise the people get agitated.' (18) According to Kautilya, (19) *Dharma*, *Vyavahara*, *Charitra* and *Rajasasana* are the four legs of Law. The Dharmasastras hold that the king is not above Law, but according to Kautilya (20) king's law is the most authoritative and that

when in conflict with sacred law the king's law will be obeyed. But lest it should be thought that this supreme law-making power of the king means in effect absolutism, the Sukraniti lays down (21) that the king should administer *Nyaya* in the noon and *Smriti* in the morning. Sukra's *Nyaya* is possibly the *Dharma-nyaya* (22) of Kautilya which is nothing but king-made law. The Mahabharat also (23) lays down that "if the king transgresses all wholesome restraints, all people become filled with alarm. \* \* For this reason the king should always establish rules and restraints for gladdening the hearts of his people. Rules in respect of even very trivial matters are hailed with delight by the people." The implication of all these quotations is that government by law, even if made by the king, is preferable to government by executive fiat. Kautilya's assertion that the king-made law or *Rajasasana* is the most authoritative points to the fact that the Maurya kings were law-making sovereigns; whereas the insistence of the Dharmasastras (24) on king being subordinate to *Dharma* points to the kings being executive sovereigns. In the first case, king-made laws and customs were the checks, in the second case, customs and Dharmasastras as interpreted by a *Parsad* (25).

The strength of public opinion may be gauged by the dictum which Sukra lays down that a king 'should dismiss the officer who is accused by one hundred men.' (26) This theory of ministerial responsibility and king's irresponsibility is adumbrated in the drama *Mudra-Rakhasa* (27) where it is said, "when anything wrong is done by the king, the fault is of the minister; (for) it is through the negligence of the driver that an elephant goes mad." That the ministers and officers of the king were sensitive to public opinion may be illustrated by the story told by Hiuen Tsang about Vikramaditya, king of Sravasti. The king ordered his officers to distribute daily five lakhs of gold coins. The officer-in-charge of the revenues mildly protested saying that such indiscriminate charity would entail fresh taxation for which the ministers would be blamed by the people (28). Sukra's dictum about the dismissal by king of officers accused by one hundred men is nothing but the 'doctrine of recall in embryo' as Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar puts it (29). Sukra also emphasises that 'the wise ruler should ever abide by the well-thought-out decisions of councillors, office-bearers, *subjects* and members attending a meeting—never by his own opi-

nions' (30). In another passage, he lays down that 'the unity of opinion possessed by the Many is more powerful than the king. The rope that is made by a combination of many threads is strong enough to drag the lion.' (31) In order to illustrate the strength of the public opinion, we may cite the story of Devapi and Santanu. Devapi, the eldest son of the king was a leper, but the king decided to install him as heir-apparent. The people opposed the king who ultimately had to change his decision. Again, when Yayati decided to install Puru, his youngest son, as his heir, the citizens objected to Puru on the ground of his being the youngest; but the king succeeded in convincing the people by saying that all his other sons are disobedient and as such are no sons. Here the king had to justify his seemingly autocratic action to the citizens.

But the real and the most effective 'political preventive' checks were the ministers and assemblies. In the Vedic period, the assembly and the king were the two important elements that constituted the government and of these two surely the assembly possessed the greater political power as is evident from the various hymns of the Atharva-veda concerning banishment and restoration of kings. The Vedic monarchy was sometimes elective (32) and sometimes hereditary. During the periods of interregnum due to death or banishment of kings, it was the assembly that managed the affairs of a kingdom (33). While during the vedic period, the assembly evidently held a permanent place in the constitution, it occupied a subordinate place in the Sutra period. (34) With the increase of the territory of the State, the growth of the king's power and the rigidity of the caste-system, the popular assembly gradually ceased to function, and it was physically impossible to gather all the citizens of a big state at a fixed time and place. (35) But it must not be understood that with the gradual decay of the sabhas and samitis disappeared all wholesome checks upon king's arbitrary use of power. The place of assembly in the system of government was taken up by the ministry.

The importance of the ministry as an indispensable organ of the State has been recognized by all the writers on politics. Kautilya referring to the ministers says, "A single wheel can never move. Hence he (king) shall employ ministers and hear their opinion." (36) Speaking of the appointment of high priest, Kautilya says, "As a student his teacher, a son his father, and a servant

his master, the king shall follow him." (37) Now this high priest had important 'spiritual and religious duties that gave him influence over the monarch, not only in domestic and religious, but also in all important secular matters including public and political questions.' (38) That the ministers were supposed to be real checks upon the king is evident from Sukra's query, 'can there be prosperity of the kingdom if there be ministers whom the ruler does not fear?' (39) and also 'if the king fears their control, they are good ministers.' (40) Sukra speaking of subservient ministers says that they ought 'to be gratified like women with decorations, liveries of honour etc.' (41) thus showing his contempt for them. That the king must not be self-willed, must 'abide by the well-thought-out decisions of councillors' are proof positive of the fact that the ministers played an equal, if not more important, part in the administration of the State. It has been shown also that the ministers recognised some responsibility to the people, (42) and thus we see that the ministers were never taken as so many creatures of the king. In fact, such a system of government can be aptly described as 'Sachivatantra'—as Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee puts it (43) or Ministocracy if we are allowed to say so. In Mudrarakshasa we find the term 'Sachivayatta-tantra'; that is to say, a form of government in which real power exists in the hands of ministers. (44) In the ancient kingdoms of Chera, Chola and Pandya, there were five assemblies associated with the king in the administration of the State. (45) Of these five, surely the Assembly of the People and the Assembly of the ministers were the most important, because the former looked after the rights and privileges of the people, while the latter attended to the general administration of the State. Such a system of constitutional monarchy, not as a speculative theory, but as an objective reality, may appear unique in ancient Indian polity but Kanaksabhai is of opinion that this form of government was not peculiar to South India, but had its original in the Magadhan Empire of the north. Kautilya also speaks of the minister as installing the heir-apparent (46) and also of his investing himself with the powers of sovereignty. (47) A glimpse of the ministerial authority may also be got when after the assassination of Rajyavardhana, the Prime Minister proposed in an Assembly of ministers that Harshavardhana should ascend the throne. Just as the assembly in the Vedic



period managed the affairs of the kingdom during the periods of interregnum due to the death of kings, (48) so the ministers of the kingdom of Ceylon after the death of Vijaya took over the administration in their own hands until they invested a new king with the powers of sovereignty. (49) Thus we see that often the right to sovereignty was granted by the ministers—a fact whose implications ought not to be lost sight of. (50) One of these implications is that if the ministers can make a king, they can unmake also and so we find that Lilavati who was elected Queen of Ceylon by the ministers was afterwards deposed by them. (51) That the government of Queen Lilavati was a constitutional monarchy is evident from an inscription of Lilavati where she says: 'By creating a Council of wise, brave and faithful ministers, she has freed her own kingdom from the dangers (arising) from other Kingdoms. (52) The doctrine enunciated in Mudarakshasa (53) that when anything wrong is done by the king, the fault is of the minister—is reasonable if the king is bound to accept the advice tendered by his ministers (54) and hence we find that 'the king who does not listen to the counsels of ministers about things good and bad to him is a thief in the form of a ruler, an exploiter of the people's wealth (55) and soon gets estranged from his kingdom and alienated with his subjects.' (56.)

So far we have dealt with preventive checks, now we shall consider retributive checks.

That the kings had to pay fines when they committed offences, is evident from the following quotation from Manu, "where another common man would be fined one Karsāpana, the King shall be fined one thousand." (57)

In the Vedic period the assembly seems to have had powers to degrade a king to the rank of the common people or of the clan of nobles (58) evidently for some wrongs committed by kings.

The Atmamedha or Prayopaveso form of passive resistance—a vow of abstinence to death on the part of the people *en masse* till the removal of the cause of their grievances, seems to have been a very potent weapon in the hands of the oppressed citizens against their tyrannical rulers. Pandit Shama Sastry is of opinion, 'that the Atmamedha form of passive resistance was invented by the Vedic poets to check the licentious proceedings of some of their Asura Kings,' (59) This kind of check is both preventive and

retributive. It is preventive in that it is resorted to to compel a king to change his unjust attitude and to reclaim a king from his wicked habits.' 'From Rajatarangini VI, 14, it appears that ancient kings used to send spies to find out and report voluntary cases of prayopavesa or fasting to death, and to redress such grievances as were the causes of these long fasts.' (60) Some element of retribution is also involved in this check inasmuch as a tyrannical king was regarded as the indirect murderer of those citizens resorting to starvations by death and the enormity of such a crime to a Hindu well-versed in the ancient traditions can very well be imagined. Perhaps such a king gets the condition of lower animals after death. (61) This form of check was also used to expel a tyrannical king (62).

The idea of deposition and tyrannicide is not wholly repugnant to the Hindus. In the Vedic period when kings were regarded as mere mortals and when monarchy was generally elective and people's assembly had the upper hand, it is not surprising that kings were often expelled. We know that "Dustarity Paumsayana had been expelled from the kingdom which had come down to him through ten generations and the Sringayas also expelled Revottaras Patava kakra sthapati' (63). In the Arthasastra of Kautilya, we do not come across any enunciation of the right or duty of deposition and tyrannicide though Kautilya views Arthasastra wholly from a secular and utilitarian aspect. Notwithstanding this, the idea of deposition or tyrannicide is not unknown, for Kautilya lays down as a matter of common knowledge that 'a king of unrighteous character and of vicious habits will, though he is an emperor, fall a prey either to the fury of his own subjects or to that of his enemies (64). In another place (65), he tells us that impoverished, greedy and disaffected subjects voluntarily destroy their own master. In the chapter on Purity or Impurity in the character of ministers, one spy is made to say, "this king is unrighteous, well, let us set up in his place another king who is righteous." (66) Later on in the same chapter, another spy is made to say, 'the king has betaken himself to an unwise course; well having murdered him, let us put another in his stead.' In this, though in an indirect way (67), we are confronted with a distinction between a good king and a tyrant. A king in Kautilya's view must not be so haughty as to despise all people or in other words must not be tyrannical; for, if tyrannical, they are

likely to perish like Dambhodhaba and Arjuna of Haihaya dynasty (68).

The Rajdharma section of the Santiparva in Mahabharat which is a blend of canonical and Arthasastric ideas of politics makes a sharp distinction between a righteous king and a tyrant.(69) This admixture is apparent in the divine and popular origin of kingship. But it is reasonable to suppose that its secular aspect got the upper hand in that the Mahabharat gives no quarter to an unrighteous king. The great rishi Vamadeva is quoted by Bhishma to have said, 'that king who acts according to the counsels of a vicious and sinful minister becomes a destroyer of righteousness and *deserves to be slain* by his subjects with all his family,' (70) and again 'that king who is illiberal and without affection, who afflicts his subjects by undue chastisement and who is rash in his acts, soon meets with destruction.' (71) In the Anusasana-parva the subjects are advised to arm themselves for slaying the tyrant (72) and again the 'king who tells his people that he is their protector but who does not or is unable to protect them should be slain by his combined subjects.' (73) A perusal of these quotations will convince anyone that the king of Mahabharat is more a mortal than a *nara-devata* or that only a righteous king can claim the title of *nara-devata*. (74) In the Aswamedha-parva we read of one Khanikhetra deposed by his subjects. (75) 'King Vena, a slave of wrath and malice became unrighteous in his conduct towards all creatures. The Rishis, those utterers of Brahma, slew him with *kusha* blades (as their weapon) inspired with *mantras*.' (76) After Vena has been killed the Rishis pierced his right arm when sprang a person who was anointed as king after having taken an oath that he would never act with caprice and would fearlessly maintain the duties laid down in the Vedas. This looks something like a coronation oath—the implication being that if he acts upon his whims and caprices, he will be slain outright like his father Vena. Such a coronation oath seems to have been employed in Aindra-mahaviseka ceremony when a promise was extorted from the king that he would lose everything, *even his life*, if he attempted violation of right and truth. (77) In the Agni-purana it is laid down that a tyrant is deposed and killed, sooner or later. (78)

In the Buddhistic Dighanikaya, we are confronted with the rudiments of social and governmental compacts, (79) and the implications of the contractual origin of kingship

are far-reaching. It means that the king is liable to popular control, but it is to be regretted that the implications were not systematized as part of a general theory of state. (80) However, the loss in theory has been partly made good by instances of deposition and tyrannicide which we find in the Jatakas. In the Saccamkira Jataka (81), we find the wicked king of Benares—who owed his life to Bodhisatta—asking his followers to catch hold of Bodhisatta and execute him. Bodhisatta recited how he saved the king while he was crown-prince. "Filled with indignation at this recital, the nobles and Brahmins and all classes with one accord cried out, "This ungrateful king does not recognize even the goodness of this good man who saved his majesty's life. How can we have any profit from this king. Seize the tyrant." And in their anger they rushed upon the king from every side and slew him then and there." Again in the Padakusalamanava Jataka (82), a king who had himself stolen some treasures employed a young man to specify the thief. Before a great audience, the young man said that their refuge proved their bane whereupon the people thought " \* \* \* that he may not in future go on playing the part of a thief, we will kill this wicked king." So they rose up with sticks and clubs in their hands and then and there beat the king and priest till they died. In the Mahasutasoma Jataka (83), the citizens asked the commander to have the king expelled from his kingdom if he would not give up his cannibalistic propensities. The commander thereupon requested the king to give it up who however expressed his inability to comply with this request; whereupon the commander said, "then depart sire, from this city and kingdom." It will be evident from these stories that there was nothing divine, nothing sacred in the Buddhistic conception of kingship. (84)

The distinction between a good king and a tyrant has been maintained by Sukra. (85) According to Sukra, any and every king is not divine or is not a *nara-devata* because the king who is not virtuous is 'a part of the demons' and as such gets hell or the condition of lower animals after death. But that is not enough. 'If the king be an enemy of virtue, morality and strength, people should desert (expel) him as the ruiner of the State and in his place for the maintenance of the State, the priest with the consent of the *Pakriti* should install one who belongs to his family and qualified' (86). Sukra cannot bear with a king who does not listen to the counsels of his

ministers,(87) to him an autocratic king is nothing but a 'thief in the form of a ruler'. Other hints at deposition are given in some more places (88). It will be seen that Sukra nowhere sanctions tyrannicide though he says that the king is justly looked upon as a cog by the poets (89), and also quotes the example of Vena being killed on account of his unrighteousness (90). It will be further observed that Sukra observes a *via media*; any and every king is not a nara-devata nor a mere mortal; that is, a virtuous king is godlike, the reverse demonlike. Further he makes out the king to be made by Brahma but qualifies it by saying that he is a servant of the people (91). He sanctions deposition—a necessary corollary by the king's being a servant of the people—but nowhere sanctions the extreme penalty which a tyrant deserves *viz.* tyrannicide. With Narada he does not say whatever a king does it right (92), nor does he support the view advocated by Aryadeva that

the king is a mere servant of the people and nothing more.

Yajnabalkya warns the king against illegal taxation by saying that the fire arising from the heat of the suffering of the subjects does not cease without fully burning the family, fortune and life of the king.(93)

In the Mahavamsa, Vijaya is described as a Prince Regent whose mal-administration led to discontent and ultimately to his own banishment.(94) Again Queen Lilavati of Ceylon was deposed by her ministers.

After everything has been said about these various kinds of checks to tyranny, a critic might reasonably put in that in no Hindu political literature has any theory about the rights of the people been systematically developed. To this our answer is that the ancient Hindus thought more in terms of Swadharma and duties than in those of Swadhikara and rights.

1. Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee's "*Public Administration in Ancient India*"—a very good account of the systems of public administration visualized by diverse writers on politics—is vitiated by the author's failure to keep this distinction in view. Referring to "some of the shortcomings which characterize a great deal of these magazine articles and books Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar remarks—"the distinction between the institution of *Realpolitik* and the "pious wishes" or ideals of theorists has virtually been neglected or ignored". See p. 7 of his *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, Bk. II Part I. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar neglects the "subjective" aspect entirely. See his "Studies in Mughal India," pp. 304-310.

2. Public Adm. in Anc. India p. 72.

3. Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity by Narendranath Law, p. 72. See Chap. V.

4. Chaps. VI-VII Book I.

5. Sukraniti translated by Prof. B. K. Sarkar Chap. I. lines 181-2;

6. Ibid 183-5, Chap. I.

7. Arthasastra Chap. VI, Bk. I. Cupidity of Rajarsi Aila is also mentioned in Sukraniti—Chap. I lines 287-90;

8. Hence the Hindu ideal of kingship was a Rajarshi one.

9. Shamasastri, Evolution of Indian Polity, Preface xiv;

10. Manu VIII, 304, S. B. E.

11. Manu VIII, 307 S. B. E.

12. Sukraniti, Ch. I lines 63 and 171.

13. Ibid Ch. I lines 64-8.

14. Arthasastra Bk. III Ch. VII.

15. Arthasastra Bk. I Ch. XIII;

16. The Greek conception of sovereignty was also executive.

17. Sukraniti Ch. IV. Sec. V lines 89-93;

18. For an account of these customs, *viz.* beef-eating, sexual immorality, levirate etc. See Sukra p. 187 (B. K. Sarkar);

19. Artha, Bk. III. Ch. I.

20. Ibid;

21. Ch. IV Sec. V line 106.

22. Artha Bk III Ch. I;

23. Santiparva, Sec. 133 (P. C. Roy);

24. Exception will be noted later on.

25. Yajnabalkya Smriti, S. B. H. Vol. 21, Sutra 9;

26. Sukra Ch. I line 755.

27. Act III. Quoted by Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee;

28. Buddhist Records (Beal) Bk. II;

29. Positive Background of Hindu Sociology, Political, p. 43;

30. Sukra. Chap II lines 5-6;

31. Ibid Ch. IV. Sec. VII, lines 838-39;

32. Atharva Veda III, IV;

33. Evolution of Indian Polity, pp. 87;

34. Ibid;

35. So as Rome grew, democracy gave way. The difficulty in those days was that the representative system was unknown;

36. Artha Bk. I Ch. VII;

37. Ibid Bk. I Ch. IX;

38. Law's Ancient Indian Polity, pp. 38-9 "The didactic parts of the Mahabharat recommend complete dependence of the sovereign upon his *Purohita*," p. 49.

39. Chap II line 164;

40. Ibid line 163;

41. Ibid line 165;

42. Story of Vikramaditya told by Hiuen Tsang.

43. Public Adm. p. 51.

44. Quoted from Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee's Public Adm.;

45. Kanaksabhai's Tamil 1800 Years Ago, pp. 109-10.

46. Artha, Bk. V Ch. VI.

47. Ibid.

48. Evolution of Indian Polity, p. 87.

49. Mahavamsa. Of the Raja-krits or King-makers in Atharva-veda and Satpatha Brahmana.

50. In England from the time of William III the right to throne depends on Parliamentary title.



51. Public Adm. p. 117 ;
52. Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. I. No. 14.
53. Act III ;
54. The English theory that the king can do no wrong.
55. Sukraniti, Ch. II lines 515-16.
56. Ibid. Lines 7-8.
57. S. B. E. Vol. 25, Verse 336 : 'When the king punishes an innocent man, he shall throw into water dedicating to God Varuna a *fine* equal to thirty times the unjust imposition'. Arthasastra Bk. IV Ch. xiii.
58. Evolution of Indian Polity, Appendix A.
59. Ibid. Appendix B, Mahatma Gandhi's conception of passive resistance.
60. Ibid.
61. Sukraniti, Ch. I, line 64-8.
62. Taittiriya Samhita II 3, 1 quoted by Pandit Shama Sastry. The atmamedha form of check has not been shown in the classification because it is difficult to classify it.
63. S. B. E. Vol. XLIV p. 269.
64. Arthasastra, Bk. VI Ch. I.
65. Ibid Bk. VII Ch. V
66. Ibid Bk. I Ch. X
67. Because Kautilya makes the spy distinguish between a good king and a tyrant.
68. Artha. Bk. I Ch. VI.
69. It is curious that Dr. Upendranath Ghoshal makes Sukra as the first Originator of his distinction (p. 258, Hindu Political Theories) and again on p. 100 of his book gives the credit to another ;
70. Santiparva Sec. 92 (P. C. Roy's translation) ;
71. Ibid.
72. Sec. 61.
73. Ibid.
74. See in this connection Manu V 96-7 ; vii, 4-8 ; Sukra, Ch. I lines 139-43 : also footnote, pp. 71 of *Public Adm.* in Ancient India ; also footnote pp. 182-3 of *Hindu Political Theories* of Dr. Upendranath

- Ghoshal. Dr. Ghoshal's view that Sukra's theory is peculiar is not justified in view of similar opinions being held by the author of Mahabharata.
75. Quoted in Carmichael Lectures 1919, p. 136 footnote.
76. Santiparva Sec. 59, see also Matsy. Purana S. B. H., Part I Ch. X ;
77. Aitareya Brahmana, quoted by Prof. Radhakumud Mukerjee in 'Fundamental Unity of India'.
78. Ch. 225, 31-32 Quoted by Madhusudhan Bhattacharjee in his 'Ratnamala' part I ;
79. The title "Mahasammata" indicates elective origin.
80. For a short account of the Buddhist theory see Dr. Ghoshal's 'Hindu Political Theories' pp. 117-123 and 209-212. The conception of king as *ganadasa* or servant of the people from the point of view of checks to tyranny must not be lost sight of.
81. Vol I Edited by Cowell.
82. Vol. III.
83. Vol. V.
84. Cf. what the Buddhist monk Arjyadeva says—what superciliousness is thine (O king), thou who art a (mere) servant of the multitude (*ganadasa*) and who receivest the sixth part (of the produce) as thine wages".
85. Chap I lines 63, 69-70, 139-41, 171 ;
86. Chap. II lines 549-552.
87. Ch. II lines 515-516 ;
88. Ch. I lines 277-278, 279-80 ; Ch. II lines 5-8 ; Ch. IV Sec. VIII lines 826-829.
89. Ch I lines 745-746 ;
90. Ch. I lines 137-138 ;
91. Ch. I lines 375 ;
92. S. B. E. Vol. XVIII, 21 ;
93. Sutra 341 - S. B. H. Vol. 21 ;
94. Quoted by Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee, p. 89 footnote.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

### ENGLISH.

THE LABOUR THEORY OF VALUE OF KARL MARX : By H. W. B. Joseph, Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. Oxford University Press. Price 4s. 6d.

As an economic teacher, Karl Marx has, perhaps, no equal if we judge all economists by the amount of commotion that their theories and teachings create in society. In this book Mr. Joseph deals very ably and with a clearness of expression rarely

found in economic treatises, with the dominant fallacies and obsessions of the author of *Das Kapital*. The book goes a long way to clear up many of the economic illusions that find wide circulation among those who love to hold opinions but do not care to acquire the necessary knowledge to hold correct ones. We hope it will be included among the recommended books for the degree examinations of Indian Universities. For a c no Indian students beginning to imbibe the fallacies of the West along with its various other weaknesses

This book will act as an efficient antidote to an overdose of zeitgeist.

INDIAN RAILWAY PROBLEMS: By S. C. Ghose, Price Rs. 3-8.

The Railways are one of the greatest assets (also liabilities) of the Indian nation. Millions are spent every year on the Railways and heaven alone and the experts know what the Indians gain or lose on account of the Railways. In this 300 page book, Mr. S. C. Ghose who is one of the greatest authorities on Indian Railways, has dealt with every important aspect of our Railways. It is hardly necessary to recommend Mr. Ghose to students of Indian economics; he is so well known and so universally admired as a thinker of high merit. This book will certainly be welcomed as a first-class hand-book of information on Indian Railways.

A. C.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA: PART I—THE HINDU PERIOD: By Chuni Lal Anand, M.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law, Lecturer in Constitutional Law, Law College, Lahore; Students' Own Agency, Anarkali, Lahore, 1924. Price Rs. 4-8. Pp. 372. Small Size.

The author has attempted a subject without adequate equipments. He is neither up-to-date about his sources nor has he made himself familiar with historical facts which have been known for half a century or more. He writes about "*Chandergota*" pp. 79-80 and "*Chanak*" (pp. 80, 82, 117).

In the codes the word *Sudra* is contrasted with the *twice-born* and not with *Arya* (p. 249) says the learned author without noticing just the contrary fact in the *Arthashastra* (*Kautiliya*) and elsewhere. The name of *Narada* is spelt as *Narad* (p. 191). The subject of Government is secondary and irrelevant matters, as law, caste, slavery, etc., come in prominently in the author's treatment. It is difficult to recognise the originals of *brahmadya* (p. 104) *vanaprastha* (104), *songrahana* (p. 103) "*Charvak*" (59) "*Bhishama*" (59) and many more who had the misfortune to come under the author's pen. "The succession of Bharat (sic) to Dasharatha (sic) with the consent of Rama" (p. 64) is not known to many. We are asked to believe that "the present volume also is based mainly on original sources." The sources in the hands of the learned author must have been very faulty. "The peculiar feature of this work is"—claims the author—"its historical treatment". But the history of the author knows nothing about the Gupta Emperors and similar non-entities.

K. P. J.

CATULLUS TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH PROSE. By Sir William Marris (Clarendon Press.)

It is refreshing to find that even in the 20th century a Pro-Consul of a great Empire can, as in the time of the Romans, find time amidst his numerous and onerous duties to woo the muses and to continue his classical studies. This is not Sir William Marris' first translation. Readers of Horace will be familiar with his translation of Horace. It is an ambition of many classical scholars to render Catullus into English verse. The careless felicity of his style—his mastery of light and casual subjects—his enjoyment of beauty and his reaction against the crowd of Philistines amongst whom he dwelt—all combine to render him irresistibly fascinating to scholars who are at the

same time lovers of poetry. Of course the last word in English on Catullus rests with Professor Ellis, but one at times would like not a learned and exhaustive commentary but a dainty treatment of a writer whose appeal is almost as strong to-day (and in some cases almost as topical) as it was in the Rome of his time. It is for this reason that Sir William Marris' translation will be very acceptable—even to those readers whose knowledge of Latin is little or nothing—and the get-up of the book is very attractive (does it not come from the Clarendon Press?) and very convenient—one can slip it easily into a small pocket. Presumably it is the duty of a reviewer to criticize. It would be unfair to apply to it the tests one would apply to such a book as that of Professor Ellis. It is safe to say that as a metrical translation it has much charms—only occasionally does the translator not seem quite to catch the author's spirit. In some cases he tends to be too light when the author is serious and in other cases too cumbrous when the author is light. For example his translation of *Furi el ameli* :—

My two good friends I know you'd be content  
To travel with Catullus on and on  
Though to far shores of Hindustan he went  
Where beat the waves of dawn.

The line "To travel with Catullus on and on" is sheer padding. This stanza has been far more aptly rendered by that great Scholar R. Kennard Davis as follows :—

"Friends who would bear me company  
Whether to India's utmost bounds  
Where far along the shore resounds'  
The crashing Eastern Sea."

The last two lines of this are far nearer the original and wonderfully represent the thunder of the line "*longe resonante Eoa. Tunditur unda.*" Or to take another instance. Sir William Marris translates Catullus famous translation of Sappho's ode as follows. The translation is too light for the original.

Like to a God he seems to me  
Above the gods if so may be  
Who sitting often close to thee  
May see and hear  
Thy lovely laugh : Ah luckless man !  
It shines me Lesbia, but to scan  
Thy face : my lips no longer can  
Say aught my dear :

Surely this last line is almost bathos. Again contrast with this R. K. Davis' rendering.

Of the high Gods I hold him peer  
Who sitting face to face with thee  
Heareth thy tender accents near  
And all thy laughter's nitcherly  
Thereat my heart—(ah woe is me !)  
Doth leap : and straightway at thy sight  
My voice disowns my mastery  
This is the price of loves delight

and so on. However it is unfair to compare one translation with another unless one does so at great length. Another defect in Sir William Marris' rendering is the somewhat strained rhyming, e.g., 'love' and 'of' 'love' and 'enough' 'love' and 'off' 'you' and 'go' 'sue' and 'do' 'fleeter' and 'beat her' 'wages' and 'embrace' 'new' and 'to' In a book of this nature too much stress must not be laid on the point. A very pretty touch is Sir

William Marris' translation of "ad lecticam etc." as 'Ihampanis.' It certainly is the 'most juste.' Sir William Marris has made a most acceptable and instructive translation which will please lovers of Catullus very much and be of great interest to the uninitiated. Its get-up makes it all the more acceptable.

R. C. B.

SOUL'S SECRET DOOR: *Poems by Swami Paramananda. Published by the Vedanta Centre, Boston, Mass.*

It is always a delight to take up a book of English poems by an Indian writer, for we have learnt to expect from such certain kinds of refreshment which we are not likely to find elsewhere in the world. In the songs of Rabindranath, of Aurobindo, of Mrs. Naidu and her brother Sarindra Nath poetry is true to its primary function of finding words which immortalise ordinary experiences, of restoring happiness in life.

With this little book by a well-known exponent of Yoga and Vedanta, the publishers have kindly issued a guide to critics in which these passages occur.

"They have been favourably compared with the works of Tagore, and Kabir, and other great poets....."

"Following the modern form of *vers libre*, discarding the obligation to rhyme considered necessary in previous periods, it links the present with the distant past when great thought gave up epics and lyrics, which time has never dimmed."

This and other passages in the circular of advertisement do the usual injustice to the author, whose English poems certainly do not stand on the same level with those of Kabir and Tagore. They are very brief, devotional utterances in a traditional Indian mode and speech, full of the symbols that are found in previous poets, but with no pretension to style.

#### TRANSCENDENT LIGHT

Out of the deep darkness of night  
A light burst upon my soul,  
Filling me with serene gladness.  
All my inner chambers  
Are opened at its touch;  
All my inmost being  
Is flooded by its radiance.

The following poem is nearer to verse form:

Thou art my life's consummation,  
My abode of unbroken rest;  
I lay at Thy transcendent feet  
My weary heart, for its peace.

These poems really give us the impression of being translations from some more poetic forms, translations in which no attempt has been made to give the thoughts that very vesture which is the mark of true poetry. Had the symbols been fresh, this would have been less noticeable; but here they are the old ones which have been much better expressed in English already.

Without arresting rhythm, without that magical ordering of words which gives the old thoughts such life and beauty, we cannot award the name of high poetry.

The very title of this little book, *The Soul's Secret Door*, betrays an insensibility to the part sound plays in poetry, and it is also evident in many of the poems.

We have only to put beside these poems some of the baby utterances of Hilda Conkling, to see

the difference; such as this, written when she was only four.

Rosy plum-tree, think of me  
When Spring comes down the world.

Or this, written when she was eight;

My thoughts keep going far away  
Into another country, under another sky.  
My thoughts are sea-foam and sand;  
They are apple-petals fluttering.

In this world of endless delights that are waiting to be named of beauty that so far has eluded all words, it is the lonely part of the poet to find the new ways, to surprise us by discovering to us what and where we really are. And this for the poet is a matter of art as well as of inspiration or conviction, the more so if the thoughts be of the deepest things.

E. E. S.

#### HINDI.

BARHASPATYA ARTHASASTRA (*with Hindi translation*) By Lala Kannomal, M.A., published by Matilal Banarasi Das, Lahore, 1924, Pp. 70 + 40 pages on geographical notes and a note on Arthashastra. Price not given.

The book is improperly named. People will be misled into supposing, on reading an advertisement, that the book is the famous *Barhaspatya Arthashastra* which is being eagerly sought for in manuscripts. In fact, it is a mere reproduction of the Barhaspatya Sutras published some years back by Dr. F. W. Thomas and declared by him and scholars in general to be a medieval production of the Yadava or Muhammadan times under the pretended authorship of Brihaspati. These Sutras deal very little with the subject of Arthashastra. The Hindi Editor and publishers are no justified in giving such a misleading title to the book. The translation is fairly good, following the English translation of Dr. Thomas. The geographical notes do not carry us very far.

The Hindi editor places the Sutras even before the *Kautilya* and regards the Arthashastra of Kautilya to be in 'modern' (*Adhunik*) Sanskrit! These views are too extravagant to be commented upon.

I. P. J.

#### TELUGU.

"NATYATPALAMU".—By Puranam Suri Sastru, printed at the Sudharma Printing Press, 1924. Pp. 253, Price Re. 1-8-0.

In this book the author proposes "to survey mankind from China to Peru" and deals with the achievements of the Greek, the Roman, the English, the French, the Spanish, the Italian, and the German celebrities in the field of drama and theatrical art. It needs no emphasis to say that these are none too well known in the Andhra Country. He tries to present a cheery and breezy idea of the historical evolution of the drama in those different countries. He makes a successful attempt to communicate the best of the works of those western writers. He selects those dramatists and their works as have a valid and pre-eminent claim for remembrance by the people of the present day.

Mr. Sastru has the four essentials of a critic—analytical power, sympathetic understanding, gift of expression and breadth of vision. The excellences in the technique of dramatic art, astonishing faithfulness in portraying mankind, penetrating observa-



tion and literary composition of the western dramatists are condensed into a brief compass so as to be easily grasped and retained. This is the only book that gives a clever and good account of the dramatic achievements of the western nations.

This book is to be welcomed upon its own merits and in the present circumstances of the Andhra stage it is doubly welcome. It will stimulate a spirit of inquiry and interest among the amateur playwrights. There is a good deal of sincerity in his attempts to improve the tone, scope and usefulness of the theatre as an useful organism for the moral and intellectual uplift of the society. He possesses a fine slashing style and altogether appears to be an impatient and assertive writer. On the whole it is a most stimulating volume.

The author's general attitude is that there should be a genuine attempt to understand the best that underlies the thoughts of others and try to assimilate it to our own. He is vehement in his opposition to those who wish to disentangle themselves from the outside world. There can be no real and permanent improvement until we have a sympathetic insight into the foreign genius and with its help, develop the Andhra form in its own way and we cordially agree with this remark,

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU.

#### MALAYALAM.

LEKHANA-MALA: A GARLAND OF ESSAYS.—By T. K. Krishna Menon B.A. Edited by Thomas Pal B.A., with an introduction by Ulloor S. Paramiswara Iyer M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S. Printed at the C.M.S. Press, Cottayam (Travancore), Pp. 168.

It is with great pleasure that we find the old papers of Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon in book-form. Mr. Krishna Menon has since the last thirty years been an indefatigable worker in the literary arena of Malabar. He has written and edited a number of books for the use of both young and mature minds. His Garland of Essays, the present book, has in it twenty-five essays on diverse subjects. Most of these have been contributed by the author to leading journals on various occasions. The language is elegant and entertaining as well as it is humorous. We gladly recommend the book to the Malayalam-knowing public.

DEWAN SANKUNNI MENON: [Being a translation from the original English of Mr. C. Achyuta Menon B.A.] By T. C. Kalyani Amma M.R.A.S., T. C. Janaki Amma B.A. (Hons.), T. Ramankutty Menon B.A. and the editor. Edited by T. K. Krishna Menon B.A. Printed at the Ramanuja Press, Trichur (Cochin State). Pp. 142. Price Re. 1.

Anyone who strives to become a true patriot ought to know the life and life-works of Dewan Sankunni Menon, for which he should read the book written by Mr. C. Achyuta Menon, now translated into Malayalam under the editorship of Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon.

P. ANUJAN ACHAN.

#### MARATHI.

REMINISCENCES AND NOVELS OF THE LATE Mr. H. N. Apte: By Mr. V. N. Deshpande. Publishers: Messrs Bapat & Bros. Poona. Pages 218. Price Re 1-8-0.

The late Mr. Haribhan Apte, the premier Marathi novelist deserves to have a prominent place in the galaxy of Marathi writers. A decent critical biography of the writer, modelled on the line of the

'English Men of Letters' series is highly desirable and judging from the present attempt of the writer we may well say that Mr. Deshpande is the proper person to undertake it.

The book under notice, though narrow in its scope, does sufficient justice to the subject. The reminiscences narrated are interesting and often instructive to the budding novelists in Maharashtra, of whom we seem to have a plethora at the present time. The present reviewer, who had had the privilege of living in intimate friendship with the late Haribhan for over a score of years, can well testify to the several traits of Mr. Apte's character pointed out by Mr. Deshpande in his best style. An exaggeration or two on the part of one who is lost in admiration for his subject might easily be pardoned. But an uncalled for and unjust remark—especially when it affects the political opponents of Mr. Apte undeservedly—has to be immediately refuted. Mr. Deshpande is under the impression that political partisanship came in the way of Mr. Apte's literary merits being properly recognised in Maharashtra. This is a sheer travesty of fact. Mr. Apte was and still is universally admired as an unrivalled fiction writer and was accorded the highest honor of presiding over the Literary Conference held at Akola.

The critical examination of Mr. Apte's social novels only is attempted by the writer in the present book, and we can unreservedly say that the attempt is both praiseworthy and successful. Why the writer did not put Mr. Apte's historical novels also in the crucible of critical examination is beyond one's comprehension. Is it because Mr. Deshpande felt apprehensions about Haribhan's standing the fiery test of literary criticism? No wonder if the writer felt such apprehensions. For it is the considered opinion of many a literary critic that some of his historical novels such as *Rupnagarchi Rajkanya* and *Vajraghat* stand in the danger of being torn to pieces, when closely examined under the searchlight of historical truth.

Marathi readers have now been acquainted with some of the masterpieces of Bankim and Ravindra Nath and a comparison between Haribhan and these Bengali novelists would surely have been interesting.

The book on the whole is interesting from cover to cover and deserves to be ranked as a creditable performance in the field of literary criticism.

V. G. Apte.

#### SANSKRIT.

VAIDIKAKOSHA By Hamsaraja, Librarian, D. A. V. College, Lahore.

The book is included in the D. A. V. College Sanskrit Series conducted by the Research Department of that College. It is "a concordance of all the etymologies, meanings of Vedic words, attributes of different devatas, scientific and moral passages and other useful material contained in the 15 printed Brahmanas of the Vedas." It is being issued part by part. We have received the first part which contains words beginning with the first four vowels and a portion of those beginning with the fifth, i.e. U.

Studies in the Vedic lore in modern times in India owes much to Svami Dayananda Sarasvati and the Aryasamaja founded by him. The present volume also comes from that circle and we are glad to have it before us. The book, when complete and made free of the defects noticed below,

will undoubtedly prove a very useful one and every student interested in Vedic studies should be furnished with a copy of it.

(1) We think, the Aranyakas and those of the Upanishads which, in fact, like the former are included in Brahmanas should have also been indexed, for instance, the Chhandogya Upanishad is nothing but the last eight lessons (*prapathakas*) of the Chhandogya Brahmana; and the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad is included in the fourteenth or the last book (*kanda*) of the Satapatha Brahmana.

(2) The arrangements of words are not satisfactory at all. Let it be illustrated. (i) The word *uttara* (*uttaratah*, 'the northern direction') is indexed under *udici* (p. 96). But why? Undoubtedly the principal words under which the passages are quoted are not meant to include their synonyms, too. The word in question should have been put under *uttara*.

(ii) The heading words should have been written in their actual form without the case-endings (even nominative), number and gender, as in ordinary dictionaries. Of course, in particular cases they could be mentioned without any difficulty. Accordingly one ought to write *anuyaya* (p. 24) and not *anuyayah* (the *visarga* is admitted owing to printing mistake).

(iii) There are two different words *aptoryama*

and *aptorycman* and they should not have been dealt with under *aptoryama* (p. 34) as the author has done.

(iv) Even according to the author's own way all the words with *ap* 'water' in its genitive case (*apam*) ought to have been given in order in one place (pp. 32-36), but it has not been done. He goes so far as to write some of the forms of that *ap* in nominative plural (*apas*) among those which begin with the vowel *a*. Still it is strange to see that some of the forms at *ap* namely *apsu* and *apah* (p. 72) are not given along with the other forms in different case-endings where the initial *a* of *ap* does not become *a* as for instance, *apam*. These are only few examples.

3. The passages quoted under each word could be arranged in some order, preferably alphabetically or in accordance with the case-endings.

4. Sometimes Pandit Hamsarajaji takes more than one word, such as *apam ema* (*emam*), *apam adma* (*adman*), *apam jyotih* (pp. 32-34). Undoubtedly for the purpose of a concordance both the words are to be indexed, but separately and not together. As the following parts are not yet published, we cannot say if the author has done so. In one instance, however, we see, he has not done it. For the passage under *uttara aghara* from the *Satapatha Brahmana* (p. 94) is not found under *aghara*.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. No criticism of reviews and notices of books will be published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, "The Modern Review."] ]

### Strike of Operatives in Kashmir Silk Factory.

I understand that some incorrect account of the recent Silk Factory trouble has appeared in the Modern Review. I would therefore request you to please have the attached communique inserted in the next issue of your journal so as to remove the misunderstanding.

I have etc.  
(Sd.) ILLEGIBLE.  
For District Magistrate.  
Kashmir Province.  
26-8-24

The following Communique is issued under the orders of His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur for the information of the general public.

For the past two months a feeling of unrest has been prevailing among the labourers of the Silk

Factory. All alleged grievances have been investigated, and action has been taken to remove any genuine causes for complaint. Any further causes for complaint that may arise will be dealt with individually in due course.

The endeavours of the authorities to rectify all justifiable grievances failed, however, to satisfy the labourers. They assumed a defiant and threatening attitude, and refused to work and to carry out the orders of the Director and his subordinate officers: the labourers went so far as to appoint their own officers from among their ranks. There is no doubt that this attitude was due to the action of certain self-interested persons who employed themselves in deliberately misleading the ignorant labourers and in attempting to arouse communal ill-feeling.

After due enquiry those who appeared responsible for promoting unrest and subsequently for rioting were arrested by the Police on the morning of July 21st. These persons will stand their trial according to Law: if they are found innocent, they

will be acquitted; if they are found guilty, they will receive due punishment.

After these arrests had been effected a large and unruly crowd assembled outside the Shergarhi Thana and demanded the release of those who had been arrested. The crowd were addressed by the District Magistrate who explained the situation and ordered those present to disperse. Sufficient warning was given that if these orders were not peacefully obeyed it would be necessary for the crowd to be dispersed by a Military force. This warning passed unheeded and the crowd who had advanced on the Thana were dispersed accordingly by a troop of Scwars and Infantry armed with sticks. No unnecessary force was employed. No person was killed and no serious injuries were inflicted. The troops behaved throughout with the most commendable moderation. Those persons who have spread false and exaggerated rumours about the extent and number of casualties are warned that they are serving the interests of their community in the worst possible way.

It is hoped that no further disturbances will occur and it is the intention of the Darbar to confine themselves to such action as may be necessary for the protection of the lives and property of peaceful and law-abiding citizens.

As regards the Silk Factory, which has been closed down owing to the failure of the labourers to continue work, it is the intention of the authorities to open one Filature as soon as a sufficient number of labourers, who are willing to resume work unconditionally, present themselves. Thereafter three more Filatures will be opened successively as soon as may be practicable.

HARISINGH

GENERAL, RAJA, K. C. I. E., K. C. V. O.,  
Senior Member of Council.

## Jesus and the Gospels.

Without attempting to reopen a discussion henceforth closed, so far as the *Modern Review* is concerned, may I be allowed to state the following inaccuracies which by mistake, no doubt, have crept into Mr. Ghosh's account:

1. "He has given no reason why the opinion of Tischendorf and of Soden seems far more probable."

Let the reader judge. My sentence (M. R. p. 84) runs as follows: "On the other hand Tischendorf and Soden maintain the full authenticity of Luke XXIII. 34a, and this without the slightest hesitation, basing their judgment on the presence of the verse in Sinaiticus, A., C., and all the other manuscripts, the greater number of MSS. of the old Latin version, the vg, syrcur, pes, hier, boh (MSS.) arm, eth, Ir (lat), the canons of Eusebius, etc., etc."

2. "Father Turmes has thoroughly misunderstood and misrepresented Buddhism" (p. 278).

I beg your pardon; I did not so much as mention *Buddhism*; I only spoke of *Buddha*.

3. About the eternal vision of God: "the passages he has referred to (Matt. XXVIII 18-20 and parallels; Matt. XXIV 9.14....etc.) are all irrelevant."

Quite so. Neither did I quote them to that effect: these references are meant to show the universalism of Christ. (M. R., p. 85)

P. TURMES, S. J.

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Hindu Persian Scholars under Muslim Rule.

Mr. M. Ziauddin of Visvabharati has been contributing to *Santiniketan*, the Bengali monthly organ of Rabindranath Tagore's school at Santiniketan, a series of articles in English on Hindu Persian scholars under Muslim rule in India. In course of his first article he says:—

It had been discovered that the Hindus could not be compared to the idolators of pre-Islamic Arabia. The learned among the Muslims had to pause and consider the fact—the basic unity was found out. The Hindus, at least the best among them, believed in one God.

It is of course true that no spiritual affinity was felt for a long time after they had met. The difference between the two nations in this sphere was far wider than in any other. But once met, it was

simply a matter of time for them to be blended even in spirit. The deep, cold atmosphere of Vedanta had begun to fall constantly, transformed into drops, into the cup of Sufism, which was yet warm with the love for the Personal God. There came a time when even Muslim Emperors took delight in discoursing with the Hindu Yogis. They felt proud in treading the solitary paths of the forests that led to the inner recesses of the heart of India. Their curiosity led them to pay their humble visits, with all the devotion they could offer, to those dwellers of the forests. Muslim bigotry gave way and Hindu superstition yielded. Their souls met and the union first came to fruition in the person of Kabir, Nanak, Dadu, Chaitanya Deva followed.

In course of time the language of the rulers, i.e., Persian, became as current as English is under British rule to-day. There appeared scholars of Persian among the Hindus whose command over the language was admittedly perfect. The study of



Persian literature became the life interest of many. And, Persian literature is certainly greatly indebted to the productions of such laborious lives.

The intensity of the fusion of Persian thought and language can be inferred from the fact that it was no inconsiderable mass of Sufi literature that was produced by the Hindus. That among the general Hindu civil officers types of Persian called the Persian of the Kayasthas and the Persian of the Lalas had sprung up, shows how widely the language was spread in the Hindu community. And we can form an idea of its extent and intermixture with the vernacular Hindi from the range of Urdu language and its nature, that came into existence almost as early as the period of Shah-Jahan. Hindus wrote poetry in Persian and contributed to its prose a share that was worthy of them. And there appeared, to our astonishment, a good many historians among the Hindus.

In his second article Mr. Ziauddin gives very brief accounts of some Hindu writers of Persian. Of these,

Chandar Bhan (died in 1664 A. D.) was a Brahman of Lahore, a poet, and one of the foremost literary personages at the court of the Emperor Shah-Jahan. From a lower service he rose first to be the Private Secretary and then the Chancellor of Allami Afzal Khan, the Minister of Shah-Jahan. When that Minister died, Chandar Bhan endeavoured further, wrote a quatrain in the praise of the Emperor and presented it to him. The Emperor was pleased with it, especially with the hand-writing of the poet. Chandar Bhan was promoted to the Chief Editorship of the daily records of the Diary of the Court.

Dara Shekoh was almost fascinated with the accomplishments of Chandar Bhan. He asked his father and obtained him for his own service, and gave him the post of Chief Secretary. But, Shah-Jahan called him back to his service when his other wazir died.

Chandar Bhan collected his writings and letters and named the collection *Manashat-i-Burhaman*, which was accepted as a course of literature in the schools. We also possess his poetical collection, *viz.*, *Divan-i-Burhaman*. Madho Ram was another outstanding personality in the art of letter-writing. He was an inhabitant of Delhi. He was a master of the language and his letters are undoubtedly of much literary importance. The collection of his letters, *viz.*, *Insha-i-Madho Ram*, was also studied in the Madrasahs.

Har Narain of Delhi and Nand Rai were the authors of *Khaisalat-i-Nadir* and *Dastoor-us-Sabian* respectively. The importance of their collections is clear, as these also were accepted as literary courses in the schools.

### Establishment of Peasant-Proprietorship in Ireland.

That those who toil to make the soil productive should be its owners, is undoubtedly the correct ideal. At the same time, it is desirable that the landlords should have a fair compensation for what they have so long enjoyed. In *Welfare* Mr. St. Nihal Singh tells the story of how the Irish Free State has been establishing peasant proprietorship

without injustice to the landlords. We make a few extracts from his article. But those who want to make Indian peasants the proprietors of India's land, as well as those who would look upon such a measure as a great calamity, should read the whole article in the September *Welfare* as well as that which is to follow it.

Says Mr. Singh :—

With action which is now being taken in the Irish Free State, it is certain that within a short time "there will not be left a single tenant or landlord." That, at any rate, is the objective which Mr. Patrick Hogan, T. D., the Minister for Lands and Agriculture, has set before himself. The *Oireachtas*, or Irish Parliament, is of exactly the same opinion, and has armed him with full powers and financial resources to enable him to realise that ideal.

This is the seventh endeavour which is being made in Ireland to transform the country from agriculture serfdom to peasant proprietorship.

Describing the condition of the peasants who tilled but did not own the soil, Mr. Singh writes :—

The people who carried on the agricultural operations, whatever their nature, worked on land which, almost without exception, did not belong to them. The great bulk of the fruits of their labour was, in consequence taken away from them by the agents of the landlords. So little was left to the men and women who produced the agricultural wealth that they were compelled to live in conditions of poverty the sordidness of which it is impossible to exaggerate.

Then follows a description of the miserable life led by the peasants, after which the luxurious life of the landlords is contrasted with it thus :—

While the people who produced the wealth eked out such a miserable existence, the men and women who toiled not neither did they spin, rioted in luxury. They dwelt in magnificent, sumptuously furnished mansions in Dublin, and, in later days, in London. They wore the finest raiment, ate the choicest viands, drank the best wines, and were waited upon by large retinues of runkeys.

The contrast is made more vivid by an extract from "Thoughts from the Heart" by John Clarke. What made the case worse was that

Until comparatively recent years the tenant not only dwelt in grinding poverty while seeing the landlord rioting in luxury, but he lacked security of tenure. No regulation of law put any restraint upon the landlord's power to evict a tenant, and therefore, he could not be sure that he would be able to keep even the leaky roof over his family's head and provide them with miserable fare. As I have travelled about Ireland, I have heard heart-breaking stories illustrating the monstrous methods pursued by landlords.

The writer tells some of these stories. In consequence,

In less than a decade the Irish population dwindled through death or emigration, from 3,175,124 to 6,515,794 persons, a loss of almost one-quarter.

From the early eighties of the last century laws have been passed for ameliorating the condition of the Irish tenantry. The underlying idea has been to purchase the land from the landlords and make the tenants its proprietors.

The price demanded by the landlords was, as a rule, in excess of that which the tenants were willing or able to pay. The Wyndham Act made specific provision for the allocation of funds (£12,000,000) which were earmarked for the purpose of paying subsidies ("bonus") which when added to the amount a holder offered, brought it up to the amount the landlord would accept.

As the result of original grants, supplemented by subsequent appropriations, the larger portion of the land in Ireland had passed out of the hands of the landlords into those of their tenants by the time the British surrendered Ireland to the Irish, that is to say, early in 1922. Something like 400,000 homesteads had been set up. Their present owners used to pay a rental of almost £70,30,000 a year. To compensate the landlords it has been necessary for the Government to issue land stock amounting to £130,000,000.

Mr. Singh then states how matters stood when the Irish Free State came into existence.

These operations, in spite of their great magnitude, left a corner of the problem unsolved. At the time the British regime ended and the Irish Free State was constituted, there existed 70,000 tenancies from which the landlords received a rental not far short of £1,000,000 sterling a year.

The very fact that purchase of these tenancies was not effected proves the difficult nature of the responsibility which the new national administration inherited. The landlords either imposed such prohibitive terms as to give the tenant no incentive to buy, or they refused point-blank to sell out, and the State did not possess the authority to compel them to do so, or they exchange his dependent existence for peasant proprietorship.

He proceeds to point out the difference between what a natural and a foreign government can do.

A National Government can however, afford to take a line of action which no foreign administration can adopt, deriving its authority from the people, and owing responsibility to no alien overlord, it can pursue a bold policy calculated to improve the conditions of the common people, and ignore agitation set up by an interested faction which would be sufficiently strong to coerce a non-native administration.

Mr. Patrick Hogan, the Minister for Lands and Agriculture, found, however, that the owners of the land insisted upon terms which the tenants refused to pay.

He, therefore, proposed to supplement the price paid by the tenant with a grant from the Treasury which would bring it up to the desired level, and

leave the landlord no option to refuse to sell on these terms.

The terms of purchase, as announced in Dail on May 28, 1923, showed that the Government of the Free State, called upon to settle an old-standing and highly contentious dispute, had set out upon a course fair to everyone concerned. The tenant was enabled, under its provisions, to buy his holding by paying an annual instalment which would represent from 65 to 70 per cent. of his yearly rental. He would thereby not only secure, from year to year, considerable financial relief, but at the end of a stipulated number of years—roughly approximating to fifteen years—he or his heirs would be the owner instead of the tenant of the land. The landlord, on the other hand would not be required to forego from 30 to 35 per cent. of his annual revenue, but the state would reduce his loss by 10 per cent., by making that 10 per cent. a charge on the State.

The reader must not run away with the idea that the buying up of all the 70,000 tenancies is to begin on the same given day. On the contrary, the legislation provides that the Land Commission working directly under the Ministry of Lands and Agriculture, shall deal with them by instalments. In view of the magnitude of the task, the entire operation will take a generation or more to complete. When it is completed, however, Ireland will be a land of peasants-proprietors.

### Popular Recreations in India.

To the same monthly, Professor Radha Kamal Mukherjee, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., has contributed an article on popular recreations in India. Says he, in part:—

Like work, recreation is an imperative demand of human nature.

The fasts and feasts alternate both among the Hindus and the Muhammadans as they did among the ancient Romans. The Muhammadans have in their feasts of Ramzan the exact equivalent of the Hindu Navaratra, the Christian and Buddhist Lent, followed by an outburst of rejoicing at the Id with which it concludes. Much of the severity of fasting is due to the value attached by religion to mortification of the body. It is recognised now that if we thwart our main dispositions, we produce passivity, weakness and nervous strain. There is no doubt that in India the fatalistic resignation to nature and the idealisation of fasting, vigils and poverty which are far removed from the inborn restlessness and self-assertiveness of the animistic tribes and castes, the bedrock of our population, have contributed to the lack of vitality and spirit of the people. These have their reactions into the unusual liberty and even license in the periodical melas of the villages which neglect altogether the current standards of decency and serve as it were as the safety valves of society's whetted appetites. On the other hand, the host of diversions which are now becoming popular in the cities, the professional theatre, and the bioscope which are saturated with sex suggestion are equally harmful. Besides, they involve physical confinement, bodily immovability and physical strain. Festival and recreation, indeed, raise grave ethical problems in society. We are to cleanse our diversions so that we allow natural outlets to the instincts and may not drive men take to drink and opium smoking as

the only escape from a stale hum-drum life. On the other hand, our diversions should not be such as undo that bending and training of native impulses through ages, which has made social progress possible in the past.

Our bloody acrobatic feats in the villages brutalise the people and militate against the genial humanisation which has occurred as a result of Buddhistic and Jaina ethical systems. The partridge and cock-fights with the elaborate preparations they involve satisfy or rouse the blood-thirst of the onlooking multitude. Football, tennis, cricket, golf, etc., have high recreational values but only a few can participate in them. Again, the football matches and boxing competitions sometimes rouse the combative impulses and demoralise the passive onlooker whose partisanship and irrationality in crowd life lower the level of sports. The cheap cinema again which is run by the profiteering company supplies the sensational and even sensual and lead people downward.

We want today wholesome recreations such as those which give imaginative satisfaction to our impulses and blend them with social artistic and cultural elements. This will be found in the combination of music, religion and art, such as is effected in the folk-plays and symbolic lilas of pageants of India, much that is crude and unrefined has, however, to be eliminated from those and much that is ethical and socialising is to be imported. Bhajan parties aiming at redemptive sacrifice will bring glad tidings or hope and joy in the love of God and man. Folk songs and religious Jattras and village theatricals in which the villagers might act scenes from the scriptures, from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, from the Puranas and the Champu Kavyas, performances, answering to the Mohurram plays and the passion plays, in which Moslem and Christian village folks take part in Persia and Bavaria will be powerful aids of social and moral uplift.

The sport must be out of doors in order that it might soothe the faded nerves. In the Indian villages the acrobats, wrestlers and playwrights are recruited from all castes. Thus these serve to strengthen sociality, while feeding the affective side of man's nature and relieving the monotony of agriculture and the isolation of rural life. In the cities the Indian working man is now turning to coarser recreations such as the vulgar nautch, obscene theatrical and the cheap cinema and to drinking and gambling.

### Co-operation and Social Welfare.

Out of the many other useful and interesting articles and notes contained in *Welfare*, we are able to mention one on "Co-operation and Social Welfare" by Mr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A. of the Bengal and Orissa Civil Service (Retired). He holds that

The message of the age is *Co-operation*; the solution for poverty and unemployment is *co-operative financing*; the remedy for apathy and ignorance is the pursuance of co-operative methods in education, and the development of agriculture and industry within the rural area concerned, not away from the village-homes of the agricultural and labouring population. *Back to the village* and

co-operate for the good of each and all, in harmony and goodwill!

### How the French Lost India.

Writing in the *Central Hindu College Magazine* on the subject of how the French lost their territories in India, Mr. Sukumar Haldar observes:—

It was left to Colonel G. B. Malleon in the middle of the last century to give to the world for the first time a fairly reliable narrative of the great struggle for supremacy between the English and the French in India. Ordinary English historians have represented the English and the French as having been evenly matched, the advantage of numerical superiority being usually assigned to the latter. As a matter of fact, we find from Colonel Malleon's account that the Directors of the English East India Company had long deliberately arrived at a determination to pursue a "forward" policy in India and had accordingly always encouraged their agents in this country in all acts of expansion. It is clear also that the Directors had consistently supplied their agents with men and money in furtherance of this object. It is, moreover, in evidence that the English sovereigns and the English people had from the beginning lent their unwavering support to the company and all its works. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the Directors of the French East India Company far from encouraging their agents to commit acts of aggression, emphatically put their veto on all such acts and warned their agents to confine their attention exclusively to matters of trade. What Dupleix and Bussy did was done not only on their own individual responsibility and at their own risk but in open defiance of orders from home. The people of France took no serious interest in the Company and the French sovereigns were completely indifferent, even apathetic towards it. Some conception may be formed of the generalship of Dupleix, if it is borne in mind that he had no aid but that of his own extraordinary genius in his triumphant career of conquest in Southern India. There was not a stone in the column of victory at Dupleix-Fatahabad which was laid in its place by other hands than those of Dupleix himself.

### Decreasing Jain Population.

Mr. Narotam B. Shah gives in the *Jain Gazette* a statement, compiled from the Census Report of 1921, which shows the decrease of the Jain population in all the Indian provinces and states, except Bengal Mysore Agency, Assam, Behar and Orissa where there has been an increase. In the writer's opinion,

"Poor physique, a host of young widows and absence of elementary knowledge as regards sanitation in connection with every-day life upon which health and even life depends are the chief causes of supreme importance to grapple with which contribute to the diminution in the numerical strength of the Jain Community. The attention of



the Jain Yuvaparisad is drawn to discharge their sacred duty towards Jain Community and solve this most important question which stares in the face of all thinking Jains.

The editor of the *Jaina Gazette*, however, observes :—

"This (tendency to decrease) is more nominal than real, as there seems to be growing disposition among them to describe themselves as 'Hindus.' Without entering into a discussion of this 'growing disposition' let us only say that if this tendency grows on, which God forbid, the Census Department will be relieved of the trouble of allotting a column to an Indigenous religion of India within a few decades. Then the antiquarians will say of the Jains what they say of the Buddhists to-day, 'they have disappeared from the land of their origin.'"

### A Mournful Tragedy.

We read in *Labour* for August that though the following facts have been brought to the notice of the Postmaster-General of Bengal and Assam, and the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs of India, no official action has been taken :—

I have the honour to bring to notice the death of Babu Bhagabati Bhusan Chatterjee, Branch Postmaster, Munshigunj, District Nuddeah which occurred under most tragic circumstances as detailed below.

The Branch Postmaster fell ill on the 23 March 1924 and applied for 15 days leave. He waited and waited for being relieved but in vain. His illness took a very bad turn on the 22nd March 1924. The postmen of his office and the outside public advised him to lock up the Post Office door and go home but the loyal official did not act according to their advice and eagerly awaited the arrival of relief. In the morning of the 3rd April 1924, he managed to come to the office and attend to delivery work but after that he took to his bed. A mail peon was with him till 10 A. M., after which he left him to take his meal. The unfortunate man perhaps tried to come out of the bed room to attend a call of nature but he fell on the threshold of the door and expired. The mail peon came back at 1 P. M. and saw him stark-naked and dead. His relief arrived four hours after his death. The unfortunate Branch Postmaster was very poor and hence could not manage to live with family.

I would request you, in view of the extreme gravity of the case, to cause an enquiry to be held immediately in order to ascertain the true facts of the case and to inform me of the results of the enquiry. There is no getting over the fact that the unusual delay in sending relief in an emergency case like this was due to the absence of any provision for reserve staff of postmen. Candidate postmen are not always available and as candidate postmen do not get any allowance a good deal of time is generally taken to procure a candidate. The All-India Postal and R. M. S. Union has been moving for the appointment of a sufficient percentage of reserve postmen but in vain.

The unfortunate Branch Postmaster died under most tragic and deplorable circumstances while on

execution of his duties and due to the fault of the administration. He has left absolutely no provision for his poor family. He had neither Life Insurance policy nor the General Provident Fund. In the circumstances I would request you to move the Director-General for payment to his widow of a pension equivalent to the full pay the deceased official was getting at the time of his death and also of an adequate amount to compensate for the loss of a valuable life which would not have occurred but for the negligence of the administration.

### Infant Mortality and National Welfare.

Dr. K. Raghavendra Rao observes in the *Mysore Economic Journal* :

The welfare of the child is the welfare of the nation. To obtain an adequate and healthy population the greatest care is needed before birth and throughout childhood and adolescence, and this much-needed care can only be obtained at the hands of the mother. It doubtless follows that the well-being and prosperity of nations, and of the families which compose the nation, are largely dependent on the health and welfare of its prospective and actual mothers. Infants and nursing mothers are rapidly influenced by their environment which is very complex. The mother is the main element in the environment of the infant. Her health and habits, her capacity for domesticity, and her knowledge of infant care and management (mothering), directly influence the infant's health and physical fitness. If she is overworked or suffering from chronic fatigue or illness, the infant must suffer for want of sufficient care. Conversely, a sick baby puts a strain upon the mother's health and physique, and thus a vicious circle is established.

Weakly parents, a feature of the present generation, are largely a result of premature motherhood, of ill-nourished childhood, of unhealthy conditions surrounding expectant and nursing mothers, of the passing away of customs essentially hygienic, carried on for ages under religious sanction, but now replaced by care based on scientific authority.

Infant mortality is reckoned as so many deaths amongst children under one year of age, and for purposes of comparison, it is calculated as so much per thousand live births. This so-called "infant mortality rate" in the East is at least three times as high as in the West. "A high infant mortality rate implies (a) the loss of many infants; (b) the maiming of the many surviving children, for conditions which kill some, injure others; (c) a high death-rate in the next four years of child life; (d) the existence of unhealthy conditions in the mothers and in the home-life of the people."

### Oilfields Found by Wireless.

According to *The Young Citizen*, an amazing claim has been made by two French scientists, Dr. Henri Moineau and M. Regis.

They declare that they have invented an apparatus by means of which they are able to discover oilfields, not only in the ground beneath

their feet, but also in land hundreds and even thousands of miles away. From a station at Clermont, Auvergne, in Central France, M. Regis has discovered an oilfield in the Rocky Mountains in America, while from the same position he has detected oil in Saxony, Hanover, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, Sardinia, Sicily, and Corsica. The invention is an adaptation of Wireless Telegraphy. It has been known for some time that great loss of energy resulted when wireless waves of short length were used in sending messages, and it was agreed that the lower parts of the waves were absorbed into the ground. Hertz, the great wireless pioneer, discovered that waves were affected by the various substances over which they passed, and Regis and Moineau set to work to note the effect that the different kinds of earth had upon electrical waves. In this way they discovered the machine which has given such remarkable results. It is stated that not only oil, but coal, water, and even gases can be located by the new apparatus, and it has been suggested that when such supplies have been discovered, X-ray photographs from the air can be taken to show the best spots for boring.

### The Monastic Life.

A Bengali youth once came to Swami Turiyananda in Benares, desiring to be initiated into the life of a sannyasin. He had his mother living. When, says *Prabuddha Bharata* :—

He asked her permission to renounce the world, she told him that she only liked to see him happy, whatever path he might choose.

The Swami told him :—

You have put on the ochre cloth. So people of all the four castes will bow to you, and this means spiritual harm to you. Give up the ochre cloth.

Look here. As your mother is intent on your happiness, so you too, should try to make her happy. Go home, and try to please your mother. We are all apt to forget that we, too, have been babes. We seldom think of the helpless state in which we were in the mother's womb. See, how the just-born kid has found out its mother's milk unaided! How quickly it learns to frisk about and nibble the grass it lives upon,—all with its own effort! Man alone is so helpless! If the mother fails to cover it even for a short time, it is done for!

The ideal must be very high, but it is wrong to form on inordinate estimate of one's own powers. Our powers increase in proportion as we prove our fitness.

Embracing the monastic life is not a joke. Sri Ramakrishna used to say, "That man is fit for the monastic life who can allow himself to fall from a palmyra tree without moving his limbs." Is that an easy thing? Don't you see, how we are trammelled with a hundred ties? Go home and serve your mother. It will benefit you spiritually.

### Brahmanism and Buddhism.

In course of a series of thoughtful articles

on "Nirvanam", contributed to the *Mahabodhi*, Principal D. N. Sen writes :—

At the time Buddha lived and preached, Indian religion and Indian society were not like what we understand by Hinduism now. The Vedic rites were followed by the Brahmins as of old, schools of wandering ascetics with rationalistic views and spiritual disciplines of their own, travelled all over the land, while the Indian world was alive with deities in every grove and dale, in every tree and river presiding over every clan, family and individual. The caste system though surely existent was not as rigid and exclusive as intermarriages were prevalent, though tendencies had set in for restricting such alliances within the circles of families claiming a pure pedigree. Even the married state had not attained the stability which it did afterwards. Buddha left the Indian pantheon severely alone except for the fact that he placed Nirvana above the gods. He did no protest even against the performance of Vedic rites so far as they were free from the shedding of innocent blood and did not encourage the giving of alms to bad and ignorant people. The one great theme of his preaching to all alike was the emphasis he laid on the purity of life as the only law of success in this as well as any other life. Buddha's movement was essentially an Indian movement and a counterpart of the rationalistic movement which transformed religious conceptions in the very heart of Brahmanism itself. Only it was the ethical expression of the same quest for the Eternal and the Undying which inspired the great Upanishads. If the Brahmins in their forest recluses tried to have a glimpse of the Ultimate Reality conceived as Transcendent Being, the Buddhists tried to drown the miseries of existence by working their way into a state of Being where the storms and floods of this world would not assail them.

### Children's Courts.

Mr. J. A. Lovat Fraser contributes to *The Young Men of India* an instructive article on child offenders describing how they are dealt with in the United States of America, Great Britain and some other countries. He thinks,

The same reasons which make the establishment of children's courts and the probation system desirable in Europe and America are applicable in India. Some modification in methods might be necessary, but the basic principles are the same. The love of parent for child and child for parent is as great in India as in Europe. Kindness, sympathy, consideration, influence the Indian child as much as the European. The reasons for separating the adult and the child offender are as urgent in India as in Great Britain. It has been found by experience that the worst types of juvenile criminals in India will respond, if trusted and put upon their honour. The present writer, in reading recently *The Juvenile Criminal in Southern India*, by J. W. Coombes, published in Madras in 1908, could not help feeling that, in spite of wide differences of race, language and culture, the Indian child offender is pretty much what the British one is and is influenced by much the same methods.

There is among enlightened Indian magistrates a desire for the establishment of children's courts in India, and for wider and fuller powers in dealing with youthful offenders. With this desire every friend of India and its people will be in full accord. The true wealth of every nation is its people, and above all its children. A great British statesman said, "The youth of a nation are the trustees of posterity." Those who help to reclaim the youthful wrongdoer, and to restore him to the path of good citizenship are rendering a real service to the State. Alike on grounds of utility and humanity, every effort should be made to render every juvenile offender an asset instead of a liability, to the State.

### "The Indian Library Journal."

*The Indian Library Journal* is a welcome and useful addition to the list of Indian periodicals. The first issue contains accounts of the second All-India Public Libraries' Conference and the second All-India Library and Periodical Exhibition. There are also articles on the public library movement in the Andhra Desa, the progress of free public libraries in Baroda State, the library movement in the Pudukkottai State, the Trivandrum Public Library, the Library movement in Maharashtra country, etc.

### Annual Report of Bombay Social Service League.

The Twelfth Annual Report of the Bombay Social Service League is an interesting and instructive publication. It deals with the League's present activities, which may be briefly classified thus:—

(I) Promotion of Mass Education by means of Day and Night Schools, Libraries and Magic Lantern Lectures; (II) Boy Scouts Corps and Boy's Clubs; (III) Promotion of Public Health by the provision of Medical Relief through (a) Free Dispensaries and (b) by Sanitation Work in the City, and (c) by Sanitation work in rural areas through the administration of the Florence Nightingale Village Sanitation Fund, and (d) by Child Welfare Work; (IV) Work for Women; (V) Supervision of the work of the Police Court Agent; (VI) Spread of the Co-operative Movement; (VII) Recreation for the working classes such as organization of Fresh Air Excursions and Open Air Sports, Management of Indian Gymnasias and Theatricals; (VIII) Social Work at Tardeo; (IX) Social work at Parel Settlement; (X) Social Work at Madanpura Settlement; (XI) Welfare Work at the (Ummahoy) Ebrahim Workmen's Institute; (XII) Welfare Work at the Pata Sons' Workmen's Institute; (XIII) The Bombay Workmen's Institute; (XIV) Propaganda work through the medium of the *Social Service Quarterly*, the *Samaj Sevak*, lectures on Social Subjects, the Social Service Library and the Register of Social Institutions.

### Women in industry.

Mr. N. M. Joshi's article in the *Indian Review* dealing with the problems arising out of the employment of women in industry is characterised by the grasp of his subject, which one expects from him. Says he:—

The employment of women in modern organised industry differs in two respects from the work which they had done so far and even now do where they do not come under the new industrial influence. When they take up an industrial employment, domestic work ceases to be their main duty which is the case otherwise, and secondly they cease to work in a family group but work under an unfamiliar master. Both these circumstances affect their life greatly, physically and morally. The domestic work which women do in their own families is not of a light character although its value has not yet been recognized in any part of the world in terms of finance. But it will be easily admitted that the domestic work as far as its physical effects are concerned is comparatively lighter than industrial work in factories. There is no doubt that the work in a cotton textile factory where women have to mind the machine standing for ten hours a day is physically much harder than the work of minding the household. Moreover there are very few women employed in industry who are free from house-hold work. In most of the cases they have to do the double duty. In western countries and in Japan a very large majority of women employed in factories are unmarried girls and even out of the remaining small minority the substantial portion consists of widows. The proportion of married women with their husbands living, working in factories is very small. But in India the conditions are different. Excepting the minor girls below 12 and a small proportion of widows, a very large majority of women employed in factories are married women with their husbands still living. There is no intention of stating that unmarried women who work in factories in West have no domestic work to do in addition to the work in factories. But it will be admitted that in their case the domestic responsibilities are generally lighter than in the case of married women with husbands or even widows. Perhaps in the case of widows the domestic responsibilities are greater than in the case of women with their husbands living. Therefore, when we consider the lot of women employed in organised industry in India we must not forget that besides doing the work in the factories they have in almost all cases to discharge their domestic responsibilities as well. This double work does not fail to react harmfully upon their own health.

This is not the only evil consequence.

Moreover this heavy load of work also affects injuriously the health of their children and the peace of the whole family. Among women working in organised industries it is almost an invariable practice to drug the babies with opium in order to keep them quiet at home. Besides women workers have to do the same amount of work up to the time of their confinement and very soon after child-birth without a sufficient period of rest. Even from a moral point of view a great deal of harm is done on account of the conditions in which women workers have to do their work and thus a woman working in an industry cannot find time and cannot



have the patience required to enable her to do her duty properly as wife and mother, and this tends to affect the peace of the family and the up-bringing of their children. Besides this the effect of women and men coming into close contact without the influence of healthy social restraint cannot but have the effect of loosening the bonds of sexual morality, especially in a country like India where women are not generally accustomed to the free intercourse between the sexes. The danger to sexual morality is somewhat increased by women workers being placed in a position subordinate to men supervisors and officers. In those industries where the employees do not belong to the city or province but are immigrants from other distant provinces as on tea estates and in the jute mills of Calcutta there are a larger number of cases of women workers and men workers living together in irregular relation. Again the workers in factories generally come from distant places and naturally men being in a better position to leave their homes in villages the factory population as well as the population in cities always show a smaller proportion of women to men. In Calcutta for 68 men there are only 32 women. There is also the factor of overcrowding in cities compelling more than one family to live in one room. These factors also have their effect upon the sexual relation between the men and women working in industries.

The tendency of the industrial employment of women to loosen the moral bond has to be counteracted. According to Mr. Joshi,

The remedies against this tendency lie, firstly in the education of the women workers and secondly in the so improving the condition of work and life as to cultivate in them the spirit of independence. As far as possible, the work of supervision over women workers must be entrusted to women only. Even when women overseers must have some education. The present women overseers or as they are called in Bombay, *Naikinis*, have no education at all and they themselves subject the women workers working under them to petty tyrannies. The appointment of lady welfare supervisor by the Tata Sons Ltd., in their mills in Bombay is a step in the right direction. The appointment of women inspectors of factories and mines will also have a salutary effect. Moreover the overcrowding in cities and the disproportion between the male and female population must be removed. Besides when men and women continue to work together for a long time the first evil effects of free intercourse between the two sexes to which they are in the beginning unaccustomed gradually disappear by their being accustomed to the new environments and being better able to resist the natural reaction of the sex feeling.

As regards the general question of the solution of the problems originating in the industrial employment of women, Mr. Joshi holds :—

It is clear that if the position of the women working in industries is to be improved the effort must, for some time, come from the educated women belonging to higher classes. But at present most of the work which some organisations are doing, is confined to the starting of *Creches*, provision for midwives and such other things. The work which they are doing is very valuable

and more of such work is badly needed. But these organisations are conducted by women who belong to or are connected with the capitalist class and it is too much to expect them to interest themselves in the education and the organisation of industrial women workers. There are some honourable exceptions to this general proposition. The work which Ben Anasuya Sarabhai has done in Ahmedabad for organising not only women workers but even men workers will always remain an object of admiration. But this must be admitted as a general rule that this work will have to be undertaken by the educated women of the lower middle class who alone may have the necessary independence to undertake this work which is not likely to be popular among the higher classes. The sooner the industrial women workers are educated and organised, the better it will be not only for them alone but for the working classes, and I may even add, for the country as a whole.

### Dr. Tagore's Visit to China

We read in *The Treasure Chest* :—

The following story is told of the great-hearted Bishop Hartzell of Africa :—He was at one time travelling through a part of the country which no white man had ever visited, and where he was greeted with nothing but threatening looks. His servants, who were devoted to him, tried to pacify the hostile tribesmen by saying, "This man loves us. He is one of us. He would never hurt us." "How can he be one of us when his face is white?" asked one of the tribesmen suspiciously. "Oh! yes, his face is white, but his heart is very, very black!" returned a quick-witted servant. This high compliment could have been paid only to one to whom the idea of human oneness was more than a beautiful dream. He must have begun, all unconsciously, to *live* human brotherhood in such a way that even his servants recognized it.

With the same spirit has Dr. Tagore journeyed on a unique ministry of friendship to China. As his audiences in one city after another listened to him, they forgot that he was Indian and they were Chinese. They remembered only that they had the same moral idealisms, the same spiritual hungers. And they felt an instant and instinctive response to his challenge to keep, at all costs, their ancient spiritual culture. Through commerce of the best minds of these two great lands a unity will be experienced which is never achieved on the material plane. It is a unity which recognizes and prizes individuality in itself and other nations as a means by which life is enriched; but which finds its true self in losing its separate, or exclusive, self.

### "This" or "That".

Mr. M. H. Syed writes in *The Vedic Magazine* :—

In Sanskrit philosophy 'this' always refers to the outer world and 'that' to the Supreme Self.

In calmer moments one should ask oneself which of the two is of most worth. In the course of our evolution, we have to experience both this and that. There are some who have had enough experience

of this world and its content and have repeatedly been disappointed by it. They spent lives in pursuing the pleasures of the senses, in enjoying every kind of comforts and luxuries, rank and position; and what after all did they find? Was it not as elusive as mirage, as unsubstantial as shadow? It is time that one should turn one's attention to That which is the source of Supreme satisfaction, eternal abode of peace, plenty and everlasting happiness.

Both sides of the inner and outer phenomena should alternately be experienced and the one that is more lasting and valuable should be adhered to solely. It is no use seeking, and aspiring after both of them. One must be renounced in order to come in full possession of the other.

Jalal-ud-din Rumi says, "To desire and gain both the Real Being and the worthless world is impossible and madness." "The self of matter and the self of spirit cannot live together. One of the twain must go," says the Voice of the Silence.

### The Timber Resources of India.

*Progress* gathers from "Timber and Timber Products", edited by Prof. S. J. Daly of the City of London College, that

The salient point in the matter of the timber resources of India is that the forests are only utilised to the extent of 40 per cent. of their annual growth. The net annual growth is 850,000,000 cubic feet, and the utilisation only 340,000,000 cubic feet for all purposes. This is a serious case of neglect. The forest balance is carried forward yearly and decays unused. Nevertheless the forests pay handsomely. The resources comprise both hard and soft woods, though the use of the latter is limited by their inaccessibility. In spite of such resources India remains a timber-importing country, the timber exports amounting to £1,266,887 in 1922 and imports to £137,0498. The former are principally teak exports, and the latter teak jharra, and Oregon pine imports. In addition, tea-boxes are imported to the value of £830,000 annually.

By the opening up of communications and the lowering of railway freight India may and should be made self-sufficient as regards her timber requirements.

### "Bengal and Women's Honour".

"Lord Lytton made a remark in a speech he made at Dacca", says *Stri-dharma*, "which we cannot but think was illadvised". At the same time the journal observes with reference to the criticism to which Lord Lytton has been subjected in Bengal :—

We prefer the championship of the women of Bengal by deeds rather than words, and the record of the Bengal politicians as regards the honouring of their womanhood politically is at present the worst in India. The political party in question has the power in its hands to place its women on an equal status of citizenship with the women of

four other Indian provinces and it has not raised a voice in the Council yet on women's behalf. And it was only by a narrow majority that the Calcutta University Club after quite a heated discussion carried a resolution in favour of the extension of the franchise to the women of Bengal. The statistics of the social evil in Calcutta alone are a greater indictment of the low moral tone of that city than anything any Governor could say. It is up to these wordy protesting champions of the honour of womanhood to start Rescue Homes for the 2000 little girls in the houses of ill-fame, and to bring in legislation in the Council which will give women more power to protect themselves from men and from the goad of poverty. It will all take time to make right, but now is the moment for a start to be made so that we women may see that our sex is not merely being exploited again in a frothy sentimental way but that sincerity will show a practical outcome by the granting of the demands for honourable recognition already and repeatedly made by the women of Bengal.

### The Political Status of Women.

*Stri-dharma* has printed extracts from the first public lecture delivered by Dr. Annie Besant on 25th August, 1874, that is, half a century ago, on "The Political Status of Women". As the lecture contains arguments which are required even in our day, we quote two passages below :—

To all our arguments, to all our reasoning, men answer: "It is unfeminine—it is contrary to nature." If we press them, how and why, we are only met with a re-assertion of the maxim. I am afraid that we women sadly lack the power of seeing differences. It is unfeminine to be a doctor, but feminine to be a nurse. It is unfeminine to mix drugs, but feminine to administer them. It is unfeminine to study political economy, but feminine to train the future statesmen. It is unfeminine to study sanitary laws, but feminine to regulate the atmosphere of the nursery, whose wholesomeness depends on these laws. It is unfeminine to mingle with men at the polling-booth, but feminine to labour among them in the field and the factories. In a word, it is unfeminine to know how to do a thing, and to do it comprehendingly, wisely, and well; it is feminine to do things of whose laws and principles we know absolutely nothing, and to do them ignorantly, foolishly and badly.

"Political power would withdraw women from their proper sphere, and would be a source of domestic annoyance." Their proper sphere—i.e., the home. This allegation is a very old one. Men are lawyers, doctors, merchants; every hour of the day is pledged, engrossing speculations stretch the brain, deep questions absorb the mind, great ideas swell in the intellect. Yet men vote. If occupation be a fatal disqualification, let us pass a law that only idle people shall have votes. You will withdraw workers from their various spheres of work if you allow them to take an interest in politics. For heaven's sake do not go and take the merchant from the desk, the doctor from the hospital, the lawyer from the court; you will disorganise society—you will withdraw the workers. Do you say it

is not so—that the delivery of a vote takes up a very short time at considerable intervals? that a man must have some leisure, and may very well expend it, if he please, in studying politics? that a change of thought is very good for the weary brain? that the alteration of employment is a positive and most valuable relaxation? you are quite right; outside interests are healthy, and prevent private affairs from becoming morbidly engrossing. The study of large problems checks the natural tendency to be absorbed in narrower questions. A man is stronger, healthier, nobler, when, in working hard in trade or in profession for his home, he does not forget he is a citizen of a mighty Nation. *I can think of few things more likely to do women real good than anything which would urge them to extend their interests beyond this narrow circle of their homes.* Why, men complain that women are bigoted, narrow-minded, prejudiced, impracticable. Wider interests would

do much to remedy these defects. If you want your wife to be your toy, or your drudge, you do perhaps wisely in shutting up her ideas within the four walls of your house, but if you want one who will stand at your side through life, in evil report as well as in good, a strong, large-hearted woman, fit to be your comfort in trouble, your councillor in difficulty, your support in danger, worthy to be mother of your children, the wise guardian and trainer of your sons and your daughters, then seek to widen women's intellects, and to enlarge their hearts, by sharing with them your grander plans of life, your deeper thoughts, your keener hopes. Do not keep your brains and intellects for the strife of politics and the conflicts for success, and give to your homes and to your wives nothing but your condescending carelessness and your thoughtless love.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Rabindranath Tagore and Institution Building.

In the course of a speech delivered on the 3rd June last at Osaka, Japan, Rabindranath said, as reported in the *Osaka Asahi* :—

"There are men strong of arm and with strength of purpose who build institutions, stone over stone, brick upon brick, every day, and they finish their building before the eyes of the public, but I do not belong to them. I am like a seed-sower who just scatters a few seeds on the soil and then does not have the time to see if they germinate, and I may go away with misgivings in my heart that such seeds will never come into their fulfilment. But still this is my mission, and when I have come in your midst, I have come with this purpose. I cannot help you in building up some solid organisation—something which will be visible and tangible to you, but I shall walk among you, and very many of you will not know that I have done anything which is of any practical value, because it is not obvious."

This is a correct characterisation of one aspect of the poet's personality, but it does not exhaust it. He also possesses a genius of a practical order, as Mr. C. F. Andrews says in the *Manchester Guardian*, "whose greatest poems were to be found embodied in the brick and stone and mud and thatch of an actively progressive institution and settlement at Bolpur, which was to revolutionise many of the social and educational ideas of the modern world" Mr. Andrews continues :—

Rabindranath's early manhood was spent away from Calcutta, at his father's estate on the banks of

the Ganges among the village people. He managed the affairs of the estate, and I have heard from no less an authority than Sir P. C. Roy, who is a practical man of science that the poet was a very capable manager indeed. It was during those twenty years of estate management that his novels and short stories were written. They contain marvellously accurate pictures of the life and character of his own people. Among his fellow-countrymen, these prose works hold a place in public esteem not at all inferior to that of his poems.

Of Rabindranath's school at Bolpur, the *Manchester Guardian* article says :—

"After many tentative efforts the way seemed clear, and he founded at Bolpur, to the north of Calcutta, a school out of a handful of boys, to whom he was teacher, play-mate, and father in one. For many years his efforts met with very little encouragement indeed. All the time, however, he was gaining ever fresh confidence that his work was at length based upon a sure foundation. The vast stores of his intellect and imagination were poured lavishly forth in the service of his pupils. His school became the laboratory of all his new social experiments. His own boys became his teachers. A method was gradually elaborated which has had remarkable affinities with all that is most vital in the new educational ideas of the West. For many years I have taken part in this work and studied at first hand the poet's ideal. Nowhere in the world have I seen happier children than those whom he has taught in his own school at Bolpur.

But this was not to be the end of his practical undertakings.

When the war was over, he travelled about the world, and visited England and Europe once more, this time inviting those who could rise above national and racial barriers to join him in realising



his ideal of an international fellowship of study and research at Bolpur where East and West could meet. The response has already been remarkable. While the school still remains in a central place amid the academic and social life of Bolpur and the voices of the young children are never absent, an international settlement has been established side by side with the school, where those who come from the countries of the West meet in brotherhood with those whose traditions are of the East. Asia and Europe are one in that home of world-culture.

Of the practical constructive work in agriculture and village reconstruction, carried on at Sriniketan, Surul, near Bolpur, regular readers of *Welfare* and this *Review* have some idea.

### Where Statesmen Come From.

Lindsay Rogers writes thus in the *New Republic* regarding the composition of the British Parliament:—

The major groups of Conservative and Liberal members of the present House of Commons have been classified by Mr. Harold J. Laski in a recent issue of the *Manchester Guardian*:

Finance	... 19	Doctors	... 3
Coal	... 8	Land	... 20
Lawyers	... 85	Teachers	... 5
Army	... 20	Merchants	... 54
Navy	... 8	Engineering and steel	24
Textiles	... 21	Journalists	... 16
Brewing	... 5	Transport	... 17
Rentiers	... 68		

One-fourth of the members of the Conservative party hold hereditary titles or are intimately related to members of the House of Lords. Of the rentiers listed in the table, fifty-eight are Conservatives; the army and navy seem to continue their traditional Conservative bias. Only eleven members of the Liberal party are closely associated with the aristocracy, and, as Mr. Laski says, "Liberalism therefore attracts pre-eminently the middle classes of the community." In the House of Lords, there are 272 company directors (a peerage has a distinct value in a stock prospectus). There are 242 peers who represent landowning interests, and, according to an estimate made last year by the Labor Research Department, 227 peers own 7,362,009 acres of land. Sixty-nine insurance companies have 106 peers as their representatives; forty-two banks have sixty-six members; six peers are newspaper-owners, and twelve are brewers, hardly a sufficient number to justify reference to the upper chamber as the "Beerage."

Capital and industry are thus strongly

offers a striking contrast. Its membership is made up as follows:

Mines	... 46	Printing	...
Engineering and ship-	...	Public Service	...
building	... 10	Coöperative	...
General labor	... 7	Merchants	... 1
Transport	... 10	Rentiers	...
Railways	... 6	Journalists	... 1
Textiles	... 4	Lawyers	...
Metal workers	... 4	Teachers	... 1
Other trade unions	31	Bankers	...
Agriculture	... 2	Army	...
Clergy	... 2	Doctors	...
Farmers	... 1	Boot and shoe	...
Accountants	... 1		

The trade unions are represented by 136 members (an increase of fifty from the last Parliament) but the party also contains quite a mixture of intellectuals and professional men. Seven are rentiers, but only one is directly connected with the aristocracy. The miners, who number one-fifth of the members of the Trade Union Congress, return one-third of the total Trade Union membership in the House of Commons.

The writer then gives some figures relating to the American congress. The following is an analysis of the membership of the present House of Representatives:—

Lawyers	... 262	Journalists	... 1
Bankers	... 9	Ministers	...
Army	... 1	Actors	...
Farmers	... 10	Doctors	...
Trade union officials	2	Dentists	...
Merchants	... 44	Manufacturers	...
Publishers	... 1	Real Estate	...
Teachers	... 13	Engineer	...

Members of the Senate are grouped thus:

Lawyers	... 58	Journalists	...
Well drillers	... 1	Doctors	...
Bankers	... 3	Business-men	...
Advertising	... 1	Stock breeders	...
Farmers	... 8	Teachers	...
Dentists	... 1	Engineers	...

Congress is thus dominated by lawyers, and modest lawyers at that, for the ones with lucrative corporate connections rarely seek membership in the national legislature.

It would be interesting and instructive to have a similar analysis of the membership of India's central and provincial legislatures.

### The Historical Novel.

Cambridge University Press has published a dissertation on "The Historical Novel" by H. Butterfield, in reviewing which in *The Nation and the Athenaeum*, the Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher says:—

The historical novelist is not bound down to the literal truth. So long as he presents us with a generally faithful picture of the age in which his story is set we have no great reason for quarreling with him.

Even the anachronisms in "Ivanhoe," which used to cause so much distress to Professor Freeman, do not detract from the general value of this extraordinary work of genius as a picture of mediæval life. Nay, the grotesque and Gargantuan errors of Victor Hugo are consistent with flashes of divination for which every historian must be grateful.

What, however, is the true place and function of the historical novel and what its relation to history? That is the problem to which Mr. Butterfield, of Cambridge University, addresses himself in a thoughtful academic dissertation.\* His answer, in effect, is that history is necessarily fragmentary and imperfect, "full of tales half-told and of tunes that break off in the middle," and that the history that can be made out of the recoverable facts is "really little more than a chart to the past—just enough to set the wild heart dreaming." It is then the imperfection of the historical record which justifies the ambition of the novelist. His task is to fill in the gaps and to charge history with some of the human things which are irrecoverable save by an exercise of the creative imagination. Thus the novel is not justified on the plea that the truth is dull. On the contrary, truth is often stranger than fiction. The novel arises from the inadequacy of the historical record, from its lack of visual appeal and failure to supply "the close personal things which are needed in story-making." If these are to be felt, history must be "Put to fiction as a poem is put to music." The novel must supply a picture and a story; it must express the sense of adventure and uncertainty which belongs to all developing life and can only with difficulty be learned by the contemplation of the records of the past. The historical novelist is not, I suspect generally, animated by a desire to make good the imperfections of the record. Most historical novels are written upon periods for the interpretation of which the materials are abundant and good. Generally speaking the novelist is attracted not by the dimly lit periods of history, but by those which are brightly illuminated. So "Quentin Durward" rests on the rich and delightful memoirs of Commynes; "Romola" on the splendid inheritance of historical material illustrating the life and times of Savonarola; the epic cycle of Dumas on the profuse and spirited memoirs which illustrate the history of France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. So, too, when Mr. Thomas Hardy goes in search of an historical theme he gives us in "The Dynasts" a new, imaginative, but essentially truthful rendering of the most familiar period of European history.

The novelist, then, is apt to be drawn to themes which the historical record has already made attractive. Sometimes, as we may be tempted to think, he cannot improve upon the original. Dr. Johnson, for instance, is nowhere so convincing as in the pages of Boswell and Mme. D'Arblay. For Joan of Arc I would rather go to the records of the trial than to Mr. Bernard Shaw or Anatole France.

### Petitioning a Crime for Formosan Subjects of Japan.

The following passages taken from *The*

\* The "Historical Novel," By H. Butterfield (Cambridge University Press, 5s.)

*Japan Weekly Chronicle* will give some idea of one aspect of Japanese imperialism:—

Korea has been called the Hermit Kingdom, but it is one of the world's highways to-day and enjoys publicity. Formosa is infinitely more remote, and the things that happen there get no advertisement. We have, it is true, such books as Mr. Poulitney Bigelow's *Japan and Her Colonies*, and such articles as Dr. Thomas Baty's "Formosa the Modern," in the *Contemporary*, where learned and personaly-conducted authorities expatiate on the mighty works done. But we have never seen the story written of the conspiracy case in 1915, when a thousand men were condemned to death—a butchery which, at the rate of fifty a day, so sickened the executioners that the Imperial clemency was invoked to stop it. Thousands of years penal servitude are being served instead. This and similar "conspiracy" trials have never enjoyed the publicity which shed so much light on the Korean "conspiracy."

Eighteen Formosan subjects of Japan were on their trial in August last for a "crime" of which some idea can be formed from the following passage extracted from the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* of August 14:—

Since 1920 it has been a regular thing to present to each session of the Imperial Diet a petition for the creation of a Formosan Diet. The Japanese Government may not be prepared to grant the request; it might not even be good for Formosa to have it granted. But the islanders have every right to ask for it. However, the insular authorities do not like this sort of thing. They are of opinion that it only leads to mischief and helps to spread discontent. They therefore ordered the dissolution of the Society for Promoting the Formation of a Formosan Diet, and it was dissolved accordingly. Formosans in Tokyo, however, including some of the members of the dissolved Society, formed a society for the same object, reported its formation at the Waseda police station, which made no objection, and presented the usual petition. The insular authorities conceive that they have a right to say what Formosans in Tokyo shall do, and to punish them if they do what the insular authorities do not like. So on their return to Formosa they were prosecuted for committing in Tokyo an action of which the Tokyo police quite approved!

British or American observers find some difficulty in understanding where the police interference comes in at all, how a society can be dissolved if it has committed no offence, or even why the police should know anything about the society. In Japan, however, a society is not supposed to exist without its being registered and approved by the police. That the police have any right to order the dissolution of a society which exists for a perfectly legitimate object—that of petitioning for the establishment of a Formosan Diet—it would be very difficult to prove, but under the Peace Police Law the police give such orders as they think fit, and it is an offence to disobey them. The official assumption is that the Tokyo Society was merely a continuation of the Formosan Society. But this is absurd, because the Formosan police cannot grant permission for the conduct of clubs and societies in Japan proper. That is for the Japanese police to see to, and, the Tokyo police having given permission for this particular society to function, it is an

impertinence for the insular police to declare that its functioning is a criminal offence.

### Compulsory Military Training of Students.

The question of the compulsory military training of students has been recently revived. In view of that fact, the following extracts from an article in the *Japan Chronicle* will be found useful:—

It is interesting to note how the compulsory military training of boys is regarded in countries where expression is freer than in Japan. General Baden-Powell, the father of the Boy Scout movement, gave voice to the feelings of many people when he said:—

"Military drill gives a feeble, unimaginative officer a something with which to occupy his boys. He does not consider whether it appeals to them or really does them good. It saves him a world of trouble. Military drill tends to destroy individuality, whereas we want in the Scouts to develop individual character; and when once drill is learned, it bores a boy who is longing to be tearing about on some enterprise or other. It blunts his keenness.

Those who heard or read Rabindranath Tagore's lecture on education given in Kobe will remember how bitterly he attacked this idea of imposing discipline. He said:—

"If we have some purpose in our mind for our educational institutions—that we should be producing patriots, practical men, soldiers, bankers, these and other things—it may be that we have to put them through the mechanical drill of obedience and discipline, but that is not the fulness of life, not the fulness of humanity. But he who knows that Nature's purpose is to make the boy a full man when he grows up—full in all directions, mentally and mainly spiritually—he who realises this brings up the child in the atmosphere of freedom. Unfortunately we have our human weakness and we have our love of power."

He likened the disciplinary teacher to an executioner killing the most valuable gift God had given the child—the gift of creativeness. If this is true of the discipline of some schoolrooms, is it not far more often true of the barracks?

Even though we may not go the whole way with Tagore in his insistence that children should be allowed to be "naughty" and may believe that the traditions of ten thousand years have something of value even for the self-confident Thomas or Eiichi of to-day, we have to admit that it is fatal to the progress of people to press the mind of its youth into one cast-iron mould. The militarist argues that the safety of the nation demands it and so he trains the boys to look up to the war heroes as the paragons of human excellence and to regard unquestioning obedience to discipline as the height of virtue. Now it may well be questioned whether heroism has won more wars than it has lost. Probably no people ever made a more heroic fight than the Jews at the time of their final downfall. And heroism seems to count less than ever in these days of mechanism. So we come back to the question whether it is best for the boys themselves to press them, one and all, into the mould of the fighter and the unreasoning

obeyer. Tagore thinks it is not. Bertrand Russell makes an equally telling appeal for "reverence for the child" in his book "Problems of Social Reconstruction." What right have we to assume, he argues, that our notions are better than those which the rising generation will evolve if it is left free? Edward Carpenter, for like reasons, attacks conscription in his "Healing of the Nations." If men wish to try to produce a certain kind of fruit, they are permitted to prune and twist and torture the limbs of their own trees and to graft this scion on that stock. But they are not permitted to try their experiments on every one's orchard. In the human orchard, however, we hand every young tree over to the experiments of—whom? Our politicians and drill sergeants. Have they all wisdom? Is there no danger that they will destroy the unique thing that this or that young hopeful may have to contribute to the world? Their first thought is for the State and the system, not for the child. But if they ruin the child, can the State be strong? It may win battles,—though that is becoming increasingly doubtful—but will it not lose its real life?

### Oil as Symbol of Power.

*The Sunday at Home* observes in course of an article on "Romance of Oil":—

Oil has been transformed into a symbol—and that symbol is of power. Oil is power—not in the mechanical sense, but in the sense in which politicians, diplomats, statesmen, makers and unmakers of States. Empire-builders whisper the word. To-day states which possess oil or can procure it adequate for their needs and unfailingly, are powerful—by virtue of oil. States dependent upon the goodwill of other States for their supplies are inherently weak. Oil is a point of foreign policy.

It would not be difficult to advance illustrations—which would be proofs—from recent political, diplomatic, and legislative action on the part of Great Powers. What was the inner meaning of the descent of Great Britain into the stock exchange to buy shares in oil corporation? Or the introduction of the Petroleum Bill to Parliament? Or of the objection by the United States to the mandate granted to Great Britain regarding Mesopotamia? Or the discussion in the French Chamber in July of last year, on French petrol supply, when Deputies lamented the fact that France was dependent upon foreign sources for 90 per cent. of her petrol supplies in times of peace, and 95 per cent. in war? Or of Turkey's desperate fight at Lausanne for Mosul? Oil was the mainspring of each State's action—the possession of it, and the determination to protect and conserve the power oil gave—the need of it, and the equal determination by hook or by crook to obtain it, to be independent of an ally even in obtaining possession of it. Without oil Governments know that their fleets, naval and mercantile and doomed to impotency and idleness, that their armies cannot move, that aircraft are earthbound, their submarines so much scrap metal!

Yesterday it was lack of money or men or munitions or ships or allies made States stand shivering on the brink of War, and fear to launch away. To-morrow it will be want of oil. Nay, it may be the want of it will be deemed a sufficient *casus*



*belli*—or at least the central point in a case preferred by one State against another before the International Court of Justice at The Hague, that the defendant State had unlawfully diverted supplies of oil or by subterranean methods had prevented supplies of oil from reaching the appellant State to its detriment and economic weakening. Questions of Peace and War may well hang on oil!

### Caste among White Christians.

A sort of autobiographical article in *T. P.'s and Cassell's Weekly* by G. B. Shaw gives glimpses of caste among Christian folk in the West. Mr. Shaw writes:—

One evening I was playing in the street with a schoolfellow of mine when my father came home. He questioned me about this boy, who was the son of a prosperous iron-monger. The feelings of my father, who was not prosperous, and who sold flour by the sack, when he learned that his son had played in the public street with the son of a man who sold nails by the pennyworth in a shop, are not to be described. He impressed on me that my honor, my self-respect, my human dignity all stood upon my determination not to associate with persons engaged in retail trade. Probably this was the worst crime my father ever committed. And yet I do not see what else he could have taught me, short of genuine republicanism, which is the only possible school of good manners.

And now, what power did I find in Ireland religious enough to redeem me from this abomination of desolation? Quite simply, the power of Art.

My mother, as it happened, had a considerable musical talent. In order to exercise it seriously she had to associate with other people who had musical talent. My first childish doubt as to whether God could really be a good Protestant was suggested by my observation of the deplorable fact that the best voices available for combination with my mother's in the works of the great composers had been unaccountably vouchsafed to Roman Catholics. Even the Divine gentility was presently called in question: for some of these vocalists were undeniably connected with retail trade.

There was no help for it; if my mother was to do anything but sing silly ballads in drawing-rooms, she had to associate herself on an entirely republican footing with people of like artistic gifts, without the smallest reference to creed or class.

Nay, if she wished to take part in the Masses of Haydn and Mozart, which had not then been forgotten, she must actually permit herself to be approached by Roman Catholic priests, and even at their invitation, to enter that house of Belial to the Roman Catholic Chapel (in Ireland the word church, as applied to a place of worship, denoted the Protestant denomination), and take part in their services. All of which led directly to the discovery, hard to credit at first, that a Roman Catholic priest could be as agreeable and cultivated a person as a Protestant clergyman was supposed, in defiance of bitter experience, always to be; and, in short, that the notion that the courtly distinctions of Dublin society corresponded to any real human distinctions was as ignorant

as it was pernicious. If religion is that which binds men to one another, and irreligion that which sunders, then must I testify that I found the religion of my country in its musical genius, and its irreligion in its churches and drawing-rooms.

### "Coloured" Protests Against "Christianity."

The *Democrat* of Nairobi observes:—

For hundreds of years men resorted to the Christian religion, and used it to deceive the other portion of the world, and the rest of mankind. It is the subterfuge of the white man when he wants to deceive you; he tells you about Jesus, he tells you about Heaven, he speaks of the beautiful things of the Christian religion, which he himself does not believe in, and does not practise. He preaches them to you because he believes it is the easiest way to reach your emotion and to appeal to your sentiment, and deprive you of that which he wants. Such a subterfuge the white man has used in Africa, such a subterfuge the white man has endeavoured to use on all the unfortunate peoples of the world. He sends out his priest, his Bishop, and his missionary to foreign lands to pave the way for colonial dominion or exploitation of the native peoples and their lands.

The *Abantu Batho*, a South African paper edited and published by native Africans, writes:—

Rome, mistress of the world, ruled supreme, her eagle carried by her well-disciplined and victorious legions; and so remarkable was that peaceful condition that the Romans erected a temple and upon its portals were inscribed in letters of gold the words: 'The temple of Eternal Peace'. Nineteen hundred years have passed, and that temple is now buried among the ruins of ancient Rome, and other temples have been erected for the purpose of preaching peace, the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. Yet there is no peace. The peace which we are now enjoying may be likened to the calm before the storm the nations of the world are only taking a breathing space before they once more come to grips in a deadlier and more destructive war. With such a conception of peace, the strong and rich oppressing the weak and the poor, with the canker of racial prejudice eating at its very vitals, how can the white man expect peace in the true sense of the term? Who can think that he can come to my house, put me out, take all I possess, and then talk to me about peace and justice, and after robbing and knocking me down, talk to me about a League of Nations for peace? All the burglars get together after robbing the black man of his land, and then say---'Let us have peace.' There is not going to be peace until we all believe in the rights of all men.

### The Negro's Protest.

The *Ku Klux Klan* is a powerful American organisation directed against Negroes, Jews, Roman Catholics, etc. But none of the political parties in America have had the

courage to denounce it. Consequently, according to *The Liberator*, a recent Negro convention sent an urgent appeal by telegraph to the LaFollette convention as follows:

"The Fifteenth annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People does hereby express and record its unqualified protest at the action of the two major political parties in evading specific denunciation of the Ku Klux Klan by name.

"We urge the coming third party convention at Cleveland to seize this opportunity for courageous action by denouncing the Klan in unqualified terms and by specific designation.

"Resolved that this resolution be telegraphed to the resolutions committee of the convention."

Both messages were utterly ignored by Mr. LaFollette's convention!

### "The World Centre for Suppressed Peoples."

We read in *The Liberator* :—

The forces for liberation of the darker peoples have, since the Russian revolution, naturally gravitated to a cultural center in the capital of the one country where alone they cannot be reached by the police-arm of the enemy they plan to vanquish. At this moment, one of Britain's many propagandists, Sir Valentine Chirol, is touring the United States trying to prepare this country to line up for the side of White Supremacy in the oncoming world-clash. "Bolshevism," he said in a lecture in Chicago, "has poured forth over the whole of Central Asia like a devastating flood." (Devastating to white European imperialist rule over the "inferior" peoples of Asia.) He continues: "On November 2, 1917, Lenin issued a decree proclaiming for all peoples, and not least for all oriental peoples, the right of self-determination. But when Moscow began to organise its vast system of Bolshevik propaganda it was nowhere more active than in Central Asia. In 1920 a communist University of Workers in the East was founded in Moscow.....and branches were soon opened at Tashkent, Baku and Irkutsk." Reaching the sorest spot of his lament—the vast empire of India whose 294, 000,000 people are the beasts of burden for the British ruling class—Sir Valentine wails that in India "the trade unions, which are springing up like mushrooms, are mainly in the hands of professional agitators who might almost have themselves graduated at Moscow, for Moscow boasts of the special attention devoted in its various Oriental colleges to the training of Bolshevik 'missionaries' with the requisite knowledge to rouse, as its organ, the *Novy Vostok* (New East) puts it, 'the whole colonial world of the oppressed, not only in Asia, but in Africa and America, against the capitalistic society of Europe and the United States.'"

The alarmed gentleman continued:

"All the manifold discontents of the Orient are bound up together in the clash of color.... In America you have the color problem in your very midst; you have it again at your doors in the shape of Asiatic immigration. We in Europe are confronted, along the great borderland of the Occident and the Orient extending through Northern Africa and across Western and Central Asia, from the Northwestern Atlantic to the shores of the Indian Ocean, and even beyond."

### The Citizenship of Non-Politicians.

Benedetto Croce is regarded as the leading philosopher of Italy. But he has been also a man of affairs. In 1920 he was appointed to the Senate of the Kingdom of Italy, and in the same year, under the Giolitti government, he became minister of public instruction and inaugurated a policy of liberal reconstruction. With the fall of the Giolitti government, in 1921, he retired from office. When a man like him whose literary, philosophical, and political theories have exerted a very wide influence on modern thought and who has also been a statesman in office, writes anything on politics, it deserves attention. Such is his article "On Disgust with politics" in the *September Century*, in course of which he observes :—

"In centuries gone by it was the "sages" who drew aside from the lives of their peoples to devote themselves to the pursuit of wisdom, content so long as they were left alone in a seclusion favorable to their meditations, ready to accept any peace so long as it was peace, and any despot so long as he would guarantee the leisure they desired."

This represents to a great extent the state of things which prevailed in ancient, and even perhaps in mediæval India.

Croce proceeds :—

"We know the kind of men produced by the monasteries and ecclesiastical benefices of a later time, when monks and clerics shook the weight of the world from their shoulders. And the figures of this kind we see, whether in the past or in the present, are such that no one could accord them admiration or veneration. They had their excuse, of course, and perhaps the illusion they cherished was sincere. They promoted, so they pretended, the contemplative life, cultivating the arts and the sciences, doing good to a suffering humanity with works of piety and mercy."

Here the writer strikes a critical note and says :—

"But we know that the excuse was not valid. Art and science languish when once we cut the vibrant ties that bind them to life. They became vapid, academic, trivial. Charity and loving-kindness themselves degenerate to such meaningless forms that they humiliate and debase the needy instead of comforting them and lifting them to their feet. Alms and bread-lines never bring true and solid and enduring help. This must come from political changes in the conditions of social life, which give men a freer air to breathe and more opportunity for productive labour."

These words deserve to be taken note of by the religious and social service workers of our country. The work which they do is certainly needful and in some cases very valuable. But it would be a mistake for any of them to think that the work of a

true statesman was necessarily work on a lower level than theirs.

Croce continues :—

"Indifference toward public affairs presents, accordingly, a curious anomaly: it seems utterly despicable in practice, and yet solidly motivated in logic. The reason for this is that it is the perversion of a sound principle—the principle of specification: that is to say, of specialization. Specialization involves limitation. We have to refrain from doing many things we should like to do, but ought not to do, since to do them would mean neglecting our own peculiar work to handle the work of others badly or imperfectly. That is why we should control our tempers in judging the work of others, be careful not to lose our heads over things remote from our experience, avoid fighting battles in our imaginations and writhing painfully in reality; and all the more since the notions we conceive and the opinions we utter in such frames of mind are for the most part exaggerated, and unfair as well as bootless,....."

The results of such self-control are beneficial.

"If we exercise such due restraint upon ourselves, the feeling that becomes uppermost in our minds is not one of superiority, but one of humility, or at least of modesty; and the renunciation we make by virtue of it is not contemptuous, but rational, based as it is on a sane concept of fitness and duty. So it is not renunciation in the sense of complete withdrawal, complete detachment, from public concerns. Rather we arrive and stop at a definite point in a definite sphere—the point marked by the limit of our competence in the sphere of our activities. And this sphere is public in that it is part of that universal in which all other spheres of activity unite, vibrate, resound, and from which vibrations and echoes descend into each separate sphere."

From this last observation of his, one can without difficulty infer that Croce understands the function of citizenship in a very liberal and wide sense. This inference finds support from what immediately follows.

"A citizen becomes a poet or a philosopher or a saint without, however, ceasing to be a citizen. On the contrary, the deeper he goes into one of these forms of being, the more strictly he adheres to that form, the better and truer he becomes as a citizen. The poet gives his people their dreams of the human heart. The philosopher sets before them the truths of nature and the lineaments of history. The saint cultivates and imparts the moral virtues. And all these creative forces make their influence felt in the field that is more specifically political. It may happen on occasion that poet, philosopher, or saint becomes statesman or soldier; a political personality; that is, in the narrow sense. Not a few such reorientations or changes of role might be counted in the past, though the men who made them were not in the highest rank of their particular vocations; and they had their public careers either before their special callings developed or after they had passed their full maturity and wearing out."

Let us not complain if in India the poet,

the sage, the philosopher, the scientist, the teacher, the historian, the man of letters, or the artist is not also a politician. He who is true to his vocation, whatever it is, is a true citizen.

Croce concludes:

"To secure union of politics with the other forms of human activity we do not have to depend on rare prodigies and geniuses. That union is already a fact when we do the work for which we are fitted in the best and noblest way, and with a sense of responsibility and service to our fellows."

### The Revival of Religion.

Mr. W. J. Dawson suggests in the *Century* that there must needs be some factor common to all religions. What is that factor?

"I suggest that it is the perception of a spiritual universe with which man has authentic relations. The essential cleavage of mankind is not between the pagan and the Christian, but between the materialist and the spiritualist, between the man for whom things seen are the sole realities and the man for whom things unseen have a sublimer authenticity."

Mr. Dawson holds that religion belongs to the mysteries, and its essential principle is a belief in and a reverence for things unseen. Hence,

"There is, and necessarily must be, a large element of the inexplicable in religion. It is a region of unexplored remainders. It invites faith in matters which cannot be rationally apprehended. In this respect it is akin to poetry and the highest forms of art, which appeal to us by channels not marked upon the charts of logic and physiology. For if plain logic be applied to the poetry of Keats, the lovely fabric is instantly destroyed, and there is no easier thing than for a house-painter to prove that the colors Turner used are in no way different from those he himself employs in painting doors and roofs. Yet despite these performances of *Mr. Gradgrind* and his kind, multitudes of men and women feel a glow of ecstasy in reading Keats, and are moved to wonder and adoration by Turner's use of color. My point is, then, that religion cannot be reduced to severely logical terms without the destruction of its finer essences. Its beautiful hues and colors fade when exposed to a wrong atmosphere. Separated from mystery, its secret and compelling charm is lost, and the result is what I have called the vulgarization of religion."

After describing a Roman Catholic mass and a Quakers' meeting which he had attended and the impression produced thereby, the writer says :—

"Both are the expression of man's awe in the presence of the invisible. And I further think that the chief end of any service which calls itself religious is to produce this emotion. If worship does not create the sense of the presence of God, if it does not withdraw the spirit from a materialistic world into contact with a spiritual world, and,



at a time at least, makes that spiritual world, more real than the visible world, it fails altogether of its true object."

For this reason he asks :—

"Do the buildings in which we worship aid the spirit of reverence, create in any degree the sense of divine mystery? No one has ever entered a great mediaeval cathedral without being aware of these influences. He feels 'the height, the space, the gloom, the glory', as an invocation to serious and solemn thoughts, and this without any aid from speech or music or the gorgeous spectacle of ritual observance."

Mr. Dawson concludes by saying that his paper is a plea for the return of mystery in forms of worship.

"It is a plea for spirituality, the return of awe, the sense of contact with God and the invisible world we worship.....Can we not make a fuller use of beauty in our forms of worship? Can we not make more of silent communion with God and less of public exhortation? Can we not do much more than we do to cultivate the spirit of reverence in worship?"

### Some Codes of Ethics for Journalism.

Mr. Ernest Gruening, an American journalist of varied experience, familiar with magazine as well as with daily newspaper journalism, discusses in the *Century* whether journalism can be a profession. "The question under discussion is whether journalism is a profession or a business, an art or a craft", writes Mr. Gruening.

"There are two distinct conceptions of the schools of journalism," writes Nelson Antrim Crawford in his excellent "The Ethics of Journalism", the first book on the subject. One emphasizes above everything else newspaper technique. This is the trade school method and it turns out graduates who have the competency which a trade school gives.

The other conception, Mr. Crawford points out, is that journalism is a profession and that the school of journalism is a professional school. It admits that the school must give technical training .....but maintains that this could be obtained in a very brief course" and that the school ought "rather give the student such an intellectual and ethical training and background as will best enable him to serve the public through the press."

In recent years there have been many codes of ethics for journalism. In the Oregon Code, written by Mr. C. V. Dymont of the University of Oregon, we find *inter alia* :—

"There is no place in journalism for the dissemler; the distorter; prevaricator; the suppressor; or the dishonest thinker." And also: "We will resist outside control in every phase of our practice, believing that the best interests of society require intellectual freedom in journalism."

Says the Code adopted by the Mission Press Association in 1921.

"A newspaper does not belong solely to its

owner and is not fulfilling its highest functions if devoted selfishly."

And no finer expression of what should be the journalist's part in our society exists than "the Journalist's Creed," composed by Dean Walter Williams of the School of Journalism of the University of Mission, which says in part:—

"I believe in the profession of Journalism.

"I believe that the public journal is a public trust; that all connected with it are to the full measure of their responsibility, trustees for the public; that acceptance of lesser service is betrayal of this trust.

"I believe that clear thinking, and clear statement, accuracy, and fairness are fundamental to good journalism.

"I believe that a journalist should write only what he holds in his heart to be true.

"I believe that suppression of the news for any consideration other than the public welfare of society is indefensible.

"I believe.....that bribery by one's own pocket book is as much to be avoided as by the pocket book of another; that individual responsibility may not be escaped by pleading another's instructions or another's dividends."

This is as it should be, but, unfortunately, not as it is. It is an expression of an ideal which has been attained only in rare instances.

The ethics of Journalism are worthy of very serious consideration. For

"Journalism is important because in the evolution of our complex problems of democracy, public opinion is the vital factor. In the formation of this opinion the essential element is the press."

### Is Capital Punishment Futile?

We read in *Current Opinion* :—

As a result of twenty years' experience in penological work, during which he has served as President of the Wardens' Association and President of the American Prison Association, Lewis E. Lawes, Warden of Sing Sing Prison, Ossining, New York, has come to the conclusion that capital punishment is futile. He states this conclusion in a new book entitled "Man's Judgment of Death" (Putnam's), and bases it not only on his personal contact with hundreds of murderers whom he has known and with whom he has talked in very solemn moments, but also on objective evidence presented in nearly forty tables and charts.

The deterrent argument, he says, rests on the erroneous supposition that life is the most valued possession of man, whereas there is no fear nor thought of death in the minds of most murderers. There are many shootings, upon slight or no provocation, by bootleggers, burglars or traffickers in drugs. In one case police officers were killed for no better reason than because the offender feared to be beaten up in the police station. After the electrocution of Police Lieutenant Becker and four gunmen, five more were in the death house at Sing Sing Prison within a year.

Mr. Lawes contends that the death penalty conforms to none of the best ideas of modern criminology. He points out, that in fifteen out of the forty American states in which juries are

permitted the choice between the death penalty and life imprisonment, they have chosen the latter, in a ratio of more than five to one. He continues:

"We have tried capital punishment for many generations in a great majority of our states. Yet we have a homicide rate to-day—and always have had—to which in comparison with other nations we cannot point with pride. In those states where capital punishment has been abolished the record is better than where it exists. There have been greater increases in homicidal crimes occurring in states which have always retained the death penalty than have ever occurred in states where it has been abolished."

The alternative proposed by Mr. Lawes is life imprisonment.

"No claim is made that it will prove a panacea that will effect the cure of homicidal crime, but I do believe that life imprisonment with a long unavoidable minimum provides a form of punishment that is more certain of application than the death penalty can ever be made, that is more scientific in application because with its long but variable minimum it presents a possibility for individualization and differentiation of treatment."

### A Prize Home.

There should be a competitive prize in our midst like that of which *The Woman Citizen* writes:—

There are home-makers and home-makers in America, but here is a new kind. She is Dr. Caroline Bartlett Crane, and the home she (with her committee) made won the \$ 500 prize offered by the Better Homes in America organization.

All plans for the house were designed and drawn by Dr. Crane, and those who have seen the house suspect that its compactness and convenience, particularly in the kitchen arrangements, had much to do with the decision.

Dr. Crane had the support and cooperation of a group of Kalamazoo citizens in carrying the plan through.

### Attitude of "The Review of Reviews" Towards India.

The following paragraph from the *London Review of Reviews* embodies what its editor thinks Englishmen should do in relation to India:—

We need to keep on an even course, as far removed from foolish sentimentality and exaggeration as from more "diehard" recalcitrance and Toryism. Above all, we need a constant and deliberate effort to understand Indian aspirations and to see how far they can be fairly met without weakening the essential ties between the various parts of the Empire. In this respect there is reason to believe that some progress has recently been made and that the Government are disposed to modify, in practice if not formally, the standpoint that nothing can be done until 1929 to enquire seriously into modifications of the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution. It is good also that the delegates of the National Convention for India, which is endeavouring to draft an Indian Constitution from Indian points of view, should have had a good reception in this country and should have been able to place their views before the public. The line of progress in regard to India lies in the direction of increasing efforts to understand India on the part of the people of this country; and in similar efforts on the part of responsible Indians to penetrate the fog of reticence and caution that too often surrounds the goodwill of Britons. But, in any case, the main effort must be ours. We have long ruled India and have accepted responsibility for her welfare. It is therefore our duty to seek common denominators between our conceptions of her welfare and those of her own spokesmen.

## NOTES

### Every Man's Right to Assert and Exercise Freedom.

We do not know how Swaraj can be "obtained". But we do know that every man is born free, and that it is his right and duty to assert and exercise that freedom. Even if he be overcome by force or fraud or both, he does not lose the right, nor is exempted from the duty, to assert and exercise his freedom. As often as he is stricken down, he ought to shake the dust off his body,

stand erect like a man and assert his freedom unto death. As often as he is shackled, he ought to break his chains and exercise his freedom.

That being the duty and right of a man who has himself been conquered, it is much more the right and duty of his descendants to behave like free men, as they really are.

Some of our ancestors were overcome by force, some by fraud, and some by a combination of both. That in spite of that fact they

did not try to assert their freedom and behave like men, was their fault. But it is a wrong interpretation of history and of human rights to think that those ancestors of ours sold us into servitude or had the right to do. If one western throws down another, it does not mean that in every succeeding generation the descendants of the former are thereby constituted the top-dogs and the descendants of the latter the under-dogs.

No, every one of us is born free. It is the right and duty of every one of us to behave like free men. It is our indefeasible right to think and speak and act as the people of independent countries do. It is our undying duty to remove all obstacles which stand in the way of our doing so. Why should we be hypnotised by ourselves or by others into the delusion that it is our duty to behave only in the way which is approved by those who want us to believe that we are not free men?

So long as life lasts, the undying assertion of deathless freedom in imagination, in thought, in feeling, in the expression thereof, and in all kinds of action is our right and duty.

Scoffers and weaklings and men in power will call all this a dream. Let them. Man lives by such dreams of the Truth, not by being reconciled to the Delusion of actualities.

To have the faith that one is free and to be true to that faith in thought, word and deed, therein lies Swaraj and its gradual and continuous realization. For Swaraj is both a being and a becoming. It is both static and dynamic.

### Personnel of Civil Departments in Hyderabad.

In years past, we published more than once analyses of the higher civil services in British India, showing how few posts were held by Indians and how many by Europeans. It would be interesting and instructive to have similar statements relating to the larger Indian states individually. We shall attempt to give here such a statement prepared from the classified list of officers of the civil departments of H. E. H. the Nizam's government corrected up to 6th April, 1923.

Administration. 7 Musalmans, 2 Hindus and 1 Parsi.

President's Personal Staff. All 4 Musalmans.

Legislative Council. The President is a Parsi. Of the remaining 18 members 11

are Muslims, 6 are Hindus and 1 an Indian Christian.

Chief Secretariat. All the six officers are Muslims.

Political Secretariat. Six Muslims, 1 Parsi, and 1 European Christian.

Financial Secretariat. One Hindu, 2 European Christians and 6 Muslims.

Revenue Secretariat. All the 18 officers are Muslims.

Judicial Secretariat. All 6 are Muslims.

Public Works Secretariat. 1 European Christian, 1 Hindu, 6 Muslims.

Military Secretariat. All 4 Muslims.

Commerce and Industries Secretariat. All 3 Muslims.

Legislative Secretariat. 2 Hindus and 3 Muslims.

Secretary, Religious Department. Muslim.

Development Secretariat. All 7 are Muslims.

Financial Department. 7 Hindus, 2 European Christians, 15 Muslims.

Railway Branch, Financial Secretariat. 1 European Christian.

Treasurer, Central Treasury. Muslim.

Treasury Superintendents. 1 Parsi, 4 Hindus, 11 Muslims.

Mint and Stamps Departments. 1 Parsi, 3 European Christians, 2 Hindus and one Muslim.

Electricity Department. 2 European Christians, 1 Hindu, 1 Muslim.

Osmania Central Technical Institute. 2 European Christians,

Railways. 1 European Christian.

Revenue Inspecting Officers. 1 Hindu, 1 Muslim.

First Talukdars. 1 Hindu, 15 Muslims.

Assistant Talukdars. 4 Hindus, 1 Parsi, 33 Muslims.

Additional Assistant Talukdars. 1 Hindu, 2 Muslims.

Tahsildars. 3 Parsis, 8 Hindus, 104 Muslims. Additional Tahsildars. 2 Muslims.

Tahsildars, Sarf-i-Khas-Ilaka. 4 Muslims.

Settlement Superintendents. 1 Hindu, 1 Parsi.

Assistant Settlement Supdts. 2 Parsis, 12 Muslims.

Sub-Assistant S. Supdts. 2 Muslims.

Jamabandi Assistants. 2 Muslims.

Land Record Officers. 2 Hindus 3 Muslims.

### FOREST DEPARTMENT :

Inspector-General. Muslim.

Conservators. European Christian 1, Muslim 1.



Assistant Conservators. 3 Hindus, 13 Muslims.

Industrial Research Party. 1 European Christian.

Customs Commissioner. Hindu. Assistants. All three Muslims.

Superintendents. 2 Hindus, 1 Parsi, 6 Muslims, 1 European Christian.

Excise Director, etc. 3 Muslims.

Abkari Talukdars. etc. 3 Hindus, 2 Muslims.

Excise Superintendents. 3 Hindus, 1 European Christian, 12 Musalmans.

Superintendent, Opium and Ganja. Muslim.

Mines Department. 1 Hindu, 2 Muslims.

Agricultural Department. 1 European Christian, 1 Musalman.

Industries and Commerce Department. 3 Hindus, 1 European Christian and 2 Muslims.

Co-operative Department. All six Muslims.

Chief Justice. Muslim.

Puisne Judges. 1 Hindu, 5 Muslims.

Mufti. Muslim.

Registrar, etc. 3 Muslims

Government Pleaders. 1 Hindu, 5 Musalmans.

City Civil Court. 5 Muslims.

City Magistrate's Court. 5 Muslims.

Kazi's Court. 1 Muslim.

Special Magistrate. Muslim.

Divisional Judges. Six Muslims.

District Civil Judges. 15 Muslims.

Additional Civil Judges. 8 Muslims.

Munsifs. 8 Hindus, 1 Parsi, 85 Muslims.

Jails Department. 1 European Christian, 5 Muslims.

Government Central Press. 1 Hindu, 1 Muslim.

City and Suburban Police. 1 Hindu, 7 Muslims.

Police: Director-General's Office. 1 European Christian, 5 Muslims.

Police Training School. 2 Hindus.

Police Superintendents. 2 Hindus, 16 Muslims.

Police Asst. Supdts. 4 Hindus, 13 Muslims.

Criminal Settlement Officer. Muslim.

#### EDUCATION DEPT.

Educational Director's Office. 1 Hindu, 4 Muslims.

Inspectors of Schools. 5 Muslims.

Inspectress of Girl's Schools. European Christian.

District Inspectors. 4 Hindus, 12 Muslims.

Nizam College. 4 European Christian, 6 Hindus, 5 Muslims.

Madrassa-i-Aliya. 1 European Christian.

Translation Bureau, Osmania University. 10 Muslims.

Osmania University College. 7 Hindus, 31 Muslims.

Registrar, etc., *Do.* 2 Muslims.

High Schools, etc., 6 Hindus, 17 European Christians, 13 Muslims.

Postal Department. 1 Parsi, 8 Muslims.

Medical Department. 3 Parsis, 1 Sikh, 3 Hindus, 1 European Christian, 8 Muslims.

Superintendent, Afzulganj Hospital. Parsi.  
Chemical Examiner and Bacteriologist. Hindu.

Medical Stores. 1 Sikh, 1 Hindu.

Civil Surgeons. 5 Hindus, 4 Parsis, 1 Indian Christian, 8 Muslims.

Assistant Surgeons. 4 Parsis, 3 Christians. 24 Hindus, 21 Muslims.

Lady Civil Surgeons. 1 Parsi, 1 European. 1 Indian Christian.

Lady Assistant Surgeon. 2 Parsis, 6 Indian Christians.

Unani Dispensaries. 12 Muslims.

Unani Medical School. 3 Muslims.

Unani Medical Stores. 1 Muslims.

Registration and Stamps Department. 4 Muslims

#### PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.

Chief Engineer. Muslim.

Superintending Engineers. 2 Muslims.

Architect. Muslim.

Executive Engineers. 2 Hindus, 1 Parsi, 6 Muslims.

Assistant Engineers. 2 Christians, 5 Hindus, 1 Parsi, 12 Muslims.

Sub-engineers. 1 Hindu, 1 Christian, 6 Muslims.

State Mechanical Engineer. European Christian.

Chief Supdt., Water and Drainage. Muslim.

City Improvement Board. 1 Hindu, 3 Muslims.

Superintending Engineers. 1 Australian, 1 Muslim.

Executive and Assistant Engineers. 6 Christians, 13 Hindus, 1 Parsi, 11 Muslims.

Sub-engineers. 3 Hindus, 1 Christian, 2 Muslims.

Development Department. 4 Muslims, 6 Hindus.

Flood Remedial Works Dept. 1 Hindu, 1 Muslim.

Wyra Project. 1 Hindu, 1 Muslim.

Palair Project. 1 Hindu, 1 Muslim.

Special Buildings Division. 1 Muslim, 1 Parsi.

Land Compensation Officer. Muslim.

Miscellaneous Departments. 18 Muslims,  
6 Hindus.

Hyderabad Municipality. 1 Parsi, 1 Hindu, 5 Muslims.

According to the Census of 1921, out of every 10000 of the population of Hyderabad, 8545 are Hindus, 1041 are Muslims, 50 are Christians and 345 are followers of tribal religions. Among Hindu males and females 47 and 4 respectively per thousand are literate ; among Moslem males and females, 140 and 35.

The following table gives the figures for literacy of two Hindu and two Moslem castes per thousand in 1921 :—

Caste	Male	Female
Brahman	437	63
Komati	270	10
Saiyid	155	46
Sheikh	70	13
Literacy in English per 10000 in 1921.		
Caste	Male	Female
Brahman	2399	112
Komati	187	7
Saiyid	63	1
Sheikh	25	1

The following table shows the numbers of speakers of different languages in Hyderabad in 1921 per 10000 of the population :—

Telugu	...	4825
Marathi	...	2645
Kanarese	...	1232
Western Hindi	...	1056
Rajasthani	...	128
Gndi	...	55

The medium of instruction in Osmania University is Urdu, which is included in Western Hindi in the Census Report for 1921.

### Mahatma Gandhi's Fast.

It is a cause of deep distress that, owing to the recent suicidal and bloody outbreaks of Hindu-Moslem dissensions, Mahatma Gandhi has felt compelled to take a vow of fasting for twenty-one days by way of penance and prayer. As he is in a weak state of health and will take only water or water and salt, the fast is causing great anxiety. We hope and pray that he may survive this penance, which he has imposed on himself because of his great love for his countrymen of all races, creeds and castes and of the pain that the Hindu-Moslem riots have given him. We shall rejoice if those whose conduct is the cause of

Mr. Gandhi's agonies, are able to perceive the error of their ways in the light of his sacrifice and sufferings.

### The Lee Commission Report Debate.

The Government of India wanted to have a resolution passed in the Indian Legislative Assembly in favour of the carrying out of the recommendations of the Lee Commission. The attempt failed, as it deserved to. An amendment proposed by Pandit Motilal Nehru was carried instead by a large majority. If Government were bound by law to give effect to it, the Lee Commission Report would have had to be shelved. But Government is not bound to do any such thing. It can and most probably will carry out the Lee Commission recommendations, though that would be the height of unwisdom. How unwise and how much opposed to all principles of democracy it would be, will appear from the fact that in addition to the elected members who opposed Government, Dr. S. K. Dutta and Mr. N. M. Joshi, who were nominated members, did so,—Dr. Dutta's speech against the Government motion being considered one of the best speeches in the debate. Sir Sivaswamy Iyer and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad spoke against the Government resolution but voted with the officials, perhaps because they differed from the Nationalists in their method of giving relief to the present service men. If that was so, they ought to have refrained from voting altogether. They were not in favour of giving effect to the Lee recommendations, but their voting would be construed as supporting them.

In a previous issue, we stated briefly our objections to the Lee Commission's Report. We need not repeat them categorically.

The desire of politically-minded Indians generally is that they should be masters in their own house. This means that their representatives in the legislative bodies are to determine whom to appoint as public servants and determine the conditions of service, such as salaries, &c. But the Lee Commission Report, which does not contain the evidence on which it is based, seeks to perpetuate some of the most undesirable features of the present services system.

Even in very wealthy foreign countries, public servants do not get such high salaries and other emoluments as are paid to the covenanted civilians and other similar public servants in India. The Lee Commission seeks to add to these salaries and emoluments. We, on the contrary, want to pay our public

servants on a scale more consonant with the poverty of the people of India. The average income of the Japanese is much higher than the average income of the Indians. Yet even the Prime Minister of Japan gets a salary of Rs. 27,000 *per annum*, and other ministers Rs. 18,000 each *per annum*; Governors of provinces getting only Rs. 6000 to Rs. 9000 each *per annum* according to grade. All these officials used to get lower salaries still only a few years ago. If British officials cannot serve in India for the salaries which India can afford to pay, they need not. We think we can get competent Indians to do all kinds of administrative and other Government work generally for the salaries which we are able to pay. If for any special posts or kinds of work, we cannot for the time being get competent Indians, it is for us to determine what these posts and kinds of work are and to fix such salaries for them as would induce competent foreigners to accept such posts and do such work. But the Lee Commission Report sets an arbitrary limit to Indianisation, in addition to increasing the emoluments of the "European" services; whereas Indians want complete Indianization at as early a date as possible. That is only natural, for in all self-ruling countries, the services are as a rule manned by their nationals, exceptions being made only in special cases and that for a limited number of years.

At present, the covenanted civilians, though styled public *servants*, are among our masters. Though some of them may have to be the official subordinates of Indian Ministers, it is the Secretary of State in London who really controls them, if anybody really does so at all. The Lee Commission Report wants to perpetuate this Public Servant Rule in India. The Secretary of State, according to it, is to determine the conditions of their appointment, promotion, discharge or dismissal, pension, etc. The people of India are simply to find the money for these "servants" of theirs, to be ruled by them, and to look on and admire the beauty of the arrangement. What we want is that whoever is paid out of the Indian treasury must be responsible in every respect to the representatives of the people of India. It may not be practicable to realise this ideal immediately. But Indians cannot be a consenting party to any arrangement which seeks to stereotype the present system of *Servocracy*.

The Lee Commission Report takes it for granted that the present system of Diarchy

in the provinces and the absence of even partial responsibility in the Central Government is to continue. But all Indian political parties agree in thinking that the irreducible Indian demand is that there should be complete autonomy in the provinces and responsibility in the central Government except in the foreign, political and war departments. This is an additional reason for rejecting the Lee Commission recommendations.

It has been urged on behalf of the European members of the Indian Civil Service that they are indispensable, particularly because of Hindu-Moslem relations. We do not think that this is true. But as, whenever there are "religious" or sectarian riots, it is the Indians who suffer loss of life, limb, property and the honor of their women, and as they are not such fools as to prefer to undergo such suffering for the sake of giving a few high posts to some Indians, they may be safely left to judge whether Europeans are indispensable or not and retain their services if necessary.

So far as the present European incumbents are concerned, let their grievances be looked into of course by a committee appointed by the Legislative Assembly.

### The Work of Englishmen in India.

Not that we want *all* Englishmen to leave India. We want that everyone should find his proper work and place here.

When a hypocritical and sanctimonious habit lasts for a long time, it becomes almost second nature. Hence, it is that we find some Englishmen repeating off and on that they are in India only for the good of India. If they be really here in the discharge of a philanthropic duty, why do the members of the services clamour continually for higher and higher emoluments on the plea of increased cost of living, forgetting that the poor Indian tax-payers' cost of living has also increased without any corresponding increase in their income? When real philanthropists work in any foreign country they do not ask the people of that country whom they serve to pay them any salaries. and in any case they may be expected to be satisfied with salaries like those which European missionaries in India get;—and it cannot be said that in point of culture, character and "efficiency", the generality of the missionaries are inferior to European officials out here.



It is not historically demonstrable that the British occupation of India is a by-product of Christian endeavour on the part of the British people. Nor can it be proved that the chief or only object of British administration has been the good of India. Nevertheless, it is historically true, that British rule has been productive of some good. The question is, has all the good work which it is or was possible for Britain to do been accomplished? We cannot say that it has.

The British people and the Indian people having been brought into contact, no matter in what way, both the peoples ought to derive from mutual contact and intercourse all the benefit possible. There are certain powers and qualities which the British people have developed to a greater extent than ourselves; and we, too, on our part, have developed certain powers and qualities to a greater extent than Englishmen. Therefore our mutual contact may be beneficial to both parties. But for this benefit to accrue, the relation between the two ought to be that of friends. In some matters, Englishmen may be teachers and Indians pupils; in others, the position may be reversed. But there is nothing to prevent teachers and pupils being friends. What is necessary is that whatever our mutual relationship may be, it should be a matter of perfectly voluntary arrangement. There should not be any kind of compulsion. The relationship of master and slave can be beneficial to neither. Indians refuse to be treated as slaves or as servants. Of course, individual Indians may be assistants of individual Englishmen and *vice versa*, but the Indian people cannot accept the position of subjects of the British people for any length of time, however brief.

Our position in fact is that India ought to be independent. But that does not mean that Englishmen must all go away from India. Those Englishmen may and should remain in India who are willing to render her necessary friendly service in any direction required, in lieu of adequate remuneration. But there can be no place in an autonomous and independent India for those who cannot work here except as masters, slave-drivers, or exploiters, and who, while being lavishly paid for their labours, would pretend to be here on an altruistic philanthropic errand and at the same time cry out for greater and greater emoluments and privileges. Englishmen, with other independent Westerners, have rendered paid service to independent Japan and independent China.

Therefore there is nothing illogical in thinking of Englishmen doing similar work in an autonomous India.

And to all really altruistic men and women of all countries, races and sects who want to co-operate with Indians to serve India without being paid by her, she would, of course, gladly extend her hospitality for all time to come.

We have adopted part of this NOTE from what we wrote in the September number of *Welfare*.

### A Munificent Endowment.

Babu Shivaprosad Gupta of Benares has given away his property worth ten lakhs of rupees to create an endowment to perpetuate the memory of his deceased younger brother. The annual income of the endowment is Rs. 60000 approximately. Educational institutions in which the vehicle of instruction is Hindi and which do not or would not receive any grant from the present foreign or the future national Government, or is not or would not be recognised, inspected or controlled by any such Government, would receive help from this endowment. For the present the income would go to the Kashi Vidya-Pith.

Babu Shivaprosad has by this endowment earned the gratitude of all lovers of knowledge in general and of the Hindi-speaking people in particular.

### The Lée Commission Evidence.

It came out in the course of answers to some interpellations in the Legislative Assembly that even the Government of India have not seen the evidence on which the Report of the Lée Commission purports to have been based. Therefore, the readiness of the British Bureaucracy in India to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission must be due to their faith in the unerring wisdom and the "impeccable and unimpeachable" disinterestedness of the Commission. The pity is that the Commission is now defunct, and even were it alive, it would not have had any power to reward the Bureaucracy for such unquestioning faith. There can however be no doubt in the minds of Indians that the Bureaucracy have earned by their great faith the reward of *nirvana* in the sense popularly accepted in the West.

But it may be that the Government of India has been asked to carry out the mandate of the Secretary of State for India, and

it has done so without being in a position to satisfy itself that the Report was really based on the evidence. A self-respecting Government should not have done so. In asking the Government of India to take action on the Lee Commission Report without placing the evidence before it, the Secretary of State showed a certain contempt for this "subordinate" department of His British Majesty's Government in Britain. It is certain the British Indian penal law would have been set in motion against Lord Olivier, had he not resided outside the boundaries of the Indian Empire; for the least that can be said is that he has not treated the Government of India in such a way as to fill our minds with respect for it. The tendency has been the other way.

### Demands of the "Steel Frame."

Anent the heated controversy which has been going on over the demands of the "Steel Frame" for increased pay and allowances your note:—"Indian affairs in the House of Lords" has been very timely—specially in view of the subsequent debate in the Legislative Assembly on the Lee Commission's Report. This demand of the services was, no doubt, whetted by the famous speech of Mr. Lloyd George, who said that the "Steel Frame" was necessary to maintain the British character of the administration and that the British officers were serving in India at a sacrifice, for they could secure more remunerative jobs at home. As regards the first point, he must be a very "brassy" man who could press this claim after the ugly disclosures of the Munitions-Board affair: We have seen how Englishmen placed in high position with big salaries prostituted their high trust for lucre and at a time when their king and country were in danger. It is said that even some members of the "Heaven-born Service" were involved in this dirty business. As regards the second point, *viz.* that British officers were serving in India at a sacrifice and that they could find better jobs at home, the light thrown by the Russel Divorce suit exposed the hollowness of this boast; for, it came to light that the Hon'ble Mr. Russel, eldest son of Lord Amptill, and an ex-officer of the British Navy, was employed in Messrs. Vickers' on a salary of £250 rising to £300 per annum. Converted into Indian currency, the monthly salary of this heir-apparent of a noble Lord and perhaps a prospective Governor of an Indian

Province is  $(250 \times 15 \div 12 =)$  Rs. 312-8-0, *i.e.*, a few rupees more than the pay of an Inspector of Police in Bengal!

\* \* \*

Sir A. Muddiman sought to create an impression in the Assembly by stating that 324 British officers have prematurely retired (of course on proportionate pension) dissatisfied with their existing emoluments. It will be interesting to know what these gentlemen are now doing and what their present income over and above their Indian pension is; and how many of them would be only too glad to come back into their cast-off shoes. Does Sir Alexander know that even Indians in Subordinate Services asked for this privilege of retiring on proportionate pension and that hundreds of them would retire if the same concession is granted to them also? Men, in the prime of their life, would not be wanting anywhere in the world to seek "fresh fields and pastures new" if they could be assured of a fixed income at their back for even just keeping body and soul together. No wonder that only 324 officers—the majority of whom are probably Police officers who are not credited with a sharp intellect—deceived by the Sydenham gang's dinning into their ears that better jobs awaited them at home and lured by the concession of the proportionate pension, kicked at their jobs and went home, in most cases to grow wiser! One would think that 600 applicants comprising men of high calibre for 11 vacancies in the I. P. S. knocked the bottom out of this notorious gang's wails that the right sort of men were not coming out to India owing to the unattractive salary.

\* \* \*

It would appear from what is being said and written about the "difficulties" of the services as if there has been no substantial improvement in their material condition since the war. The unwary public do not know how things have been manipulated: In addition to substantial increments of pay on the time scale, an 'overseas allowance' of Rs. 150-200 was granted in 1919 as a result of the Islington Commission's recommendations. This allowance was later raised to Rs. 200-250 per month; and later on again the name "Overseas allowance" was changed to "Overseas PAY". This innocent-looking change of name has certainly a meaning and the Accountants-General's offices can tell you what increased burden this economy of 6 letters has imposed upon the Indian taxpayer. Then again, the ignorant public did

not take heed of a notification in the official gazettes some months ago that I. C. S. officers are no longer to contribute 4 per cent. of their salary as in the past, for family pension and that this contribution would now be made by Government: This concession has been given retrospective effect to from 1919.

\* \* \*

*The Hindustan Review* has spotted the right place where the shoe pinches the services when it says:—

"So the necessity of increase in the emoluments is not inherent in the conditions of the services, but is demanded by the exigencies of the changed political conditions."

The British officers are after all human, call them "steel frame" or by whatever name you like. Their demand for higher salaries under the radically changed conditions of service is by no means unnatural. If you want them to swallow the bitter pill of loss of dignity and prestige it is unreasonable to refuse them a little more sugar to capsize that pill. How many of us would consent to serve under and salaam Haru Bagdi or Kalu Pod unless the job is made sufficiently attractive pecuniarily. Imagine for a moment the feelings of Mr. Emerson—who some years ago came down upon Sir (then Babu) Surendra Nath Banerjee for the impertinence of sitting in a chair in his presence, and made the future Knight stand up—when he had to receive the same Babu as Minister with ceremony and salaams a few years later!! Conceive yourself again for a minute in the position of the host of Civilians who recently had to pay respects to a Minister, an erstwhile Deputy Magistrate who had to walk a few years ago with soft, noiseless, balanced steps and with head bent almost to let his cap drop down in order to approach the same Civilians. Can a demand for a little increase of emoluments by these officers as some recompense for this humiliation, be called unreasonable?

"Co-OPERATOR"

### Even Prisoners are Demi-gods.

In reply to a question put in the U. P. Legislative Council the Hon'ble the Home Member admitted that Indian prisoners in the Lucknow Central Jail are made to pull punkhas over the heads of European—which includes Anglo-Indian—prisoners. It would be interesting to know if Mrs. Fulham who 'finished' her husband some years ago so as to clear her way to her union with Lt. Clarke

and whose death sentence was commuted to one of imprisonment for life on the ground of her being enceinte, is an inmate of the European ward of the Lucknow Central Jail, and if the punkha pullers are prisoners of the turpitude of the Cawnpore Mill strikers!

"Co-OPERATOR".

### Communal Riots.

It used to be repeated perhaps rather too frequently or with too much insistence to be borne passively by Nemesis, which may be either a human or an unhuman deity, that there were no such communal riots in the Indian States as there were in British India. In order to confound those who said so there came riots in Gulbarga, situated in Hyderabad, ruled by H. E. H. the Nizam, and then also the riots at Shah Hamadan in Kashmir, ruled by a Hindu Prince. The latter have not drawn as much public attention as they would have done if there had not recently been the much more serious riots at Gulbarga, Delhi, Lucknow, Kohat, etc. Nevertheless the fact deserves to be noticed that Nemesis has left no loophole for those who used to lay stress on the superiority of the Indian States in the matter of the absence or rarity of communal fights;—for there have been recently riots both in a state ruled by a Moslem prince and in a state ruled by a Hindu prince. The suspicion that there may have been some sort of wirepulling behind the scenes may or may not be unfounded. If there has been any wirepulling, it would be difficult to say who held the strings. Is it at all probable that there were some foreigners who wanted to say: "Look here; you suspect that we have something to do with communal fights in British territory. But here in Native territory also, where we are not responsible for anything, you have the same sort of thing?" Supposing any one were to argue thus, the reply would be that foreign influence was felt in the Indian States also and there were those in the Indian States who were ready to be used as tools of the foreigners. There is, moreover, a different kind of answer, too. If it be admitted that communal riots occur in Indian states without Europeans having anything to do with them, it has also to be admitted that they are quelled and dealt with by the Indian princes themselves without the good offices of the suzerain European power. So if the "Steel Frame" be not necessary in the Indian States



for suppressing riots, it would also not be necessary in British India.

We use the words "quelling" and "suppressing" instead of "preventing" advisedly. For with whatever desire for such prevention we may credit the "European" services, it is notorious that they have failed to prevent riots. Even those riots which, there is evidence to believe, took place after extensive preparations, failed to be dealt with promptly. How is it that the C. I. D. which ferrets out political "crime" in impossible places does not usually have any inkling of the intentions of educated and uneducated *goondas*?

It is related in the Mahabharata that Koli, the evil-minded god, could not enter the body of King Nala and make him go wrong so long as he was pure;—he did so when the king became impure. So even assuming that some Europeans foment quarrels between the followers of different creeds in India, it must be admitted that they succeed in doing so only because there exist among us much foolishness and fanaticism, unfounded pride and prejudice, and hatred and selfishness. So the blame must ultimately be laid upon us.

It may have been accidental or it may not that some of the most deplorable, bloody and devastating riots in recent years have synchronized with the discussion of the Lee commission Report in the Press and the Legislature. The coincidence could not fail to be noted. It is also noteworthy that though generally communal riots take place on the occasions of some religious festivals like the Bakr-id, some of the recent riots had no such origin. On the supposition that the riots were meant to prove something, they may be used to prove either that if the Steel Frame were not in India things would have been much worse, or that if it were not in India things would not have been so bad. Suppositions in either direction are not of much value. If we look to history for light, we find in Walter Hamilton's East India Gazetteer that during the first period of the East India Company's rule, the relations between Hindus and Moslems were cordial. In the pre-British period of Indian history, there were wars between Hindus and Moslems as well as between Hindus and Hindus and Moslems and Moslems. But we should like to know from historians whether in times of peace there were communal riots like those that occur frequently in our day. But as in those days the conditions were different, a knowledge of history may not help us much. Digressions apart, let us

confine ourselves to the existence of the Steel Frame. What is important is that even if the Steel Frame does possess some protective value, we must get ready to do without its dehumanizing, devitalizing and humiliating protection.

### How Different Communities Look on India.

While not despising any temporary make-shifts to bring about cordial relations between Hindus and Muslims, we think a better and a more lasting remedy lies in producing a common attitude towards India and all that relates to it and a common outlook, though, of course, we do not mean to say that this is the only remedy. To achieve this object, it will not do to wait for the day when all India may have one religion, one creed, without any sectarian differences. Our belief is that India will never have one common creed though we believe that more and more men's minds will be drawn to the fundamental unifying element in all faiths, and that therefore, efforts should be made unceasingly to concentrate men's minds on this element. But conceding for the moment that it may have one creed at some time, that time must be very distant. We cannot and need not wait for that day. To produce a common attitude towards India and a common outlook, interchange and community of culture may be effective to some extent. More Hindus should be imbued with Islamic culture than at present and more Muslims should be imbued with indigenous Indian culture, particularly ancient Indian culture, than at present. Owing to circumstances on which we need not dwell at present, more Hindus study Persian and a few Arabic than the number of Muslims who study Sanskrit and Pali. When we were connected with a Hindu college in Allahabad, we found more of its students took up Persian as their classical language than Sanskrit. But a still greater number of Hindus ought to have an intimate knowledge of Islamic culture. It may not be possible for all or many to learn Persian and Arabic or Sanskrit and Pali; but translations can go a great way to get acquainted with the culture that we wish to be familiar with. Let us confine our attention for the present to the case of the Moslems of India.

In what we are going to say, we have not the least desire to give offence to our Muslim brethren. Our aim is the common welfare

of us all. Still if we offend unconsciously, we beg pardon beforehand.

The majority of Indian Muslims are descended from Indian converts; that is to say, they are not descended from the Arabs, the Afghans, the Persians and the Mughals who came to India as conquerors or in the train of conquerors. Yet many Indian Moslems as soon as they become self-conscious, appear to think that they at one time conquered the Hindus and consequently begin to despise them as their erstwhile slaves. Consequently they look down upon or are indifferent to Hindu culture also. This is not a correct attitude. Indian Christians profess the same religion as the British rulers of India. But they have the good sense not to pose as conquerors and masters of India, nor to despise ancient Indian culture.

Even if the majority of Indian Muslims were the descendants of conquering Moslems that would not be a justification for them to look down upon the Hindu and what pertains to the Hindus, for at present they are fellow-slaves with the Hindus. The descendants of the Danish and Norman conquerors of England do not look down upon the general-ity of Englishmen as the offspring of their former slaves and similarly upon British culture.

We have heard even educated Bengalis use the word Bengali to mean only the Hindu natives of Bengal; as if Musalman Bengalis were not also Bengalis. The fact of course, is that at present Bengalis are more a Musalman people than a Hindu people. Educated non-Muslims must think of Musalmans as their fellow-countrymen even though the latter may erroneously claim to be more closely connected with the Turks and the Arabs than with Indians. This is by the way.

It is true that Indians are at present a subject people, and the Turks, Afghans and some other Musalmans are independent; and therefore, it may be a prouder and more consoling thought for an Indian Muslim to claim kinship or connection with foreign Muslims and their culture than with Indian non-Muslims and their culture. But let us see how educated Indian Christians feel and behave. They know that Indians are a subject people and that fellow-Christians abroad of the Anglican, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, American Methodist and other Churches are independent. But do the Indian Christians, therefore, claim greater racial or cultural kinship or evince greater political sympathy with Englishmen, Italians, Germans,

Americans, etc., than with non-Christian Indians? They do not.

It is true that Islam ensures greater social democracy in a certain sense than Christianity, and that there is no colour distinction in Islam. But we are here speaking of politics. There has never been greater political unity and fraternity among Moslem countries than among Christian and Hindu countries. Muslim countries and peoples have fought against one another as frequently and bitterly as Christian countries and peoples. And it cannot be said that Indian Musalmans have received from foreign Musalmans, *e.g.*, Afghans and Turks, any particular consideration and respect because of their faith. Did the Indian *mahajarins* receive very respectful, loving or considerate treatment in Afghanistan? Did the Turks of Angora treat the telegrams and letters of the Central Khilafat Committee of India with due consideration? When a long telegram was sent to Ghazi Kemal Pasha in reply to his telegraphic explanation of the reasons for the abolition of the Caliphate in Turkey, he did not even acknowledge or answer it. He even expressed the opinion that, though Indian Muslims have talked, they have not made sacrifices or fought for the Turks; but that rather, on the contrary, they have fought against the Turks. More recently thousands of Moslem pilgrims have died in Arabia of thirst, etc., owing to the carelessness of a Moslem sovereign.

Common sense is a saving virtue; religious bigotry is not. Englishmen, whether Protestants or Roman Catholics, know, that though they are Christians, they are natives of England, which is their home. Neither Protestants nor Roman Catholics have greater attachment to Palestine than to England. English Roman Catholics do not feel that they are even the least bit more citizens of Rome than of Britain; in fact they do not feel that politically they have anything to do at all with Italy, except, of course, as every man may in his cosmopolitan mood consider himself a citizen of the world.

Christians in the independent countries of the world no doubt owe their religion at the last resort to Palestine. But in every country this religion has been adapted to and harmonized with the national genius and temperament. And every country has its distinctive culture, though all national cultures are organically connected with one another, constituting one culture for mankind. Every independent Christian country, while not repudiating the religion which it has derived from

abroad, is deeply attached to and proud of its national culture and civilisation as a priceless heritage.

There are Buddhists in China and Japan. They got their religion from India, but adapted it to their national genius. The Chinese and the Japanese have due regard for India; but they naturally and quite rightly feel that they are more akin even to the non-Buddhist Chinese and Japanese than to Indians. And they are deeply attached to and proud of the distinctive culture and civilisation of China and Japan. Such is the case with the Musalmans, too, of China and Japan. Their relations with their countrymen of other faiths are cordial, though they are deeply attached to Islam.

In the case of the Indian Musalmans we do not find that they have evolved a form of Islam adapted to India, as the Christian peoples of the West have developed forms of Christianity suited to them. Islam has many sects but no Indian form of Muhammadanism. Nor do we find among Indian Moslems the same attitude towards India which we find among European Christians towards their respective countries. A few examples will suffice to explain our meaning. Modern Greeks are Christians. The ancient Greeks were "pagans", not Christians. But the modern Greeks, without renouncing Christianity, claim all the cultural achievements of their ancestors as their heritage and study classical Greek literature, art, philosophy, etc. The modern Italians are Christians, which their ancient ancestors were not. But the modern Italians do not think it inconsistent with their Christianity to claim Latin Literature and all the achievements of the ancient Romans as their own priceless heritage. They are devoted to the cultivation of classical Roman literature, along with other branches of learning.

Chinese and Japanese Buddhists and Musalmans do not value the ancient civilization and cultural achievements of their ancestors the less, because their religion was derived from India and Arabia respectively.

But Indian Musalmans do not claim the civilization and cultural achievements of ancient India as their heritage. That this ancient civilization and culture of India is valuable, has been acknowledged by foreigners who are not Hindus. What is still more significant is that the Muhammadan Arabs of former days made their own what they found precious in the arts and sciences of the

ancient Hindus. Even many of the Musalman monarchs and princes of India valued her ancient literature, etc., and got Persian translations made of valuable Sanskrit works.

We do not at all suggest that Indian Musalmans should not pay attention to Arabian and Persian literature, etc.; what we mean is that Indian arts and sciences, Indian literature and culture, etc., are *at least* as much the heritage of the vast majority of Indian Musalmans as Arabic and Persian literature, etc. It would be nearer the truth to say that Indian culture is more theirs than the culture of any other country. Nay, during many previous centuries their ancestors made very valuable contributions to Indian culture. Indian music, Indian painting Indian architecture and many other arts and crafts are the result of the efforts of both Hindus and Moslems.

Indian Christians have begun to claim the past achievements of the ancient Indians as their heritage equally with other Indians. "The Heritage of India" series, though partly the out-come of a propagandist motive, is an indirect proof of our assertion. The proceedings of some of the recent annual Indian Christian conferences have also shown increasingly Swadeshi tendencies in many desirable directions.

In all that we have said above we have not forgotten that in foreign countries fusion by intermarriage between persons of different stocks and creeds has been a factor of unity. Let us strive for unity in spite of the absence of that factor.

(This Note is in part adapted from what we wrote in *Welfare*.)

The suggestion that Hindus should have a knowledge of Islamic culture and Moslems a knowledge of ancient and medieval Indian culture, requires, as a preliminary, for its carrying out that there should be an extensive spread of education. That would require years. But our view is that, though we are not in the least opposed to, our unappreciative of, any and every means or method that may be devised to place Hindu-Moslem relations on a more cordial basis, the full development of normal relations between the communities must necessarily be the result of a slow process and, as such, must take a long time. The evil has taken a long time to grow, and cannot be expected to disappear suddenly.

### A United Congress.

Mahatma Gandhi's proposals for bringing



about unity in the country and the Congress were published in *Young India* of September 11 last. They have been summarised by *The Indian Social Reformer* thus :—

(1) That Congress should suspend all the boycotts except that of foreign cloth during the session of 1925. (2) The Congress should, subject to (1), remove the boycott of Empire goods. (3) The Congress should confine its activities solely to the propaganda of hand-spinning and hand-spun Khaddar, the achievement of Hindu-Muslim unity and, in addition, its Hindu members' activity to the removal of untouchability. (4) The Congress should carry on the existing national educational institutions; and, if possible, open more and keep them independent of Government control or influence. (5) The four anna franchise should be abolished, and in its place the qualification for membership should be spinning by every member for half an hour per day and delivery to the Congress from month to month at least 2000 yards of self-spun yarn, cotton being supplied where the member is too poor to afford it. Mahatmaji explains that the implications of his proposals are that (a) the Swarajists should be free to organise themselves without any opposition from the Congress or the No-Changers; (b) the members of other political bodies should be invited and induced to join the Congress; (c) the No-Changers should be precluded from carrying on any propaganda either direct or indirect against council-entry and (d) those who do not personally believe in any of the four boycotts, will be free, without any disgrace whatsoever, to act as if they did not exist. Thus, non-co-operating lawyers will be free to resume practice if they chose and title-holders, school-masters etc., will be free to join the Congress and be eligible to the executive. "This scheme", adds Mahatmaji, "enables all the political parties to work unitedly for the internal development. The Congress presents a suitable opportunity for a conference of all political bodies within and outside the Congress to frame a Swaraj scheme acceptable to all and for presentation to the Government. A Swaraj scheme for the sake of ourselves is a necessity. I am in this matter a complete convert to Babu Bhagwandas's view. I would, therefore, join in such a conference if my presence was required and assist at framing this scheme."

It will appear from this summary that for the time being the Indian National Congress, which has been hitherto mainly and directly a political association, would cease to have anything to do with politics directly. It will indeed present "a suitable opportunity for a conference of all political bodies within and outside the Congress to frame a swaraj scheme acceptable to all and for presentation to Government." But that could scarcely be said to give the Congress a political character. During the greater part of the life of the Congress, its sessions have presented a suitable opportunity to all Indian social reformers to hold the Indian National Social Conference in the Congress Pandal; but that did not make the Congress a social reform association.

It is also true that the constructive programme outlined above is calculated to result in important changes which when produced would certainly make the work of political regeneration of the country easier than it is at present. But that is exactly what may be and has been claimed for the work of the Indian National Social Conference also. Nevertheless, the latter body has never been taken to be a political one.

But we do not, of course, suggest that a body must necessarily cease to be important by ceasing to be directly political for a time. Let us by all means have unity for the time being on a basis which is not directly political. But let us clearly understand what this unity signifies.

As regards suspending all the boycotts except that of foreign cloth during or rather until the end of the Congress session of 1925, there is no *real* change involved in abolishing boycotts which have already practically ceased to exist except in name. However much we may regret the fact, it cannot be blinked that until and unless there is an adequate supply of Khaddar and of Indian mill-made cloth at prices within the reach of the poor, even the boycott of foreign cloth will remain inoperative, as it practically is at present. Even when the Mahatma's influence was at its highest, the Marwari cloth dealers and others who took the dust of his feet did not cease to sell and wear foreign cloth. Our words are not meant to throw cold water on any one's spirit of sacrifice in adhering to the use of Khaddar whatever the price may be; what we mean is that it gives an air of unreality and of mere bluff to declare repeatedly boycotts which are not observed in practice. This makes us lose our national self-respect and results in decrease of enthusiasm and of confidence in the ability of our nation to carry out any resolve. For this practical reason which is supported by our experience of all the boycotts declared since the days of the Bengal Partition, we are against the declaration of any fresh boycott or the re-affirmation or ratification of any old one. It is far better to try to promote the production, sale and use of country-made goods of all descriptions to the best of our ability. There is also a moral and spiritual difference between the promotion of Swadeshi and the discarding of what is foreign. It is better to emphasise the love of what is produced in a poor and needy country like India by our sisters and brothers, than

to promote any dislike or hatred of what is produced abroad, even though some of these producing countries may have used unjust and unrighteous methods for exploiting India and for the destruction of her industries. Moreover, the boycott propaganda often degenerates into pseudo-religiosity, leading orthodox Hindus and orthodox Moslems to declare foreign cloth unclean, impure, untouchable (*ashuchi, haram, asprishya*). We have suffered more than enough for our notions of untouchability and need not create any new category of untouchable or unclean things. We have often wondered why foreign cloth alone should be unclean, and not foreign paper, foreign printing machinery, foreign English books on algebra, arithmetic, English grammar, etc., and even the foreign English language itself.

We have more than once dwelt on the economic value of hand-spinning and hand-weaving; we have said that as whatever gives us confidence in our ability to achieve something important must necessarily embolden us and increase our zeal to attain Swaraj, so our ability to clothe ourselves would contribute indirectly to the attainment of Swaraj; we have also said that the use of Khaddar by all classes of people even at a sacrifice may create a bond of sympathy and be a practical demonstration of that sympathy between those who produce the yarn and the cloth and those who use them. Nevertheless, we think that to make hand-spinning an indispensable condition of membership of the Congress would practically limit the membership of that body to a small minority of the people and of even politically minded Indians. When Mahatma Gandhi's influence was at its highest even many very prominent non-co-operators did not themselves spin while urging others to do so. There is, of course, nothing morally wrong in spinning. But we do not see why those who do not attach the same importance to it as the Mahatma does, should be obliged to qualify for membership of Congress by a mere mechanical compliance with a rule, or simply to please the Mahatma. We doubt whether a mechanical compliance with any rule or requirement can have an elevating effect on the human character;—we have rather the apprehension that it may have an undesirable effect. We are reminded in this connection of a proverbial phrase and a story current in Bisuapur, the erstwhile capital of the Kingdom of Mallabhum. There was a King of that region named Gopal Singh who

was a great Vaishnava. In his great zeal he made it obligatory on all his subjects to repeat the name of Hari (a name of the god Vishnu) a certain number of times every day, counting the number on a rosary. In consequence, in course of time they came to refer in a spirit of levity to the chanting of the name of Hari as *Gopal Singher begar*, the task imposed by Gopal Singh. As we have always been accustomed to think and speak of hand-spinning seriously, we do not like the prospect of its ever degenerating into *Mahatma Gandhi's begar*, the task imposed by Mahatma Gandhi.

We look upon the achievement of Hindu-Moslem unity and the removal of untouchability as essentially necessary for national unity. Nay more, they are necessary to establish our claim to be spoken of as a civilised human beings in the full connotation of that expression.

As for national educational institutions, we do not think it would be either right or practicable to conduct educational institutions as part of a mere political propaganda. If any persons or body of persons feel that their *vocation* is education, if they feel called to educate, and if they know of a better way of educating than that in vogue in the schools and colleges recognised by Government, by all means let them start and conduct their own institutions. But "national educational institutions" which are a bye-product of political sensation-mongering and are conducted by men who are first and foremost political agitators and educators only in a very subsidiary sense are not wanted and cannot but be ephemeral. And by way of making a practical suggestion we may say that if independent educationalists start institutions for imparting such training as will enable the students to earn a living without seeking Government patronage directly or indirectly, they may succeed in their efforts. Such an institution is the Bengal Technical Institute.

Among the implications of Mr. Gandhi's proposals, it seems to us that the one which precludes No-changers from carrying on any propaganda either direct or indirect against council-entry, gives them less liberty of action than is accorded to the members of any other political body. We suppose pro-council men would be at liberty to expose the weakness, as they think, of the opinions of the No-changer. If so, it would be hard for

the latter to be deprived of even the right of self-defence.

We have urged more than once in this as well as our Bengali review that all parties should unite to produce and present a Swaraj scheme as the minimum demand of them all, each party being in addition left to win more political and civic rights by their own independent efforts if they choose and can. We are glad, Mr. Gandhi's proposals provide for such united work.

Having made some observations on what the proposals embody, we wish to point out what it has left out. We have already written on this subject in our Bengali review. What has hitherto been accepted as the constructive programme of the Congress, included a fight against the drink and drugs traffic and the habit of using alcoholic liquors, opium, etc., for purposes of intoxication. In our last April number we pointed out the importance of this item of the programme. Let us do so again in a different manner.

The consumption of alcoholic liquors and drugs like opium, etc., for any but medicinal purposes is physically, intellectually, morally and spiritually injurious. This cannot be said of the use of foreign cloth. It may not doct be argued that the purchase of foreign cloth leads to the drain of wealth from India and its impoverishment. The consequent poverty causes injury to body and mind. Therefore, the use of foreign cloth may thus be considered to be an indirect cause of physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual deterioration. But we are not speaking of this kind of indirect harm. We are concerned here with the direct injury caused by the non-medicinal consumption of liquor, opium, etc. Moreover, as regards the indirect injury done to our people by the use of foreign cloth through causing poverty, this sort of indirect injury is caused by the consumption of liquor, opium, etc., too ; for this also causes poverty, and poverty causes physical and moral degeneration. So whilst the use of foreign cloth is indirectly harmful, the consumption of liquors and narcotic drugs is both directly and indirectly deleterious. Hence, the Congress ought to declare and carry on a vigorous crusade against the latter.

Turning to the economic aspect of the use of foreign cloth and of intoxicants, we find that the advocates of Swadeshi cloth put down our loss by the purchase of foreign cloth at sixty crores of rupees per annum.

We have not examined the correctness of this figure, but let us take its accuracy for granted.

Now, in 1920-21, the excise revenue realised by Government from the Indian Empire was Rs. 20, 43, 65, 359. In 1911-12 it was Rs. 11, 41, 46, 285. So in ten years it had almost doubled itself. During the last three years, there have been further increases, so that the Indian excise revenue may be said now to stand at twenty-five crores of rupees per annum. But though Government gets twenty-five crores, the purchasers pay much more. It would not therefore, be an overestimate to say that this section of the public wastes one hundred crores of rupees per annum on drink and drugs. This is a greater economic loss than that caused by the use of foreign cloth. But it is not the whole economic loss. The effects of drink and drugs decrease the wealth-producing power of the users. Their shortened lives inflict further economic loss on the nation. Moreover, as on account of this wasteful expenditure, their wives and children do not get proper food, clothing, housing and education, they cannot become as efficient producers as otherwise they could have become.

These are our reasons for urging the re-inclusion of the fight against drink and drugs in the constructive programme of the Congress, a crusade in which Hindus and Moslems can equally take part.

### Circulations of Some Foreign Magazines and Periodicals.

Ordinary people in India stand aghast at the success of any paper if they hear that its circulation has reached five figures, but the following lists will show how far India lags behind other progressive countries in this respect:—

#### CIRCULATIONS OF AMERICAN MAGAZINES.

*The Young Citizen* gives the circulations of the ten largest American magazines as follows:—

<i>The Saturday Evening Post</i>	21,00,098
<i>The Ladies' Home Journal</i>	17,99,002
<i>The Pictorial Review</i>	17,65,430
<i>The American Magazine</i>	16,04,433
<i>The Woman's Home Companion</i>	14,67,509
<i>The Cosmopolitan</i>	9,83,390
<i>The Literary Digest</i>	9,00,000
<i>The Country Gentleman</i>	7,64,700



*The National Geographic Magazine* 7,34,284  
*The Red Book Magazine* 7,33,576

Recently Osaka *Mainichi* celebrated with races, balloons, and fireworks the attainment of one million circulation. *Asahi*, also published in that industrial centre, claims more than a million subscribers, and the *Shufu no. Tome*, or 'The Housewife's Friend,' reaches more readers than either of its competitors. The two former papers are keen rivals. They are said to be the only journals in Japan that have used airplanes for gathering news. *Asahi* is a shade the more cautious and conservative, but both papers show a tendency to shift from radicalism to moderation, or even conservatism, as their circle of readers extends.

The Advertiser's A. B. C. for 1924 contains the following list of some English papers:—

<i>The Times</i>	791866
<i>News of the World</i>	3000000
<i>Daily Herald</i>	200000
<i>Daily Mirror</i>	1002882
<i>Daily Chronicle</i>	1000000
<i>John Bull</i>	716255
<i>Autocar</i>	41352
<i>Punch</i>	1000000
<i>Picture Show</i>	268380
<i>Answers</i>	478621
<i>Boys' Magazine</i>	204351
<i>Boys' Own Paper</i>	36000
<i>Colour</i>	8635
<i>Good House-Keeping</i>	144479
<i>My Magazine</i>	109101
<i>Sunday at Home</i>	20000
<i>Illustrated Dress-Maker</i>	613612
<i>Ladies' Journal</i>	442631
<i>Sport Times</i>	58961
<i>British Weekly</i>	80000

A. G.

### Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

Geneva, Sep. 23.

The Assembly of the League has unanimously adopted the Committees recommendation in favour of having the proposed Institute of Intellectual Co-operation based at Paris despite the opposition of the Australian Labour leader Mr. Charlton, who contended that Geneva and Paris should be the seat of the Institute, otherwise the Institute would depend partly upon the French Parliament and not on the League.

Sir Mahomed Refik expressed cordial agreement with the principles of the proposed organisation. He hoped that the Indian culture would spread

and there would be more co-operation between the East and West.

Sir Mahomed Refik said if the French offer was unacceptable, necessary funds must be provided for from other sources, because it was necessary to maintain the intellectual movement.

He expressed opinion that the Committee of Intellectual co-operation would be an instrument of fusion of the Eastern and Western culture.—  
 "Reuter"

To understand this telegram it is necessary to know what had taken place before. We read in the Monthly Summary of the League of Nations, July 1924, that during the Fourth Plenary Session of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation held at Geneva from July 25th to 29th under the chairmanship of M. Bergson,

The chairman read a letter from Mr. Francois Albert, French Minister of Education and Fine Arts, in response to the recent appeal to the public on behalf of international intellectual co-operation.

The letter emphasised the great importance of the work of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, not only for scientific, literary and artistic circles, but for the whole human race. It drew attention to the fact that hitherto the Committee had to confine itself to suggestions, as it had not had at its disposal the means of completing the study of the individual schemes and of putting them into execution.

It was for these reasons that the Minister, on behalf of the French Government, and expressing the conviction that in this matter he voiced the views of the French people, stated his willingness to offer the Committee the material means of transforming its plans into definite action.

Mr. Francois Albert said that in 1905, the Italian Government had offered to set up at Rome the International Institute of Agriculture, which, since that time, had been working under the authority of the representatives of the various countries. The French Government was desirous of setting up at Paris the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. Through the intermediary of the League of Nations, it desired to offer the funds and premises necessary for the foundation and the working of this organisation.

The Minister added that the French Government would be very glad to prove in this definite and practical manner its deep attachment to the principles of the League and its fervent desire to contribute with and through the League to the peace of the world.

The Minister had therefore requested Mr. Bergson as the French member of the Committee, to prepare in collaboration with the Committee, a scheme for the organisation of an International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to be the executive agent of the Committee. On the basis of this plan, the French Government would draw up proposals which it would submit later to the Council of the League, and which would also require the assent of the French Parliament.

The Committee decided to send the French Minister of Education the following telegram.

"The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation welcomes with deep gratitude the

French Government's proposal which, if accepted by the Council of the League of Nations, will make it possible to carry out a methodical and practical scheme of intellectual co-operation between the nations. The Committee begs the French Minister of Education to accept its congratulations and thanks."

### The Tarakeswar Settlement.

The Tarakeswar settlement cannot be considered satisfactory in any respect. The Satyagrahis came from many districts of Bengal, funds for carrying on Satyagraha also came from many districts of Bengal. Hundreds of persons went to jail and suffered in other ways for placing the temple and properties under such management as would ensure purity and absence of oppression on pilgrims. But the settlement has been arrived at without previous consultation with the Bengali public or even with the Satyagrahis. They were thought good enough to suffer and to pay but not worth consulting beforehand. After the conclusion of the negotiations between the Mohunt and Mr. C. R. Das and the acceptance of the terms of settlement by both parties, Mr. Das is, of course, getting them approved at "public" meetings, about the proceedings of which the reports vary very widely. For any party having an unscrupulous and rowdy element at its back, to get such a proval would be easy enough.

Satis Giri, the old Mohunt, is replaced by his relative and *chela* Prabhat Giri, who had been formerly described by *Forward*, Mr. Das's paper and other papers as a man who was by his character quite unfit to be Mohunt. Even the Anglo-Indian papers which were against the Satyagraha held Prabhat Giri responsible for the shooting of Satyagrahis. Mr. Das now says that what had appeared editorially in *Forward* against Prabhat Giri was written and published without his knowledge. This is a very slippery way of conducting a paper. That many things appear in a daily paper without their having been previously read by the editor is well known. But for an editor to disclaim responsibility even for editorials is only—Das-like. If Mr. Das is to be believed, his paper libelled Prabhat Giri without his editorial approval. Why then did he not make the *amende honorable* to that injured person soon after the libels had appeared in his paper? To repudiate these statements now after his critics have flung them at his face is not a certificate of his veracity.

Satis Giri was a Sannyasi, though only in name. A Sannyasi as such cannot have private property. And, not being the son or heir of any rich man, he did not inherit any estate. Whatever he claims as his private property was purchased from temple receipts and exactions and interests accruing therefrom. Therefore, all that he claims as his private property is really temple property.

Prabhat Giri as a Sannyasi cannot possibly require an income of more than Rs. 300 per annum for his maintenance. But an income a hundred times as large has been placed at his disposal. That shows how austere and ascetic a life he is expected to lead. No doubt the richer he is, the more unfailling would be the means of replenishing the Swarajya party funds. For he has been placed under the tutelage of a Committee which is practically Mr. C. R. Das writ large. A busy man like Mr. Das who cannot, according to his own statement, prevent libels appearing editorially in his own paper, who is Mayor of the second city in the British Empire, and is besides the leader of a big party which is never free from anxieties regarding sinews and methods of war, cannot possibly have either enough leisure or sufficient disinterestedness to be the head and controlling spirit of such a Committee. It is certain, too, that some persons were named as members without their permission having been previously obtained. Babu Brajendra Kisor Ray Chowdhury has already declined membership.

A sort of appeal court has been constituted, consisting of Mr. C. R. Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya, who are all very busy men, as if persons capable of doing such work could not be found in Bengal. The two pandits are thought to possess abundant leisure and full knowledge of conditions in Bengal in general and Tarakeswar in particular, and hence they were considered fittest to be associated with Mr. Das!

### Party Funds and Legislative and Other Duties.

It appears from some pronouncements proceeding from the Swarajya party that it was quite willing to accept contributions to its funds from big firms and had asked or would ask such firms for such contributions in consideration of work done or to be done by the

party in the Legislature resulting in advantage to capitalists. All members of councils are expected to do disinterested work. They are not like muktears, pleaders, vakils or barristers who advocate the cause of any party for a consideration. Do the leaders of the Swarajya party think that they can be retained by capitalists as their advocates in the Legislative Assembly, the fee being paid in the shape of contributions to the Swarajya party funds? Already there have been conflicts between capital and labour, and between peasants and farmers and land-holders. With the progressive industrialisation of India and with the inauguration of a definite movement for creating peasant-proprietorship, the conflict is sure to spread and intensify. If the Swarajya party or any other party in the ascendant sells its advocacy to the highest bidder, the labourers and peasants are sure to go to the wall.

Under the circumstances it must be food for laughter to the gods that Mr. C. R. Das should have repeatedly declared in effect that if middle-class men came into power in India under a system of parliamentary government, that would not be a realization of his ideal of Swaraj—he must have Swaraj of the people, evidently meaning skilled and unskilled labourers of all sorts including peasants!

It may be incidentally observed that the Tarakeswar Appeal Court consists of three persons two of whom are leaders of the Swarajya party, and the court is, when necessary, to sit in judgment over a rich Mohunt, who will always find it to his interest to make contributions to that party's funds.

Mr. C. R. Das is a quick-change artist of no mean talent. But can he fool the people all the time?

### “The Behar Herald”.

Thanks to the prevalence of poverty and of endemic and epidemic diseases, India is not a country famous for human longevity. And the longevity of newspapers is still more rarely met with. In such a country, and particularly in a backward province like Behar, it is certainly a matter for congratulation that *The Behar Herald* has completed fifty years of its existence. It was originally started by Babu Guruprasad Sen, who was the leader of the bar in Bankipore in his day and was conducted by him with great ability. Both under his editorship and subsequently it has rendered good service to

India and Bihar. The journal has deserved to go on and will, we hope, go on with ever-increasing support and vigour,

### “The Indian Social Reformer”

*The Indian Social Reformer* has entered upon the thirty-fifth year of its existence. Since its foundation by Mr. K. Natarajan, it has been under his distinguished editorship. It is not always that a journal has a personality of its own. Mr. Natarajan's paper has always had it, the personality behind the journal being his own. It has always stood up for the principle that human life being an organic whole, reform movements in different departments of life are interdependent—a principle of which the life of Ram-mohan Roy afforded the first concrete embodiment. Mr. Natarajan has always fought against social and political injustice. We wish him and his paper a long lease of life.

### Government's Opium Policy.

On the 8th of September the Opium Policy of the Government was raised in the Legislative Assembly through a series of questions. Sir Basil P. Blackett, replying, said that the statements made ex parte by Miss La Motte and Mr. Andrews did not appear to Government to afford strong ground for a revision of the opium policy of the Government of India. Personally Sir Basil cannot be accused of being lacking in sense of humour. So perhaps it was because he was replying on behalf of Government which as a machine cannot have the saving grace of humour, that he made a statement which was the unintended cause of laughter in others. A Government which has been partisan enough to the extent of waging two bloody and unrighteous wars to force opium on China was certainly the fittest agent to accuse Miss La Motte and Mr. Andrews of making ex parte statements! But these statements, be it noted, Government has never yet been able to refute.

Sir Basil said that if Government's policy were to be reconsidered, it would have to be reconsidered in the light of ascertained facts. But there is quite a sheaf of uncontroverted ascertained facts with which the official policy does not square. Sir Basil went on:—

The primary difficulty of confining the use of opium in India to strictly medicinal purposes were



such that if a policy were decided on it would be a practical one. The number of qualified medical practitioners trained in accordance with some authoritative curriculum is so small in comparison with the population, that to restrict the use of opium and its allied products to such persons as can obtain prescriptions from qualified medical practitioners would be to deprive an overwhelming majority of the population of the use of opium as a medicine. On the other hand, to accept prescriptions from unqualified persons might merely give such persons an illegitimate source of income without doing anything effective towards restricting the consumption of opium.

Whose fault is it that the number of qualified medical practitioners in the country is so small? It is a sore trial to the patience of publicists that generally when some measure of reform or progress is advocated Government brings forward objections based on conditions for which it is entirely or mainly responsible. We cannot have self-government, because, among other reasons, we are so largely illiterate and uneducated. But who has kept us illiterate and uneducated? Of far greater importance to the people than a bloated military budget, a lavish scale of pay and allowances for the higher services, and other similar luxuries, would have been the declaration and carrying on of a campaign against disease, illiteracy, etc. But whenever such questions are raised, the public treasury is at once found to be depleted.

If the overwhelming majority of the population require and use opium as a medicine, which is not a fact, why does not Government sell it through the post office as quinine is sold? That it is not so sold, shows that Government knows that it is mostly used for non-medical purposes and is in consequence productive of harm. In England no one can get any medicinal preparation containing opium or any product of opium without a doctor's prescription, and such a prescription can be used only once. If a fresh supply is required, a fresh prescription must be produced. This shows how careful the British Government is to safeguard the physical and moral welfare of the British people. It knows that if the British people were left free to buy opium or its preparations, this liberty would be abused and they would dope themselves. But in India it is assumed that the people possess sufficient intelligence, general knowledge, medical and physiological knowledge as to diagnosis and dosage, etc., and sufficient moral control over themselves and sense of responsibility to be able to use opium or

its preparations only for medicinal purposes. This assumption of Government shows that the people of India possess more intelligence, more general, pathological, physiological and other scientific knowledge, and more self-control than Englishmen in England. Consequently, it should be evident that we are fitter for exercising civil and political freedom than Englishmen. But no; Government says we are infinitely less fit! So we are both very fit and very unfit, which is an enigma.

From the reply to another question, we learn that it has been decided to send Mr. Campbell to represent India at the international conferences to be held at Geneva in November next, and that Mr. Campbell was chosen because of his knowledge of this subject.

As Mr. Campbell has been chosen to represent India, not the bureaucracy ruling India, the representatives of the people of India in the Legislative Assembly had every right to pass a resolution by a majority of votes that they had no confidence in Mr. Campbell. It was a clear dereliction of duty on their part not to have passed such a resolution.

It was this Mr. John Campbell who wrote some months ago in *The Asiatic Review* of London:—

"India—a country where opium has been used for generations, where it is employed in every household as the medicine in most common use, where the poppy can grow almost everywhere—has been for thirty years kept down to an average consumption of 26 grains per head per annum."

On which we wrote in our last May number, page 634, "That in India opium is employed in *every* household as the medicine in *most common use*, is a statement which can be safely characterised as a *lie*." Regarding Mr. Campbell's statistical computation of an average consumption of 26 grains per head per annum, the reader is referred to our comments in the May number, page 635.

### An Economic Enquiry Committee.

The following resolution has been passed in the Legislative Assembly:—

This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council the dissolution of the present Taxation Enquiry Committee and the appointment in its place of a Committee of non-officials and experts in consultation with the leaders of the parties in the Assembly to institute a thorough enquiry into and report on the following matters

## NOTES

with power to them to make an *ad interim* report: (1) the economic condition of the various classes of the people of India, (2) their income per head, (3) their capacity to bear the existing burden of taxation (including land revenue), (4) the general resources of the country, (5) the manner in which the burden of taxation is distributed at present between the different classes of the population, (6) whether the whole scheme of taxation, Central, Provincial and Local is equitable and in accordance with the economic principles: if not in what respect it is defective, (7) on the suitability of alternate sources of taxation without increasing the present level, (8) as to the machinery required for the imposition of assessment and collection of taxes old and new and (9) on the general financial and economic effects of the proposal.

In the course of the debate, Mr. A. C. Chatterji, Industries Member of Government, said :—

As a District Officer he used to spend 200 days in a year in villages. There could be no dispute about the great poverty of the Indian people, their low standard of living, their weak physique, their lack of stamina and their retarded intelligence. He therefore, viewed the proposal for enquiry into the condition of the masses with very great sympathy and the Government of India was not opposed to it. Indeed, there was no conflict between economic and taxation enquiry. He thought the House would welcome a taxation enquiry so that the existing taxation be removed from the classes which could not bear it and put it on those who could. As for the economic enquiry they would agree that to be of real value it must spread over a large number of years. The village records would have to be gone through and so also the records of co-operative societies and other materials to understand the economic condition of the people. The question whether in past centuries India was better off economically should be left to historians and experts in research. A real economic enquiry would have to find out the circumstances which kept the condition of the masses low, whether these were social or economic, and to suggest remedies which could be applied by social administrative or legislative action. Like the Swarajists he was an optimist and he believed that the conditions could be improved but the two enquiries were separate, and the House should vote for an enquiry now under discussion.

As India is a vast country and conditions differ in different regions, the most thorough and the most expeditious means of conducting the enquiry should be considered. Would it do for the committee to split itself into smaller bodies for carrying on enquiries in different regions simultaneously and coming together again for consultation and deliberation for issuing *ad interim* reports ?

### **An Aspect of Rammohun Roy's Personality.**

On the 27th of September every year meetings are held in many towns and villages

of India to celebrate the anniversary of the death of Rammohun Roy. At these meetings speakers of different religious communities dwell on various aspects of his personality and his achievement. At the present juncture when men's thoughts are occupied with the solution of the reconciliation of religious communities and races, we are particularly reminded of the fact that Rammohun Roy had studied with reverence and critical appreciation the scriptures of the Hindus, the Jews, the Christians and the Moslems, had sought to know Buddhism in the Buddhist country of Tibet, and had become so imbued with the highest Hindu, Christian and Islamic cultures that different communities have claimed him as their own in spirit. Would that there were leaders of his character, culture and calibre in our midst !

Asked,

"What is your opinion of the judicial character and conduct of the Hindu and Mohammedan lawyers attached to the courts ?"

he, a Hindu who always gloried in the Hindu name, replied :—

"Amongst the Mohammedan lawyers I have met with some honest men. The Hindu lawyers are in general not well spoken of, and they do not enjoy much of the confidence of the public."

He gave this reply, because it represented the fact in his days.

### **Bill for Repealing Criminal Law Amendment Act.**

Dr. H. S. Gour's bill for the repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act has been quite rightly passed by the Legislative Assembly. This Act empowered Government to declare any association unlawful and to arrest its members. It was by using such power that Congress volunteers were declared members of an unlawful association, arrested and sent to jail. Though Government has still enough repressive weapons left in its hands, let us see what Lord Reading does.

### **Lord Lytton's Second Letter to Rabindranath.**

We have no desire to prolong the discussion of Lord Lytton's Dacca speech. But we are constrained by a sense of journalistic duty to observe that Rabindranath's second letter to him contained a distinct challenge to produce evidence to show that

even in a single case Indian men and Indian women had behaved in the disgraceful manner alleged by him. His lordship has not accepted the challenge, from which people will draw their own conclusions.

### The Cotton Excise Duty.

A resolution has been carried in the Legislative Assembly in favour of abolishing the excise duty on cotton goods produced in India. It was imposed at the behest of Lancashire, as a countervailing tax, in order that Indian goods might not be able to compete with Lancashire manufactures;—it was not originally imposed only for purposes of revenue, though all taxes must necessarily bring in some revenue. It was a wicked and unrighteous tax, and ought to have been abolished long ago. That the Assembly has been able to do the right thing even so late is a feather in its cap.

From the Government benches a sort of temptation was held out to the non-official members to induce them to refrain from voting for the abolition of the cotton duty. It was said that if the Finance member found himself in a position to do without a part of the revenues equivalent to the proceeds of the cotton excise duty, he would reduce the provincial contributions to the Central Government's coffers to that extent. But if the cotton duty was abolished, the provincial contributions could not be reduced.

Supposing in the Middle Ages in some European country a feudal chief had told his feudal tenants, "If you do not object to my levying blackmail on the weavers who produce cloth in some of the villages included in my estates, I will reduce the amount of my exactions from you. But if you will not allow me to levy blackmail on the weavers, my exactions must remain as they are": what opinion would be pronounced on such an offer by modern moralists?

It was also said from the Government benches that if the cotton duty were taken off, the mill-owning capitalists would pocket the additional profits equivalent to what they had to pay before in the form of the tax, without reducing the prices of their goods. Assuming that they would do so, why should anybody cast envious eyes on their profits? Does the British Government in Britain deprive the Lancashire mill-owners of any portion of their profits for its own benefit by

imposing on them an excise duty on the goods manufactured by them? If our mill-owners ever be in a position to export their goods to Britain, these goods would no doubt be subjected to prohibitive duties like those which were imposed on Indian cottons exported to Britain in the days of the East India Company.

People will wait to see whether Government gives effect to their resolution.

### Allahabad and Lucknow.

The vast majority of the districts of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and their inhabitants are justified in starting an agitation against gradually and craftily removing the provincial capital from Allahabad to Lucknow. There is no adequate reason for such removal. We wish all success to the agitation. We do not in the least desire that Lucknow should be deprived of any of its time-honoured rights or advantages. But it is certainly not right to rob Peter to pay Paul.

### Bhupendranath Basu.

By the death of Babu Bhupendranath Basu, India loses a prominent citizen, who was from youth upwards a distinguished servant of the motherland. Though during the last years of his life, he was an official, all parties have rightly recognised that it was owing to his belief that he would be able to serve India if he accepted office that he became a member of the Government in England and in India. Whether that belief was justified or not, admits of a difference of opinion.

When Bengal was partitioned during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, Babu Bhupendranath Basu threw himself heart and soul into the Anti-partition agitation and the Swadeshi *cum* Boycott movement that arose out of it. Year after year on the 7th of August he would walk barefooted in procession among the leaders of the movement to the place of the annual meeting, and would sometimes deliver those speeches which rank among the best of his performances in that line. Taking together the efforts that he made both in India and England to have the partition annulled, it would perhaps be correct to say that he was among the few public men who



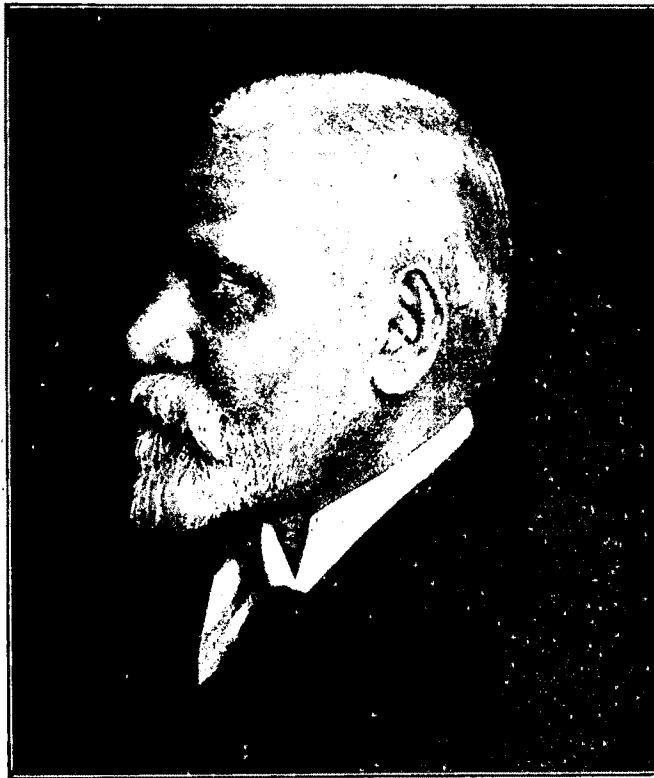
did most to bring about that result ;—though in re-uniting Bengal the authorities did not include the entire Bengali-speaking area in the province of Bengal, which has remained a grievance ever since.

Babu Bhupendranath Basu was a good scholar and a successful solicitor. He was spiritually minded and bore his bereavements in old age with great resignation and fortitude. He advocated social reform in many directions and many years ago introduced a Civil Marriage Bill in the Indian Legislative Council sanctioning inter-caste marriage though he did not succeed in getting it passed, the agitation and discussions that it gave rise to prepare the ground for the later successful effort of Dr. Gaur.

#### Firing by the Police.

Mr. Rangachariar's motion in the Assembly to refer to a Select Committee his Bill to regulate the use of fire-arms in dispersing crowds was carried by 58 votes to 38 votes. The object of the Bill is twofold. The police must not fire without previous warning, and may fire only after receiving a written order to fire signed by a responsible officer. Secondly, if any person who has been wounded by such firing or been subjected to any loss or damage owing to such firing feels that he has been unjustly or needlessly fired upon, he will have the right to bring a case individually before a law-court against the policeman or men concerned.

Let us see in what shape the Bill emerges from the Select Committee.



Bhupendranath Basu

#### India at the International Labour Conference at Geneva

Mr. Joseph Baptista who had gone to the International Labour Conference as a representative of Indian Labour, interviewed by a Press Representative, expressed great disappointment with the proceedings of the Conference and complained of inadequacy of time granted to Indian Delegates, including Hon'ble Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, though delegates of other countries were given much time to state their case. Such was the treatment received by India, though her pecuniary contribution according to Mr. Baptista, was next only to Britain's. Even Cuba received better treatment.

It is all due to India being a subject country. People will respect us as a nation only if we can win freedom..

#### Iraq's Fitness for Independence.

At a recent meeting of the council of the League of Nations

Lord Parmoor moved for the adoption of documents presented by the British delegation relating to the new status of Iraq. He declared that the British Government no longer considered continuance of Mandatory system necessary and had acted in strict accordance with the covenant. Lord Parmoor expressed the opinion that Iraq had shown an aptitude for independent administration proposal.

The inhabitants of Iraq must be wonderful people. They have proved their fitness for independence after only a few years of British administration, whilst Indians have

not been able to prove their fitness for provincial autonomy after nearly two centuries of British rule. It would be malicious slander to suggest that, balancing loss and gain, advantage and cost, John Bull has not found Iraq a paying proposition.

### A Memorial for the Late Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee.

Dear Sir,

You are aware of the fact that attempts are being made throughout the country to establish a memorial for the perpetuation of the memory of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. All sections of the community are being approached for funds so that the Sir Asutosh Memorial may be a truly national effort worthy of the greatness of the illustrious deceased.

Those of us who have been in touch with the activities of the University in its various departments have felt that we should add our quota to the funds now being raised from the public at large for establishing such a memorial.

It may be found convenient by some amongst us to devote for this purpose a portion of the remuneration we receive as Paper-Setters or Examiners. In case you wish to adopt this method of contribution will you kindly intimate the same to the Registrar in the form annexed?

Formal receipts will be sent by the Secretary, Sir Asutosh University Memorial Committee, and the names of the donors, unless otherwise directed will be duly published in the Newspapers. Communications in this connection may be addressed to Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineshchandra Sen, D. Litt., Senate House, Calcutta.

Yours truly,

	Rs.	
Sivapada Bhattacharyya	200	
Satishchandra Basu	200	
Manmathanath Roy	200	
Sailendranath Mitra	150	
Indubhusan Basu	150	
Pramathanath Banerjee (Dr.)	50	p. c.
Hiralal Halder	50	p. c.
Rajendranath Vidyabhushan	50	p. c.
Narendrakumar Majumdar	150	
Satishchandra Ghosh	150	
R. N. Chopra	100	
Jogeschandra Chakravorti	100	p. c.
Hariprasanna Banerji	100	
Jitendraprasad Niyogi	100	
Bijaykumar Sarkar	100	
Lalitmohan Banerji	100	
A. D. Stewart	100	
Sitaram Banerji	100	
Dineshchandra Sen	100	
Satishchandra Basu (Mitra Inst.)	100	
Surendranath Sen	100	
Gauranganath Banerji	100	
S. C. Bagchi	100	
N. N. Ghosh	75	
J. W. Chippendale	50	
Mrityunjei Chatterji	50	
Sunitikumar Chatterji	50	
Ekendranath Ghose	50	

The late Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee had always been known for his sympathy for the poor schoolmasters of Bengal. There are many poor members of the teaching Profession in this province who are indebted to the late Sir Asutosh for whatever happiness they have in their miserable life. Sir Asutosh was predominantly a friend of the intellectual poor.

Now, the letter reproduced above is one which has been forwarded to the examiners and paper-setters of the University. The majority of these examiners are members of the teaching profession, whose poverty and helplessness are undisputedly great. If the authorities of the University desire to perpetuate the memory of the late Sir Asutosh, it is but natural that we should desire that memory to be as sweet and beautiful as possible. The poor examiners are not the people who can contribute materially to this work of perpetuating the memory of the late Sir Asutosh Mukherjee without undergoing hardships. They can scarcely make both ends meet with what paltry sums they receive as salary. The fees they get by examining papers are a source of immense relief to their financial life. Most of them are quite unable to spare even a rupee. Therefore, this letter has come to many of them as a painful shock. They cannot very well refuse to contribute at least something to this memorial fund, for, is it not for perpetuating the memory of one to whom they owe much? Then again, rightly or wrongly we do not know, they feel that non-contribution may lead to unpleasant consequences. As a matter of fact, some of them have taken this letter as a sort of *paravana*. Along with the letter they have also received a printed post card addressed to one of the authorities, in order to facilitate the work of collecting the contributions. The whole thing looks sufficiently official and curt to inspire a feeling of obligatoriness in even the poorest and the most miserable of the half-starved teachers of Bengal. We do not consider this action of the authorities of the University to be wise; for it is the worst way to commemorate the life and deeds of Sir Asutosh Mukherjee. He was always on the alert to do a good turn to the poor and the suffering; should any sensible person think of taxing the poor in order to obtain the necessary funds for this purpose? Rather we should advocate subsidising the lowest paid members of the teaching profession by creating benefit organisations for them from the money which

those who can afford it would pay into the Sir Asutosh Memorial Fund.

Then again, the names which we find appended to the letter are, generally speaking, of those who are highly paid members of the University. Some of them have given away certain percentages of their would-be receipts from the University. We have no doubt that worked out into Rupees-nannas-pies, the gifts of these great men will be in keeping with their academic and economic status; but it would have been much better if they had given out, side by side with the percentages, the actual sums they would pay. That might have put more life into the poor examiners' heart in regard to the fairness of the project. It may be said that the actual sums to be received

by the probable donors are not yet known; but in that case there is another difficulty attached to this scheme. The higher the percentage of one's receipts one is going to give away, the more desirable one will be to those who feel for the memorial fund. And the larger the sum paid out to one who has promised the highest percentage (or higher in comparison with those who promise less), the more will be the money flowing into the fund. We are as yet unaware of any community of feeling between the organisers of the fund and the appointers of examiners; but if there be any such community, there are chances that everything will not move as smoothly as we, along with the poor examiners, may desire.

A. C.

## THE OLD OLD STORY

By SANTA CHATTERJEE

( 19 )

**D**URING his prolonged absence from home, Suprakash had almost forgotten his own dues in his zeal for doing good turns to others. If these receivers of good turns exercised their goodness and gave him full meals to go through, well and good, otherwise he thrived on the best of his ability upon no or little food. His wild goose chase had no half-heartedness about it. So when he returned home after such a long time, it seemed as if he had made up his mind to get back his own with compound interest. He could not put forward rightful claims to people on whose hearts he had no lien, but he began to be even tyrannical on the strength of bonds of affection and love.

Ever since Suprakash had come back, Satadal had forgotten the word Rest. Now he wanted betel leaves, now chewing spices, now some roasted mango sherbet, now syrup and so on and so on! There were no end to his wants. If the servants brought something, their tobacco-stained fingers imparted the smell of tobacco to it; hence Satadal had to carry the things herself. But that would not finish the matter; good things had to be

shared to be enjoyed. Both must partake of the delicacies. But how could Satadal swallow things at any odd time, like a man? But such excuses were not accepted. The endless flow of his logic and philosophy would squander her forces in no time. Moreover who would listen to all his stories? And Satadal had to undertake that as well.

He, who had so long lived a life of sacred and proud aloofness, away from the other members of the family, except in so far as he condescended to accept their service; even he did not escape the tyranny of Suprakash.

If he had an invitation at some rich friend's house in the evening, Abinash would discover while dressing that his favourite and latest shawl had disappeared. Drawers and suitcases flew open and all over the room, the silent valet swallowed the angry outbursts of his master; but the shawl was still missing. The next day, finding the shawl in Suprakash's room the valet would say in a frightened voice, "Chhotababu,\* the Sahib was locking for this shawl yesterday." Chhotababu would blandly appear before the Sahib's door with the used shawl in his hand and

\*Younger master.



say, 'Dada, were you looking for this chaddar†?' Abinash had regained his temper, but he would flare up anew and say, 'Is that why you have come, to delight my heart with the thing dirtied beyond recognition? Why do you play topsyturvy with my things. Khoka? I don't like this at all!'

Suprakash would smile and say, "But I do not possess anything."

Abinash would answer, "If you want to be a champion giver, why don't you adopt a mendicant's ochre? I don't like this at all!"

Suprakash was going away after leaving the chaddar behind him, Abinash suddenly opened his drawer and threw some fifty rupees on the floor saying, "Give me a list of whatever more you may require."

Suprakash went away with the money, but he found no time to buy clothes. Abinash went on missing things from his wardrobe, till one day Suprakash found a pile of clothing on his bed to put a stop to his pilferage.

For a good many days Suprakash had been longing to write a letter to Rajgungè. There were lots of people there to whom he could write and it was not difficult to write to them. But every night he began a letter to some one and tore it up in dissatisfaction. He did not somehow write to anyone else.

It was noontime and the sun outside was terrific. Suprakash was turning over and admiring his own handwriting on one of a number of envelopes which he had just finished addressing. The new bearer was singing the praise of the great Ramchandra outside. After looking at the envelope for a long time Suprakash put a stop to his piety and called him in. He closed the works of Tulsidas† with a bang and came in. Suprakash gave him the bunch of letters and said, "Go and put them in the letterbox." The bearer said, "All right," and went away. Suprakash went up to Satadal's room. He wanted to teach her music. The pupil was slicing a huge pile of green mangoes with a stand-knife and sunning them on the roof with her back to the sun and her wet hair spread on it. Suprakash laughed and said, "You will never do anything! That I, a poor man, should spend money and buy music books for you and you would calmly slice mangoes!

Is that fair and is the mango the sweetest of all things in creation?" Satadal said, "Yes, without these we would simply wither away under the rage of our aesthetes."

Suprakash answered, "Oh, we shall attend to that when occasion arises. Now come along like a good girl with your books and things."

Abinash was engaged in something downstairs. He got frightfully annoyed when he found the new servant tampering with his private letterbox, apparently in great perplexity. He rushed out and thumped him on his turban, saying, "Here, you idiot, what are you doing with those letters here? Whoever has asked you to shove those letters into this?"

The new man held up his turban with one hand and said, "They are meant for the post, sir!"

Abinash lost his temper completely and cried, "Meant for your empty head! All the fools from the four corners of the globe seem to have collected here!"

The fellow stiffened up in fear lest he should receive another dose of his master's blessings. Abinash opened the letterbox and found a goodly pile of letters addressed in Suprakash's hand. He shouted, "Here Siunandan, come over and take these."

Siunandan was busy kneading dough and at the master's call ran out to stand before Abinash in an attitude of reverence. Abinash was turning over the envelopes, suddenly one of the addresses attracted his attention. He puckered up his eyebrows and remained standing for nearly ten minutes in perfect silence.

The dough on Siunandan's hands was drying up, his stove was burning coal to no purpose, so he began to grow restless and at last said "Your Lordship!"

"Oh, go away now," saying this Abinash went into his room with the letters in his hand. The servants were thoroughly surprised to get off so easily and went away singing the greatness of Ramachandra. Siunandan began to display an unwonted efficiency in kneading up his bread.

Abinash entered the room and begun to pace it ceaselessly biting his lips tightly. Once he went a few steps towards Suprakash's room but came back again. Then he put the letters into a drawer and closed it with a bang. He was feeling great uneasiness and shame with the letters in his hand. Some strange attraction was forcing him

\* A cotton or silk washable shawl for summer wear.

† Tulsidas was the greatest translator of the Ramayana in any modern language.

to turn them over again and again. The sound of distant footsteps found him jumping up and closing the doors; but the closed doors intensified his feeling of shame; he wanted to fetch a whip and give himself a few cuts. He took the letters in his pocket and went out bare-headed in the sun to post them. He had taken the whole bunch together and wanted to put them all at once into the letterbox without looking at them. But he could not help looking at them when he arrived at the post office. The letter addressed to Miss Karuna, he looked at with an eagerness suggesting efforts at memorising the address. He felt in his pocket for paper and pencil and, finding none put the letter back into his pocket with evident relief. The postal clerk, finding him in his mood of hesitation came forward, saluted and said, "Is it anything you are looking for, Doctor Sahib? I can get it now, if you order." "No, no, I don't want anything," saying this Abinash hurried away.

Upstairs, they were still at their music in Satadal's room. Abinash came back, entered his room and at once copied out the address on the envelope. Siunandan was called again. "Go and give chhotababu my compliments." Siunandan ran. Abinash began to feel a strange fear. Would it be giving away his secret if he called Suprakash from his music and asked him suddenly whether he knew Tarini-babu and his people? He was extremely careful in keeping away from Suprakash in these matters. If he heard anything about these matters, what would he think of his Dada? He could not lower himself in his younger brother's estimation. Had he kept all the letters he might have returned him the whole bunch with the news of the new servant's intelligence and might have incidentally gained some information on the subject dear to himself. But, if he now gave him back only the letter addressed to Karuna, how would he explain the matter to him? No, he would post it now and try to gain the necessary information later on! Siunandan was rushing upstairs when he was called back, "you need not call chhotababu." The poor man was totally non-plussed, and went back a second time. Abinash was sitting with the letter in his hand. His sweating palm began to smudge the ink on the envelope. Abinash took up the blotting pad with shame on his face and tried to dry the ink with it. But the envelope had become quite wet and the flap opened out under the hand-

ling it received. Abinash was seized with a fierce temptation. He had forgotten Suprakash for the time being. He only remembered, it was Karuna that the letter belonged to. Even if he had remembered Suprakash, he could not have felt as deep a shame as he would have had the girl been any body other than Karuna. He had so wrapped himself up round Karuna that he never thought of her as a young woman having anything to do with Suprakash. Suprakash had told him that he was coming from Rajgunge. Karuna's address was also Rajgunge. So there was no obstacle to their knowing each other. He did not think of all this so very clearly, but subconsciously he was quite content with the whole affair. He was stormed by a desire to look into the half open envelope: for in it there was news which he wanted badly and could get so easily! The sender of the letter was quite sure that the letter had been posted and did not worry about it. But to steal it behind his back! This thought rankled in Abinash's heart. But the shame of it was totally overpowered by his hungry curiosity and a false belief that he had a right. He had not heard of or from Karuna for such a long time! Could he allow her news to pass through his fingers without peeping into it? He was also feeling some anger. It was he who had that right to address letters to Karuna; for who was there who longed for her with so great a keenness as he? But Karuna would hide herself from him for ages and then allow his own young brother, whom he had brought up with his own hands, to write to her! Abinash knew that she had nothing much to write to Suprakash, yet she was doing this only to tease him by holding up his dependents above him. Would he have to suffer her proud pranks because once upon a time he had lowered himself before her pride? This letter was assuming the aspect of the proud and confident Karuna of that day. As if only to assert his rights in relation to his dependent younger brother and to break down Karuna's pride, Abinash brushed aside all his delicacy in a frenzy of self-assertion and opened the letter. Suprakash had written:—

"Ever since I came back I have been often thinking of our girls school in the ruins and of our evening gatherings on the balcony next to the mango grove. I have strayed far from that path, but the results of my trek has not left me in happiness. Probably everything is moving in the same old way, maybe better; for when we think that the world is

moving towards the good, is there any reason why our little school should prove an exception to this great generality? Yet, man is so greedy. He always loves to imagine himself indispensable. I am an insignificant being; I would not say I am above this temptation. I do not feel any shame in making this confession. The person who has been keeping himself occupied with trifles on the ancient balcony and incidentally displaying himself, is no longer there; his work is certainly not remaining undone; but would it be extravagant if he desired that his want were felt for some time, that his place remained vacant at least for a few days more to some one among those to whose joys he had been contributing for so long? Maybe, it would be. When men leave the world for ever, that does not deprive the world of its laughter; so why should separation from one who has been a friend for a few days only, leave people without smiles? It does not, and that is why people desire it to be so. Who is prouder than the one who can rob people of all their smiles and reduce the world to a state of aimless wandering? . . . . ."

The letter went on in this strain for pages.

There was an attempt at saying something in it which remained unsaid. The something had not been said, but nothing else found a place in it. Abinash read it over and over again. As if he did not understand anything. He could not himself say what exactly were his hopes in opening the letter. But whatever he might have expected, it was nothing like this. He never even dreamt of such a thing. He began to read the letter with Karuna in the foreground of his thoughts, but when he started to think about everything and nothing after reading through it a couple of times, Karuna was the farthest from his thoughts. Abinash was wondering, was it the same Suprakash whom he had reared up since babyhood? He thought he knew the boy inside out, as he did the bits of paper in his hand. It is the greatest vanity of man to

think that whomever he might have nurtured is perfectly familiar to him; but in this case such a one had become the greatest problem. Suprakash had written to him often, "nothing worth writing about here," when he was on his tour. And it is he again, who has scribbled eight pages of solid nonsense here! The boy whose life was the sum total of a series of foppish excesses and occasional reception of invective from outside in the name of doing good to others; how could he become such a riddle? Abinash glanced over the letter again. He remembered that the girl to whom Suprakash had made such elaborate efforts at self-expression, was no other than Abinash's Karuna. Abinash suddenly felt a terrible anger. He thought Suprakash was an honest lad. But what is all this poetical nonsense he had written to a gentleman's daughter! Was it all that he had acquired during his tours? Whatever, may be one's age, one finds justification for the poetical stuff in only people of one's own age. So Abinash began to pace the room angrily at this demonstration by a mere boy.

After a long period he closed the letter up in his drawer and asked Suprakash to go out on a drive with him after quite an age. Suprakash came with surprise on his face at this exuberance. He had come thinking out a milder appearance for his rude elder, but he was thoroughly non-plussed at finding him in a worse than usual mood.

Abinash said, "Come on, let me take you to Mr. Datt's house. You have finished your education, it is time you went out and mixed with people. Probably you know no one except your College friends."

After dressing up properly, the two brothers went out to call on Murala's father.

*( To be continued )*

TRANSLATED FROM THE BENGALI BY

ASHOKE CHATTERJEE.





**Chaitanya in a Trance**  
Artist.—Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore  
By the Courtesy of Mr. Nabendranath Tagore

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## A MEMOIR OF OLD DELHI\* MUNSHI ZAKA ULLAH AND HIS LIFE-WORK

By C. F. ANDREWS

### PREFACE.

By MAULVI NAZIR AHMAD, OF DELHI.

IN NAME OF GOD THE MOST COMPASSIONATE  
AND MERCIFUL.

Except in the sacred formula of Islam, "There is no God but One, and Muhammad is His Prophet," I have never during my long life seen Musalmans so united as in the matter of their higher education at Aligarh.† To Munshi Zaka Ullah, if he had been still alive, this would have been the crown of all his own hopes. It is true, that, during discussion, a few persons have asked, what is the need of this new rope of learning being pulled by another wheel in the form of a University at Aligarh. But if Munshi Zaka Ullah himself had been alive, I should have been able to point to him as the best answer of all, and to say, that when the new University at Aligarh reaches its zenith, as it is certain to do if God wills, then it will produce such learned men as our Munshi Sahib, who was ever high-minded, pure-hearted, courteous.

\* This memoir forms the substance of a book which will be published in England after it has run its course in the *Modern Review*. All Rights Reserved.

† This preface was written at a time of great excitement in the Mohammadan world in the North of India, because their dream of a University of their own at Aligarh appeared to be on the point of coming true. This fact accounts for the allusion in Dr. Nazir Ahmad's opening words.

humble, clever, full of varied knowledge, generous to a degree, public-spirited, one who understood the value of the present British rule, trust-worthy, firm and steadfast in his religious faith, peace-loving, never angry with others, and never making others angry.

Such a man is a true model of the noble culture that a higher University training might produce.

My own life-long friendship with Munshi Zaka Ullah who has been one of my most intimate companions in life's journey, dated from my very early childhood. He was in the Persian Class of the old Delhi College, a home of pleasant memories, and I was in the Arabic Class. Besides this, we were class-mates together in Mathematics. Zaka Ullah was a pupil of Professor Ramchandra, the great mathematician, and he had himself a genius for Mathematics. He stood always first in his class and was a favourite with his Professor.

Professor Ramchandra, as is well known, after great hesitation, had accepted the Christian Faith. Since Zaka Ullah was very intimate with him, and was known as his favourite pupil, people had, for a time some doubt about Zaka Ullah's own religious position. Now I am the oldest and most intimate friend that Zaka Ullah ever had. As far as I know, all his contemporaries are now dead. I alone, for some reason known to God, am still enduring the hardships and suffering of extreme old age,—a condition that will not

last long. \* I have therefore a clear right to speak, and I stand witness at this moment, in the presence of God, that as far as one man can know the heart of another, I believe Munshi Zaka Ullah to have been a strict Unitarian Musalman, trusting in One God with his full attributes. It was, indeed, almost impossible for a man of such extensive learning and culture as the Munshi Sahib, a man who was able to solve the most difficult problems of Science, to refuse to believe in One God.

This, however, is a thing which, now that he is dead, concerns him and God alone. I have only mentioned it to assert that which I know about him from my intimate friendship with him.

The thing that I always praised most about the Munshi Sahib was his unselfishness. He was very humble and never thought of himself. By the modern introductions of examinations and games and prize competitions into schools and colleges a kind of selfishness is often engendered, which becomes a life-long habit, and takes the form of envy and jealousy at the success of others. But this kind of self-seeking was, in the Munshi Sahib, altogether absent. He rejoiced in the success of others even more than in his own.

As far as worldly greatness is concerned, Munshi Zaka Ullah never reached any high administrative post. Furthermore, he never collected much worldly wealth. The reason for this is, not that he was unable to do so, if he had tried, but that in the pursuit of intellectual knowledge he never aimed at worldly greatness. If he had any pleasure in it, this pleasure came to him only when he heard of his friends attaining to it. He considered at all times knowledge itself to be the greatest wealth of all. Therefore he spent all his years, which were beyond the span of ordinary human life, in seeking more and more to acquire it. To the very end of his life his thirst for knowledge was never quenched. He departed from this life at last, in extreme old age, saying "Let me have more knowledge." He acquired knowledge for its own sake. His real object was to obtain wisdom. He thought nothing at all of any worldly advantage, that might be gained in addition through it. Such an idea of profit did not enter into his calculations.

As far as Persian was concerned, the education which Munshi Zaka Ullah received at

the old Delhi College was not very deep or profound. He therefore did not take great interest in that subject. On the other hand, the society of Professor Ramchandra, the great mathematician, was sowing all the while in his head and heart another kind of seed, namely a love for mathematics. It was this rather than the study of Persian, which in the end made Munshi Zaka Ullah famous.

After leaving the old Delhi College, Munshi Zaka Ullah entered the Education Department of the Government of India. It was in this connection that he began to study English, at last, with the help of a teacher and by sheer hard work acquired perfect ability in reading English books quite easily, though he was never able to speak it fluently and rarely attempted to do so. His mastery of English literature, however, was extensive, and he was an omnivorous reader of English books, and periodicals.

Munshi Zaka Ullah did not merely store up a fund of knowledge, which profited no one else, as the Yunani physicians not seldom do with their skill and wisdom, for if these physicians find out some special remedy for any disease they hold it back from others. But this was not the case with Munshi Zaka Ullah. Whatever knowledge he acquired, he imparted to his fellow-countrymen in books. Indeed, he produced in his life-time so many volumes, that it is wonderful to think how he could find time to bring out so many publications. He was a prolific writer and translator.

One striking quality, which was very noticeable in the Munshi Sahib, was his conservative character both in his habits of life and in his manner of dress. Though he was in the Education Department, and engaged daily in Government Service, and though he had obtained such a mastery of English and such a knowledge of English books, he never by one hair's breadth changed any of his Hindustani customs, or habits, or dress, or manners. Though he was a disciple of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, he never wore a Turkish fez all through his life; just as he never put on English shoes or coat. In winter I used to see him wearing, in Hindustani fashion, his quilt pyjamas; and I often had a hearty laugh at him for his extreme conservatism. Indeed, by his outward appearance, it would have been impossible to judge that his English learning and culture had had any effect upon him at all.

I, who write this, am a Musalman, and as I have related, as far as religion is

\* Maulvi Nazir Ahmad died soon after the writing of this preface in the year 1912.



concerned, Munshi Zaka Ullah was also a Musalman. But his faith was quite untainted by the spirit of bigotry, prejudice, and superstition. In his daily social life, he never at any time used to allow distinctions to be made on account of religion. He mingled socially with everyone, out of the depth of a full and generous heart, and he behaved in the same way towards his friends whether a man were present or not. He kept up no social or religious distinctions.

It is a well-known commonplace today, which is often repeated, that there exists an inseparable connexion between Hindus and Musalmans in India, so that the one cannot exist without the other, and the Government keeps peace between them. But ignorant and short-sighted people, who belong to these two religions, have caused endless disputes to arise in the past, throughout the North of India especially, by exaggerating the differences between them and laying exaggerated emphasis upon the observance of different kinds of daily ceremonies in each religion. But I do not consider this to be a lasting condition. Rather as the poet says,—

If it lives,

It will live for the night,

And will not live for the next night.

Far-sighted and wise men, like the Munshi Sahib, have found means to remedy this state of affairs and to prevent these painful religious disputes. After a time, those newspapers, which are notorious for exciting contention and hatred, will come to nothing. Munshi Zaka Ullah was one of those who kept the peace at all times in religious matters, and was entirely free from bigotry. He was a peace-maker in the city of Delhi, and everyone loved and admired him.

We, Musalmans, have been accustomed to read in our sacred books the accounts of the friendly relations of the early Mohammadans with the Christians, especially in Abyssinia. Now we have seen in the City of Delhi the same kind of cordiality existing in the friendship between the Padre Sahib,\* and Munshi Zaka Ullah. Neither of them has had any worldly object in view in their friendship, but both of them have penetrated into the truth of religion itself; and their mutual love for one another which was so deep, was really love for the sake of God.

There is a Persian proverb, which runs as follows :

The friendship of sincere friends is the same.

i.e. the author of this Memoir.

Whether they are present or absent.

The Padre Sahib's undertaking to write a memoir of his old friend, is a clear proof of the same power of friendship and love. When the Munshi Sahib was suffering the pangs of death, Padre Sahib was suffering with him. He could not leave him, but was continually by his side. So great was his love.

To put what I wish to express in a brief compass, my own personal opinion is this. If there should exist, in India, Musalmans like the Munshi Sahib and Christians like the Padre Sahib, the time would soon arrive when Mohammadans and Christians would both begin to chant and repeat to themselves concerning each other the following lines of the poet:—

I should become one with you

And you should become one with me :

I should be the body and you the soul.

Then no one would be able to say.

That I am different from you,

Or that you are different from me.

Delhi, 1912.

NAZIR AHMAD.

### Introduction.

The original introduction to this Memoir of Munshi Zaka Ullah of Delhi, which is given immediately below, was written in the year 1911, while I was still working as a College Professor at Delhi and while my old friend Maulvi Nazir Ahmad, who is especially referred to in it, was still living. I have kept it just as I then wrote it, although the Maulvi Sahib has long since passed away and certain references to him are therefore out of date.

Unforeseen circumstances prevented my finishing the manuscript of the Memoir; and though I have taken it up, time after time, in order to do so, something has hitherto intervened. During the long period of the War I laid it aside. But recently the very deep interest that has been created throughout the whole of India in the two problems of Hindu-Muslim Unity and National Education made me wish to complete the task without any further delay. Indeed, as I have read over again and revised, what I had previously written, the blame is clearly mine for having delayed up to the present year. Therefore I have used the interval of a solitary voyage out to China, as a means of getting ready for the press the material, which has been lying unused so long. What follows, is the original introduction which remains practically unaltered. It was written in Delhi in 1911.

In the death of Munshi Zaka Ullah, of

Delhi, one of the noblest of the small band of Oriental scholars from the North of India, who represented the old learning in its first contact with the new, passed away. His family-history went back to remote Moghal times. He was as famous for his appreciation of modern learning as he was for his knowledge of the old Islamic culture, a scholar and a gentleman in the highest sense of the words, the soul of generosity in his conduct of life and as tender-hearted as a child.

In the City of Delhi itself, only one of this tiny group of eminent men still remains alive whose reputation has helped to bridge over the gulf between the present and the past. His name is Maulvi Nazir Ahmad. He was the class-mate and life-long friend of Munshi Zaka Ullah himself.\* Though weakened and enfeebled by old age, he is still able to undertake that literary work in Urdu, for which his own name is famous, wherever the Urdu language is read and its literature studied. He is the acknowledged master still of Urdu prose; and his novel "Taubat un Nasuh" has had a circulation which perhaps no other book in the Urdu language has yet attained. In Islamic learning, his fame has passed far beyond the regions of Hindustan, and he is an acknowledged authority among all those Mohammadan thinkers who are endeavouring to harmonise the precepts of Islam with the progressive conditions of modern civilization and life.

To me personally, Maulvi Nazir Ahmad, in the same way as Munshi Zaka Ullah, has been a friend and more than a friend. He has treated me always like a son, and my debt of gratitude to both of these good old men can never be repaid. For they have taught me to respect more deeply the faith which they both held so dear, and to appreciate more fully the power of its central doctrine of the Unity of God.

Maulvi Nazir Ahmed has put me under a still further obligation by consenting very willingly, in spite of the difficulties of old age and enfeebled health, to write a preface to this memoir. I asked him, when doing so, to express without any feeling of reserve his own opinions concerning Munshi Zaka Ullah, his friend, and also concerning any subject which appeared to him to be most important in the Munshi Sahib's career. Those who read his words will see with what earnestness and sincerity he has written, and will be

especially struck by his longing for religious harmony and peace which he shared with his old friend.

It is, I feel strongly, only through such outspoken utterances by those who wish to avoid bigotry on the one hand and insincerity on the other hand, that unity between Hindus, Musalmans and Christians will be reached. I should add, that while from the Mohammadan side,—as Maulvi Nazir Ahmad has hinted,—there is needed a clearer thinking out of the principles of Islam in relation to other religions, there is needed also, from the Christian side, a deeper appreciation of the greatness of Islam itself and the essential truth of the Divine Unity for which it stands. There is a saying in the writings of St. Paul, the Apostle, which cannot be kept in mind too often by those who come out to India to teach others. It is as follows:—

"Finally, my brethren, whatsoever things are true,

Whatsoever things are honest,

Whatsoever things are just,

Whatsoever things are pure,

Whatsoever things are lovely,

Whatsoever things are of good report,

If there be any virtue,

If there be any praise,

Think on these things;

And the God of Peace shall be with you."

If this attitude be taken towards one another's religions, it will not be long before the misery of religious hatred is brought to an end and its worst dangers avoided.

In my old Musalman friend, Zaka Ullah, who was more than a father to me in his affection, I found all those qualities represented, which are mentioned in St. Paul's great exhortation. Indeed, it is impossible for me to speak thus concerning him, without including once more Maulvi Nazir Ahmad also. To both of them, religious bigotry in any form was hateful. I wish to emphasise the fact, that it was as Musalmans, that I learned to love them, and through them to appreciate Islam. For they adorned the religious doctrine which they professed and made others respect it and admire its precepts. In the record which I have given in this book of Munshi Zaka Ullah's personal life and peculiar characteristics, I am chiefly indebted to his son, Mahammad Inayat Ullah, Sahib, of Jaunpur, whose assistance has been throughout ungrudging and unfailing. Without the help that he has so freely given me, it would have been impossible for me to obtain, with

\* Maulvi Nazir Ahmed passed away in the year 1912.

any degree of accuracy, much of the information which I have gathered. I owe much also to Ray Piyare Lal, Sahib, and Mohammed Karam Ullah, Sahib, both of whom were old friends of Munshi Zaka Ullah. They formed part of the literary group that used to meet in the library at Delhi.

In addition to other motives, which have impelled me to write this brief memoir, there was a personal factor which weighed with me most of all. Personally, I wished, if I could possibly do so, to prevent the memory of my old friend from passing away into oblivion, without some attempt being made on my part to preserve it. He admitted me, during the last years of his life, to his inner thoughts. He used to prepare beforehand different subjects of special interests, according to his own way of thinking, on which he wished to speak to me, feeling that he had something to say of importance. It was clear to me, that he wished his views to be more widely known. Again and again, after a long talk together, he would say to me: "I wish that you could write down, in your own way, that which I have been speaking to you. People will listen to your words." It became, therefore, to me a duty of the first importance to do all that I could to preserve his memory.

There are certain wider reasons, also, which made me desire to go on with the task, after I had once begun it. The first is, that Munshi Zaka Ullah was a truly great educationalist, with very high ideals,—one of the biggest-hearted and broadest-minded men in the North of India, who had remained entirely true to his own Eastern culture. Furthermore, he was at the same time one of the leading spirits in the new Aligarh Movement, which aimed at the assimilation of all that was best in the culture of the West. He stood definitely side by side with Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, in his efforts to promote Muslim higher education on Western lines. His convictions therefore, on the subject of Indian Education are of more than a passing interest. He was an acknowledged master in his subject. What his actual views were, I shall try to make plain in this memoir. The convictions of more than fifty years of wisdom and experience, which he brought to bear upon the subject made his words very impressive. I know that he wished them to be handed down to his successors. There was perhaps no matter on which he felt so keenly and deeply.

A second reason which impelled me to write, was the desire to record, from my own observation the very great influence he

wielded in the North on account of his sympathy and tolerance towards those who held other religious faiths than his own. This generosity towards other religious faiths I have already mentioned, but I would wish to emphasise the fact that his own personality in Delhi was in this respect unique. The Hindus of the city of Delhi loved and revered him, no less than his fellow-Musalman.

There is perhaps no more serious question before the people of India, at the present time, than the improvement of the relations between those who belong to different religions and the restoration of that kindly and sympathetic feeling which undoubtedly existed. Any thing which can help in any degree to restore that relationship is of value. While resolutions passed at conferences may do something to relieve the strain of the present tense situation, it is generally felt that the lives of those individuals, whose conduct may help to make for peace and charity and kindness in daily intercourse, can do much more. There is one Musalman in Delhi, among the younger generation, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Hajik ul Mulk, who as a physician is today giving his services freely to the poor of both communities equally and impartially, just as his father and grandfather did before him. Such an individual life has done more to stop faction and bigotry in Delhi than all the massmeetings ever held to promote Hindu-Muslim unity. The family of Munshi Zaka Ullah, as will be seen from this narrative, undertook the same pacifying work. There are families on the Hindu side in Delhi, which are respected in the same manner by all Musalmans.

In this memoir of my friend, I hope to be able to make abundantly clear the generosity and simplicity of his nature, which made him a great lover of his fellow men. He followed implicitly the teaching of the great ninety-third Surah of the Sacred Quran, carrying out its precepts, as far as he was able, to their utmost limits, in spirit as well as in letter. It runs as follows :—

By the splendour of the morning light,  
And by the stillness of the night ;  
The Lord hath not forsaken thee,  
Nor followed thee with hate.  
Thy future shall far better be  
Than is thy present state.  
The Lord shall give thee verily  
Blessings and comforts great.



Did He not find thee fatherless,  
 And give thee shelter meet,  
 And see thee from His ways transgress  
 And guide thine erring feet,  
 And grant thee, poor and in distress,  
 Thy daily bread to eat ?  
 Then take the orphan for thy ward,  
 God's goodness to repay.  
 To him that asks, thine alms accord,  
 And chide him not away.  
 As for the bounty of Thy Lord,  
 Tell of it day by day.\*

I have watched as an intimate friend and a welcome guest, his kindness and gentleness at all times to every member of the family, to his personal attendant who was devoted to him in all his physical ailments, to the poor widow woman who used to pull his punkah, to those who used to come to his door for alms, to all sorts and conditions of men who used to come to him for help, advice and support. These acts of kindness and service were done without any distinction of religion, race or caste. To each and all, in humble thankfulness to Almighty God for His great mercies, he was ready at all times to stretch out a helping hand as far as lay in his power.

Last of all, Munshi Zaka Ullah was a true lover of his own country, India. India was the country of his birth, and he was Indian through and through. It is true that his family came originally from beyond India, and he could boast of being a Sheikh by direct descent. But India was the home of his birth, the home also of his spiritual adoption, and of his love. He was inspired with an enthusiasm as he read every page of its great history; and the study of India's ancient past was one of the delights of his life, both as a scholar and as a thinker. Indeed his whole heart was given to India, and he believed with all his soul that the Indian people had a great part to play in the future progress of the world. He held, also, that his own religious community had an inestimable gift to offer to that country of Hindustan which had become the home of Islamic learning both for himself and for countless others.

Not seldom, despondent voices are heard today, declaring that India can never become one great people. Munshi Zaka Ullah knew

better than most persons, what an amount of bigotry, superstition, fanaticism had to be overcome, before lasting union and concord could be established. His was no easy-going optimism; but he had the strongest possible faith, that, as education advanced, Hindus and Musalmans could settle down side by side with mutual tolerance and affection. That was his own ideal, and it coloured all his actions. In that faith he lived, and in that faith he died,

*Delhi, 1911.*

C. F. ANDREWS.

POSTSCRIPT. I have dedicated this Memoir, with many grateful and affectionate thoughts, to the students and teachers of Visvabharati, Santiniketan, India; and I am glad that it has been possible now to do so.

In the year 1911, when it was written, this would not have been possible. I had not been to Santiniketan and had not taken any active part in the great educational institution of the poet, Rabindranath Tagore. It was in London in 1912, that I first met him, when we were both in England together and it has been the greatest privilege and blessing of my life to have been permitted to work and study under his inspiration ever since.

During these intervening years, the poet's mind has turned more and more in the direction of racial and religious unity,—the harmonising of those temporary differences between man and man, which are due either to race or religion. With this object in view, he has founded, at Santiniketan, an international settlement, called "Visvabharati" (which may be translated 'World-Culture') where East and West may meet in mutual regard, and men and women of different religions may learn to understand one another's different points of view.\* In a certain sense, all that Munshi Zaka Ullah stood for, both in educational ideals and in religious aspirations, is represented in Visvabharati. If it had been conceivably possible for such a development as Visvabharati to have taken place in his own time, he would have found there, more than anywhere else in India, his own ideals being put into practice. But his life-work belonged to an earlier generation, though it was prophetic of the future. All that he strove for so nobly has not been lost; and because I have felt very deeply indeed, that those who

\* The translation I have given above is by T. C. Lewis, Esq., late fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in his book of poems 'From the East and from the West'.

\* See Appendix I.

are connected with the poet, in his work, at Santiniketan, would understand best Munshi Zaka Ullah's own aims and aspiration, I

have ventured to dedicate this Memoir to them.

Hong Kong, June 25, 1924  
( To be continued )

## NATURE IN ENGLISH POETRY

By FREDOON KABRAJI.

PUTTING aside all other cases of the kind of imitation or commonplace, or insularity that we find in English poetry, we shall take the case of the interpretation of Nature in English poetry. We shall see, that English poetry with all its charm and power and music, is limited temperamentally and traditionally in its conception and interpretation of nature.

Shall we begin with Geoffrey Chaucer and end with Edmund Blunden? We shall have to put a few poets aside to stand by themselves. *The criterion of our judgement will be solely—the breadth and originality of the poet's view of Nature.*

To begin with the greatest mind in literature, has William Shakespeare given us a view of Nature that differs in any essential from the view of nature we have had from Chaucer? No. Has Milton given us a different conception of Nature from that of Spenser? No.

The poets, great and small, may be taken in any combination and the answer to the question will be,—no; no difference, but in fact a charming unanimity. Wordsworth, Blake, Shelley, the Brownings stand apart; and Wordsworth towers above them all as Nature's High Priest. He gave England the highest view of Nature; he penetrated deepest into her soul.

" . . . . . And I have felt  
A presence that *disturbs* me with the joy  
Of elevated thoughts; a sense *sublime*  
Of something far more deeply interfused  
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns . . . ."

"A presence that *disturbs* me . . ." It did not disturb his ancestors; it has not disturbed his heirs. They have all been placed enough in Nature's presence, singing her prettily and lovingly and well, and never tired of insisting that one curl of Lucy's was more to them than all Nature's pageants rolled into one.

Shelley oozed his very soul out upon the West Wind and upon the free spirit of Nature but not even he, the greatest of singers and visionaries, did see . . . . .

. . . . . a sense *sublime*  
Of something far more deeply interfused  
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns . . . .

Not even he, nor any other of his kith and kin, had that constant nervous anxiety which made Wordsworth cry out:

My heart leaps up when I behold  
A rainbow in the sky  
So was it when my life began,  
So is it now I am a man:  
So be it when I shall grow old,  
Or let me die:

I do not think any other poet would bother to die if he found his passion for Nature cooling; but the thrill of the unknown in Nature was the life of Wordsworth's life, and his nervousness was part of the working capital of his poetry.

So Wordsworth quite apart and a few poets great and small in a group apart, for contributing some quite fresh thoughts, figures and images about Nature—we have the favourite tradition of the poets coming down to us from the days of Chaucer to our day, as that above all of the *Belle Dame*. The Belle Dame of Belles Letters whose feet dance upon air to the dulcet notes of her birds, whose brow is woven of merriment and bay; whose smile is sunshine; whose frown—clouds; whose tears are rain; who throws down her rose and her knight to battle in thunder and lightning.

Some have it that she is prettiest in her summer frocks, and some say that she is most entrancing in the first maiden-flush of Spring; Robert Herrick likes to feed his melancholy on her evanescent charms and Andrew Marvell is at home in her flower-gardens; John Keats floats his fancy on the

song of the nightingale, and is particularly impressed by the mellow Autumn glories, but they all agree that Nature is scarcely worth cultivating in Winter when she is old and withered and barren and sends her bitter sighs across the land, and weeps her cold sleet tears. Nay more, they all agree that Nature does this in her dotage out of blind rage and that she deserves nothing but fine cruel epithets when she chooses to become so cussed and crabbed.

I need not illustrate my point, by quotations; it would be better illustrated by the dearth of quotations containing any positive appreciation of the charms of Winter, and their meaning to one human soul.

Now, an enthusiasm for seasons or fine weather, can never be a love of Nature, much less a worship of Nature. It is at best a passing infatuation with blue eyes or blue skies—which is the same thing. Perhaps it is an understanding of the soul of the Belle Dame, *not of the woman behind her, much less of the God in her.*

I love English poetry; I love all ballads, madrigals, tunes, lyrics and songs—for they are all one; but these do not exhaust Poetry, and (if Poetry must cover all Life) these do not cover Life. Other forms are needed for this other poetry, this poetry of images, thought, and new ideas, and almost orchestral music; more spacious, statelier forms, with the sure rhythmic sweep of a river, instead of the lilting measure of the brook.

But our age is so prepossessed with the lyrical note in poetry, that it seems to associate all poetry with the lyrical method. Its thought is so keen, its wit is so neat, its instruments so fine that it invariably produces a chased jewel. *Its soul is chiefly absorbed in fretting out a nice lace of words, sounds and sentiments; in a word, its vision of life is focussed perhaps on Jenny's waist or an asparagus or a posy of kingcups, or at most on the Sussex Downs.* I am here talking of tendencies and particularly those of our best living poets. I would like to repeat my great admiration of their work. But I would also like to repeat that this does not cover all Life, and therefore all Poetry; which fact leaves room for poetry of a different order and a different method. Poetry which does not depend for its worth so much on its finesse of expression but on its power of thought and vision and such broad rhythm and grace as deep thought and feeling naturally chose in the expression.

I have, in general, criticized the English poet's vision of Nature. I have said that for the most part from Chaucer to Edmund Blunden all English poets have adhered to the time-honoured traditions regarding Nature, that a few poets Wordsworth, Shelley, Blake, the Brownings, among the greatest, have, while occasionally subscribing to the traditional view of Nature, left the outlines of new theories of their own, which no poets since their date have developed into traditions. To this statement, let me add, two additional points:—

(1) That on this fixed and primitive conception of Nature in which the seasons are worshipped *all but one* and clouds, shadows and rain represent some trouble for man, while elemental deities contend doggedly with each other in "thunder, lightning and rain"—we have had a great variety of good description of Nature mingled with such quaint fancy and commonplace reflection as the particular reading of the accepted code of Natural phenomena, would allow.

(2) That, when the more serious poet, tired sometimes of his worship of the Belle Dame nature, has wished to go deeper, he has not been able to go very much deeper than this pagan worship of Nature. He has not seen a higher moral code in Nature than man's but only a narrower and more rigorous one than man's; *he has not found his peace with Nature in cloudy weather, and her thunderstorms have frightened him as much as her raindrops have disgusted him.* In a word he has not realised his bond with Nature in the spirit—he has not found that his own suffering is also Nature's and that there are indeed *no clouds of Hate but only of Love, and no earthquakes of Vengeance but only of Loving Purpose.* Hence, apart from her external charms in fine weather, the English poet has never much to worship in Nature, and even then it is more often a worship of the air some lady breathes or the ground she treads; *more often only a background for some human drama or fantasy.*

But if poetry must sometimes meet the highest needs of the soul, it must displace religion; it must become the highest form of worship, and the highest inspiration to a noble life; it must see more in Nature than forms and colours and petty intrigues; it must see God in the Highest; and it must express Him in the highest.



# CHINESE BRIGANDS AND FOREIGN CAPTIVES

## WHAT WILL THE POWERS DO ?

By JOHN A. BRAILSFORD

Kobe, Japan, June 7.

A GREAT outcry has arisen among foreigners in China for a new intervention of the great Powers on account of the brigand outrage on the Shanghai-Peking express at Lincheng. A few days ago Mr. H. G. W. Woodhead, editor of the leading British paper in North China, passed through here, and we discussed the affair. He seemed quite joyful over it. Now, he said, the Powers should be induced to take action. He was especially pleased that a lady relative of John D. Rockefeller junior and two American officers with their families were among those captured. This should rouse the United States. He did not say what sort of action he hoped for but he left a strong impression that he saw no hope for China except to be brought under some form of foreign control. Foreign control is being demanded more vigorously, I believe, than at any time since the Boxer rising in 1900. When the excitement dies down and the petty editors have exhausted themselves with repetitions of solemn warnings to China and when the professional anti-Chinese propagandists find the story getting stale, folk will have time to think of the objections.

In 1900 and the following years the Chinese melon would probably have been sliced but for the realisation among the great Powers that they would soon have been quarrelling fiercely among themselves over the shares. The danger of such contentions will be greater in future. However, it is not easy to see how the drift towards foreign control can be checked. When foreigners were captured by bandits in Honan and held for ransom a few months ago, it was ascertained that their motive was to compel the Peking Government to grant their demands. The argument runs thus: Peking is afraid of the foreign Powers and continues to hold authority only by their support. Therefore, if we brigands capture some foreigners, Peking will be bound to grant our demands in order to get them released. At that time the release of the captives was attained by giving a huge force

of brigands the status of soldiers, nominally on the Government's pay-list, thus increasing greatly the army which the Government was doing its best to diminish. Few people then took the trouble to reflect why it was that foreigners had been chosen for molestation. It was because foreign Powers had effective control over the Peking Government.

The same motive is at work today. But the only remedy that suggests itself to the great majority is more foreign control. It is almost impossible to open any of the foreign newspapers published in China without reading appeals from editors and correspondents for the Powers to use force, not merely against the Lincheng brigands but to secure the lives and property of foreigners scattered far and wide about the Flower Republic. It is interesting to note the number of foreigners in whose behalf this appeal is made for measures that would involve the Powers in huge expenditure—not to mention the far graver consideration of future international complications with all probability of a war among the great Powers themselves. One may omit from the reckoning the Japanese, who want no intervention except that their military leaders might be willing to play a lone hand in such a course. The Russians and Germans may also be omitted as they maintain no forces in China now and have yielded their extraterritorial privileges—that is the right to live under their own laws in China.

The number of American, Belgian, British, French, Italian and Dutch people living in China was 21,559 in the year 1921—the period of the latest statistics. The troops maintained in the country by these nations numbered 3,158, and in addition several of them have gunboats and other warships patrolling the coasts and rivers. What is the total cost I cannot say, but we may be sure that it is far greater than the cost of maintaining similar forces at home. Added to the bill for the diplomatic and consular services, it would mount up to a considerable sum for the care of each of the 21,559 residents.

The people in charge of the national purse in the countries mentioned probably realise that intervention would involve not merely doubling the cost but multiplying it many times. There are about 70,000 British soldiers in India. It would probably take a larger force to achieve equal results in China; for the country is larger and communication less developed, while an international force could hardly be as efficient for its numbers as the army of a single nation. Besides, it cannot be assumed that the foreign force would receive as strong support from native soldiers as the Indians give to the British. Gordon's Ever Victorious Army is no criterion of what might happen if foreigners sought to take charge of the military of China in these days. If they once begin intervention, the Powers have no assurance that they will not have to send a hundred thousand men, or several hundreds of thousands, and to keep them there permanently. The foreign forces now in China are practically all stationed in the Peking-Tientsin region—diplomats' lives being considered, by diplomats, to be specially valuable. The troops were sent originally to rescue the foreigners besieged by the Boxers in Peking. Some of them stayed. If foreign soldiers were sent against the Lincheng bandits, the same argument would apply: What is the use of scattering this party of bandits and then leaving the line unprotected so that other express trains may be held up? The foreign military would find it easier to get a foot into the bog than to get it out.

A survey of the past eighty years of China's history shows continual progress towards foreign control. Anti-foreign feeling in China (not wholly unjustified) caused the so-called Opium War, which, while it opened China's doors, aroused among her people further and growing hatred of the "foreign devil." Active hostilities occurred again around the year 1860, when doors were burst wider and the Chinese Government humiliated. During the reign of the Empress Dowager the Manchu rulers came more and more under the influence of foreigners, largely through their hunger for hard cash, and during the same period Chinese national feeling was growing—partly hostile to the Manchus as Manchus and partly despising them as subservient to the Western Powers. In 1900 the Manchus took the desperate measure of secretly supporting the anti-foreign agitation. They were compelled to accept humiliating terms and were thereafter held more than ever in con-

tempt by the Chinese, who finally overthrew their tottering Government in 1911. At that time both sides needed the recognition and financial support of foreigners and the leaders did all in their power to prevent anti-foreign outbreaks. But the Republic continued to drift as the monarchy had drifted, towards foreign control. Further sources of revenue, such as the salt tax, were taken out of the hands of Chinese Government. Financial and other weakness drives the Peking Government to seek the aid of outsiders, and the more it places itself under their control the more it shatters its own influence over the provinces, where the leaders have still some notions of patriotism, or at least look for a patriotic policy in any central government to which they are asked to pay tribute. More foreign control further weakens China's Government. And more weakness again brings more foreign control. So it seems that the Powers are drifting towards intervention in China, tending to proceed from financial control to an attempt to police the country. In that event there seems no way of avoiding conflict among themselves—a conflict which would be complicated with many other issues, but in which the contention over China would be typical and perhaps decisive.

Of course, there is another way. The Powers might, instead of trying to put their financiers and troops in authority over China's millions leave it to private people on both sides to work out a new regime. The first step in that direction would be the relinquishment of the privilege of extraterritoriality under which foreigners in China condemn themselves to non-co-operation with the Chinese people. If this and other interferences of the foreign nations were removed, the co-operation that already exists between Chinese and foreigners in the markets and schools and in many other spheres would develop into practical working agreement. A writer in a Shanghai paper suggests the formation of a Hanseatic League\* in the treaty

\* Hanseatic League, or the *German Hanse*, or *Hansa*, a medieval confederation of cities of northern Germany and adjacent countries, called the Hanse towns, at one time numbering about ninety (90), with affiliated cities in nearly all parts of Europe, for the promotion of commerce by sea and land, and for its protection against pirates, robbers and hostile governments. At the height of its prosperity it exercised sovereign powers, made treaties, and often enforced its claims by arms in Scandinavia, England, Portugal, and elsewhere. Its origin is commonly dated from a compact between Hamburg and Lubeck in 1241, although commercial unions of German towns had existed previously. The League

ports of China. That is, perhaps, the most hopeful expression of opinion that has been heard in the discussion on the Linchong outrage. But under present conditions, any Chinese who ventured to join such a League would be regarded by many of his fellow-countrymen as ceasing to be a Chinese. Foreigners cannot co-operate with China while they have

their heel on her neck. Might it not be worthwhile to try taking the heel off?

held triennial general assemblies, usually at Lubeck, its chief seat; and after a long period of decline, and attempts at resuscitation, the last general assembly, representing six cities, was held in 1669. The name was retained, however, by the union of the free cities, of Lubeck, Hamburg, and Bremen, which subsequently became members of the German empire:—*The Century Dictionary*.

## AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.—A REVIEW

### II

## AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS AND EDUCATION

**A**BOUT the agricultural associations we find the following remark in the Director's Report for 1921-22 that "some of them have done excellent work, but the majority have not proved altogether satisfactory." He was perhaps not aware that many of the associations whose names found place in official reports had no existence and that the formation was sometimes effected with a secretary only who represented all the members. These associations no less than the Demonstration work illustrate to what length the zeal of the servant can carry him to satisfy the whims of his master. Apart from this unreal character of many of the associations, the chief defect lies in the fact that the people have not felt the need for associations themselves and perhaps have not much confidence in the sincerity of the agricultural officers.

And what are the associations required to do? They are to carry out the instructions of the Department for themselves. Some do accept them but the majority do not feel inclined to oblige the advisers. We cannot suppose that the people do not understand their interest and if they do not, the blame must lie with the Department.

Yet growth of the idea must necessarily be slow, and efforts should be made to rouse up the people. And one method is to ask the associations to do the experimental work and to find out for themselves what is good for their agriculture. We do not overlook the possibility of perfunctory work done at the cost of the country, but there appears no help

for it. The same remark can also be made with reference to many farms. We need not enquire into the cause of apathy or the part of the people. It is there and we must try to remove it. The Director says in his Report that "with the idea of remedying this state of affairs a movement has been started to organize co-operative agricultural associations. Six of these associations have so far been organized in the Pabna district. They raise their own share capital and their main object is the raising of seed of new varieties of crops and the purchase and sale of special seeds and manures to their own members and also to outsiders." This is certainly a move in the right direction, though we are doubtful of their continued existence. Co-operation is undoubtedly the only means of ameliorating the condition of the weak, but unless it is limited to one or two objects which are of pressing necessity, it cannot succeed. Co-operation in production and distribution of all varieties of crops especially among a large population is impossible. The disintegrating influences of the West have produced a chaos in all departments of our life; the law courts selling justice to the highest bidder, added to the economic condition of the country have contributed to the moral degradation of our people which we all deplore but for which we do not find a remedy yet. The fact is our life cannot be divided into compartments, and if we desire progress it must be in all directions in all the activities of our life. Co-operative associations for irrigation have succeeded in some of the dry districts of Western Bengal,



because the object is definite and one only and the gain is sure and immediate. The idea of co-operation was there and is there though in a decadent state. It is there among the cultivators in the name of *gantha* (Sanskrit *grantha*) which literally means binding together), and co-operation is nothing but clubbing together for a common purpose. It will be therefore possible to organize co-operative agricultural associations provided the conditions indicated above are present. Jute fulfills these conditions and a co-operative society of the cultivators like that of *ganja* is bound to succeed. But is the co-operative Department prepared to face the opposition, from the jute mills and the whole lot of parasites which is sure to stand against the society?

As to agricultural education like mass and adult education it can only be given by itinerant teachers carrying with them not statistics but specimens actually obtained from the same or neighbouring districts and dwelling upon the methods by which they were produced. The method is practically that of teaching boys by object lessons. We are aware that there are many who are desirous of having agricultural schools and the late minister of agriculture appears to have been keen on the subject. But we are at one with the Director in the opinion that "with the exception perhaps of special institutions designed for training our own staff we should be unwise to venture into the realms of education." Our countrymen in clamouring for more farms and agricultural schools, being impatient of the delay in agricultural progress commit, we beg to submit, a regrettable error of judgment. It makes us glad to note that the Director did not countenance a chimerical idea likely to make the Department more unpopular than it has been already. The sad though not unexpected fate of the Chinsurah agricultural school will convince all of the utter futility of schools and it is remarkable that even after the experience gained from the Sabour College the advocates of schools and colleges in Bengal failed to realize the present psychology of the people. The name of 'school' itself is associated with the natural desire on the part of the parents to see their boys turned into "gentlemen", and an agricultural school would turn out not gentlemen farmers but farm servants of Government. The idea of imparting agricultural instruction to the cultivators and their sons in schools is based on the fond hope of dividing their

life into compartments. The sooner this vain attempt is given up and a more comprehensive view of life is taken, the better it will be for the country. This remark applies to all schools whatever the object may be.

There must be a school, as the Director said, for training the subordinate staff of the Department. The higher training for higher duties can be best given to selected graduates by appointing them assistants of the experts including the agriculturists and sending the best of them abroad for gaining a comprehensive view of agriculture in foreign countries in all its branches.

There are, however, other means, viz. by broadcasting small but well written books and leaflets by competent writers. We had the misfortune to read some of the leaflets issued by the department some years ago,—we say, misfortune, for the language painfully reminded us of the laboured product of a translator, and on enquiry came to learn that they were translated from English by the translating Department of Government. Besides they resembled more the insipid reports of Departments than readable matter of the country. Is it a fact that there are none in the Agricultural Department who knows the vernacular of the people? The value of cowdung as the manure is well expressed by the Bengali word *sar*. In the literature of the Department the word has been wrongly applied to all kinds of manure to the confusion of the cultivators. The specimen of the Departmental creation is the word *kancha sar* which means fresh cowdung to every Bengali, but green manuring to the Department. A converse is illustrated by the newly coined word 'laddering' to mean harrowing. The Bengali word *moi* (Sanskrit *madi*) is not a ladder though it can be used as such, but a harrow. In the appendix to the Report there is a glossary which affords examples of curious uses of words. 'Beel' land has been given a variant 'bhil', 'bhodes' is said to be a clayey deposit in old tanks, 'rabi season' is spring season, 'kharif season' is winter season &c. The Government Departments have the knack of ignoring the vernacular of Bengal and importing that of northern India. Is it necessary for a department which has intimate connection with the village folk to speak in a foreign tongue when any crops or seasons of the year have to be named? We do not know how many Europeans are there in the Department. Is it for their convenience that the measures *bigha*, and *Katha*, *maund* and *seer* are

eschewed and *acre* and *lbs.* used? Cannot the Department be nationalized? We have not the pleasure of reading the Journal published by the Department. But we can well imagine that it is not meant for the cultivators nor even for educated gentlemen who take interest in agriculture. Is the Journal supplied free to the associations which are supposed to be a part of the Department?

#### AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT. REORGANISATION.

In the course of review we have suggested various changes with a view to increase the usefulness. It is a pleasure to note that the Director Mr. Evans held similar opinions on most of our suggestions. We are sorry to learn that he has taken long leave and is not expected to return. We hope this is due to reasons, other than his independent judgment which is evident in his Reports. Freedom of action allowed to right men at the head of a Department is as necessary for vigorous growth as to a child for attaining manhood. We are satisfied that the Department would have improved in all its branches had he continued to serve. We hope the minister in charge of the Department will feel the necessity of reorganising it on sound basis. It is neither money nor rules which make or mar a Department as men to guide it. We recognise the difficulty of always getting right men and the value of a system which can make an indifferent man fairly tolerable. Sometimes it is urged that an I. C. S. man is more successful an administrator than a technical man. This may be true where a shape is to be given to a new policy. For he is supposed to have more influence with Government and therefore more driving force than a technical man. It is undoubtedly true that the two qualities of a man of action and a man of thought are seldom if ever found in an equal degree in one man. In a scientific Department, however, it is an advantage if the head can understand and be in intimate touch with the work of every officer under him. We would therefore, prefer an agricultural expert, not a specialist, as the Director of the Department.

Mr. Evans in his report complains that much of his time was taken up by the numerous conferences and committees held during the year. The pressure of administrative work also increased. It is therefore, necessary to give him an assistant who in the absence of the Director will act in his

place. The Assistant Director should be as highly qualified as the Director. These two officers may be recruited from some American Bureau of agriculture.

If we were asked to re-organise the Department we would have increased the staff in certain directions, cut it down in others and proceed in the following way so as to introduce the least change in the existing organisation. The object of the Department is now well defined, the absurdity of making demonstration work foremost in the scheme is now well recognised, and there is cry for research from the Governor to the Director. This is as it should be. We would therefore, add an agricultural expert to the staff of experts. There are numerous problems in agriculture which only an agriculturist can attend to. This officer whom we may style the Agriculturist of the Department will study the problems generally as a statistician and connect the various links of the Department with the cultivator. He will also be in charge of demonstration and propaganda work. The Deputy Directors are now supposed to do the work which we have been alluding to. But as there are so many of them, it is not possible for any to take a comprehensive view of the whole situation as one man can do. It is true that there is the Director to supervise their work, but we are afraid this supervision can only be nominal.

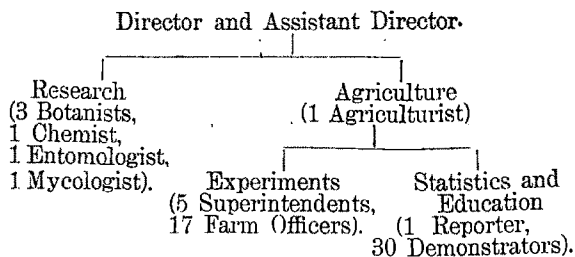
There are now two Research Stations, one at Dacca and the other at Chinsurah. Unfortunately the sites were not so chosen as to represent in soil and climate any large tracts of Bengal. Western Bengal is again quite unlike any of these two, and should therefore have a Research Station we would prefer to call Research farms instead of Research Stations, that is, farms mainly intended for the use of the specialists. A farm at Bankura has been started, and we do not see why this cannot be used as a Research farm. There are three circles now with three Deputy Directors. The number may be usefully increased to five. But these may not, must not on principle, correspond to the five administrative Divisions. Government represented by I. C. S. officers is apt to think in terms of Districts and Divisions. But it is surprising to find our countrymen thinking in the same way. Advancement of agriculture does not mean that what is good for one District is not good for another. The farms should not be regarded as appendages to the Districts. Ten farms in all will be, in our opinion, quite

sufficient. These will include the three Research farms. Besides these, there are the tobacco and cattle farms in Rangpur. As we have pointed out in a previous section more cattle and dairy farms are wanted. The power employed in agriculture is the cattle,—should we say also men?—which if they are feeble pigmies cannot advance it in spite of manures and seeds. Production of selected varieties of seeds is also another necessity. We would have therefore three seed farms and two additional cattle farms. The total number of farms will thus be  $10+3+3+1=17$ . It is, however, not the number but the right selection of sites of the farms so as to represent distinct agricultural units that is of importance both from the point of view of economy as well as of efficiency. Barring the three research farms which should be directly under the experts the remaining fourteen will require five officers whom we may style Superintendents. The agricultural expert will be the supervising and controlling authority. He should have another officer whom we may style Reporter who will be in charge of statistics, Demonstration and Education.

One word more about the expert staff.—There are now two Botanists, we would add another and divide their work thus—one will devote himself to the improvement of cereals and sugarcane, another of pulses and oilseeds and the third cotton and fibres. As there is no finality in research there will never occur paucity of work. The position of the chemist in the existing scheme is rather anomalous. But since agricultural chemistry is not agriculture but a handmaid it cannot occupy a distinct position like the Botanist and the agriculturist. In our scheme, however, there will be no difficulty and the chemist will be required to handle those problems which the Botanists and the agriculturist will place before him. Similarly the entomologist and the mycologist should be their assistants.

The headquarters of the Department should be located in Calcutta. The Agriculturist and the Reporter should be in a central place, say at Chinsurah, the Botanists in the Research farms, and each of the Superintendents in a farm of each circle. Since a laboratory has been built at Dacca and it matters little where the chemical analyses are made, the chemist should be in his laboratory. These arrangements will reduce much touring and office work, and leave time for serious work.

The whole scheme will be as indicated below:—



It is obvious that for some years to come the Director and his assistant must be Europeans. As the trend of public opinion shows, the other officers will be Indians and we do not see any reason why they, after receiving training in the manner indicated before should not be satisfied with the pay and prospects of the Provincial Service. The farm officers and the Demonstrators should belong to the Subordinate Service. Wrong choice of men for high appointments usually bring discredit to a whole Department. It is therefore necessary to select the best men available.

The present classification of the staff holding high appointments into chemist, botanist, fibre-expert, and Deputy Director is, as we have seen, unscientific, and shows that accretions have taken place from time to time to the plan originally conceived. For instance, the improvement of jute should, we think, be as much a question for the botanist as that of paddy, and what is most surprising is that the whole time of the fibre-expert was devoted to jute only. As each crop can be grown in a particular season only and lasts less than six months, it will be interesting to know how they are occupied during the rest of the year. We do not grudge them leisure for study and preparation and are not sure whether by raising this question we fall under the category of the "uninstructed" and "uninformed." What we mean to ask is, can they not find time to educate the people by delivering lectures on agricultural topics? One or two lectures from each on the work they have been doing will be of great benefit and dispel the ignorance of the public in matters relating to the Department. These lectures should be attended by all the officers of the Department including the farm officers and demonstrators and delivered at various places. Besides these lectures others may be arranged for towns when the experts visit the farms. We would invite the members of the agricultural associations to these lectures



and make the Department a living reality. This, we conceive, is the best means of spreading agricultural knowledge in the country. The officer whom we have styled Reporter will of course issue pamphlets in Bengali each complete in itself on various topics and distribute them free to the associations and to those who desire to read them. All this no doubt means cost; but we believe the total expenditure of the Department according to our scheme will not exceed what it is now. We have already referred to the agricultural school at Dacca and the method of demonstration and conducting most of the experiments which do not require more than a season for deducing conclusions. The experimental farms will be used for conducting those experiments which require continued observation for a series of years. For each farm the best varieties of each of the principal crops grown in the circle in which it is situated should be selected and the best conditions for increasing the yield or quality should be investigated. If any is found superior in a neighbouring circle that should have preference but not until the local best variety has been given a fair trial. For instance, if the *Nagra* variety of paddy or the *samsara* variety of sugarcane is considered the best yielders in Burdwan and Hooghly districts, we would as our first experiments take up these and find out the conditions for improving them. Similarly, if *Buri* variety of cotton is cultivated in Bankura, we would not think of other varieties until we had repeated trials with this. Take the Department's Indrasail variety of paddy. Evidently it is derived from a stock which bears the name *Indrasali*, corrupted into Indrasail. The name implies that it is the prince among winter paddies. It is clear from the name that it possesses potentialities of improvement which have been proved true. There are two reasons for this preference. One is that the cultivators know the habits of the crops grown in their districts and the other is that the soil and climate have proved suitable. The reports shew that Indrasail has not proved successful in parts of the country far away from its home. Of course, there is no harm in giving it a trial if only to see the result. But we contend that greater attention ought to be given to those crops of which we are sure. We are great believers in the law of the survival of the fittest. Happily this principle has been accepted in improving the breed of cattle.

Every year at a convenient time the Director should hold a conference with the officers of each section for discussing the work done during the preceding year and settle the programme for the next. The discussion and the programme should appear in the annual report. For the convenience of the public the report should give a brief history of the Department and a summary of the results achieved during the year. In the reports of the sections, however, fuller accounts will interest the readers. These need not increase the bulk of the report if the methods of the experiments and the results only are given without giving a copy of the notebooks of the officers.

#### A FEW PROBLEMS.

Sometimes reckless statements are made by responsible officers of the Department to the amusement of those critics who consider it a huge fraud. Usually these appear in the form of Rule of Three questions. We shall give an example. Sugarcane is a very profitable crop. It can yield a net profit of Rs. 100 per bigha. Therefore if one cultivates 12 bighas and grow sugarcane he can earn an income of Rs. 1200 per annum. It is therefore surprising that the people of the *Bhadralok* class do not take to sugarcane plantation. But alas the people know fully well that the Rule of Three of agriculture does not give a correct answer. If agriculture pays the cultivator it is because his wages as labourer are added to the profit. This again is not the general condition. For a man can cultivate about 15 bighas of land for paddy the produce of which can hardly maintain a family of five. Occasionally he gets some land for rabi crops which add to his income. But Rule of Three mathematicians think only of the fat years and forget the lean. If agriculture pays so well as we are led to believe, how is it that the failure of a single monsoon is followed by a famine? Where is reserve capital in the country? Why is the appallingly high death-rate and low birth-rate? Yet 80 per cent. of the people depend for their livelihood on agriculture alone. We believe this very fact explains the cause of their misery.

We shall examine another statement made in a Government Resolution two years ago. It was stated that the climate of Bengal is unsuitable for cotton. Now whoever the writer of the document was, it is obvious his knowledge of geography did not extend beyond the low lands of Eastern Bengal. His

knowledge of history was no less remarkable. For is it not a fact that Bengal used to clothe herself with her own cotton even as late as the sixties of the last century? Has the climate materially changed since then? To confound the writer who posed as an authority, the second Economic Botanist reports the discovery of a variety of cotton near Dacca said to have yielded the cotton of which the famous Dacca muslin used to be made. History tells us that Bengal was celebrated for her cotton even as early as two thousand five hundred years ago as much as she was for her linen and silk. It is said that other crops are more profitable than cotton even if the latter be found to grow well in Bengal. But the reply is that as we cannot do without cotton, it is the business of the Department so to improve the cultivation that it may be profitable. In our opinion every Province, nay every Division, ought to be self-contained in matters of food and clothing. Had the Department studied the history of the province it would have known that cotton was not the only material for cloth. There was flax in Bengal which yielded a fabric so fine that it was mistaken for silk. Similar ignorance of history led an expert of another province to declare that the *pounda* variety of sugarcane is an exotic. Yet the name of a caste in Bengal and of a town once flourishing in old times is still associated with the name of a variety of sugarcane known as *Pundra*, the Sanskrit name of *Paunda*. Then again is it impossible to evolve an annual variety of tree-cotton which grows in most parts of Bengal? The Fibre expert took up flax and sunn at the instance of the Government of India, but the question of extracting the fibres troubled him and proved an obstacle to his research. For Europe at the present time has adopted complicated machinery for the purpose which the Indian cultivators can neither afford to buy nor have the knowledge of mechanics to work. We don't know whether he has ever seen how sunn and jute fibres are extracted; and whether he found the method unsatisfactory from the point of view of agricultural economics.

If we revert to a subject which we have dealt with in the last section, it is because it forms a striking feature of the Department. People believe that the Department like the western critics of our manners and customs, sees no good of the varieties of crops grown in a district, and without careful study of the conditions advises new varieties. Some say

that this is the cheapest method of demonstrating the usefulness of the Department. For if any fails you do not record the fact in the Reports; but if it succeeds and some are sure to succeed from the law of probability the credit goes to the Department. We have it that in a certain district in western Bengal where cotton is raised, cultivators were advised and persuaded to grow the Dharwa in the place of the one that has survived. In vain do you seek in the reports any reference to the failure of the demonstration? The Java sugarcane was similarly introduced. In yield it is certainly superior to the local varieties. But we find in the Report that the *gur* tastes "acid" (acidulous?) and does not keep well. The reporter says that "complaints are received here and there" about these, but does not say whether they are true. If true, the fact will show that the Department did not take the trouble of examining the quality of the *gur*. A little consideration would have shown that the high percentage of glucose in the juice has something to do with the keeping quality.

Before replacing any local variety by a new one, one should examine the good points of the local thing and answer the question why the people have been growing it. Is it due to want of knowledge of a better one or the experience of its suitability? Take for instance the report on Pusa wheat tried at Murshidabad. We are told that the local variety (Gangajali) is hardier than the Pusa and gives a better out-turn, when there are no facilities for irrigation. Under irrigation the Pusa variety is a much heavier yielder. So there is a decidedly good feature of the local variety. If the reporter told us the cost of irrigation and compared it with the excess of yield of Pusa, the result would be of some value. Take another. It is stated in the Report that the cultivators of certain districts found bonemeal very useful for paddy. One should like to know whether they have been continuing the manure. We are informed that when the cost of bonemeal and cowdung is compared with the increase of out-turn the latter is decidedly cheaper. So it is a question of profit and loss which should invariably accompany every recommendation.

The question of cheap manure opens up a field for investigation. There is a universal belief among the cultivators of the places which are not annually flooded, that the soil has ceased to produce as much crop as before and that the addition of plenty of cowdung and oilcakes has become a necessity.

The scientific agriculturist will exclaim that there is nothing new in the complaint and that soil gets impoverished if one does not use manure but continues to raise crops year after year. But the fact is not so simple as it looks, but implies a state of affairs which has happened in comparatively recent years. It is intimately connected with the deterioration of cattle and of the physique of the people. It is a vast problem and cannot be discussed here. We shall briefly examine the question from the point of view of agriculture. That the soil used to remain fertile before and is not so now can be understood by noticing a few of the changes that have taken place. That there has been a good deal of pressure upon land is a fact no body denies. But where are the large herds of cattle now which used to graze in the fields after the crops were harvested? Where are the bones and oilcakes which could replenish the land? Thoughtful observers have been for a long time deploring the export of bones and oil-seeds from the country. But there is none to remedy the evil. Bones are a national asset which money cannot replace. They used to lie scattered in villages and while the Department recommends bone manure to the cultivators, not a piece can be found any where in the village grounds. It goes away to foreign countries for the benefit of their crops, while our farms get impoverished. Similarly there is no restriction to the export of oilseeds. If oil only were exported leaving the cakes for our cattle and farms, the thing would have been different. The export of wheat and other food grains similarly affects the out-turn of our crops.

The Government of the country is carried on by compartments and therefore the Agricultural Department has no concern with exports. The Industries Department will tell us how to extract oil or to reduce bone to powder, but has nothing to do with exports and imports. We do not know whose business it is to examine the root cause of our complaints, will the Legislative Assembly dare to stand against the fetish of free trade and save the country from ruin? An agricultural Department which fails to stand against the evil of exporting the fertilizers which it knows are of immense value may be scientific but not national.

Take another instance of the evil of administration by compartments. Consider for a moment the manureal value of silt annually lost to the country by allowing the flood water of our rivers to carry it down to the

sea. The P. W. D. is concerned with protective bunds, but has no thought for conserving the manure for our lowlands. In the year of the last devastating flood of the Damodar the present writer in a series of articles contributed to the A. B. Patrika shewed the disastrous consequences of uninterrupted bunds on the sides of the rivers of Western Bengal, how the flood water could be utilized to flush the malaria-breeding hollows and how silt could be utilized to raise the hollows and fertilize the soil. A year or so afterwards Dr. Bently advocated the same plan to combat malaria: but, as he has said that malaria attacks those who are weak and have no resisting power, has he considered what has brought about the physical deterioration of the people? The daily diet of the Bengalis has been deprived of fish, milk and ghee. Even sufficient oil is seldom used in their cooking. The Fishery Department has been a failure as it has no work to do, milk which was plentiful in almost every home has become scarce. The village commons which used to be the pasture lands have been reduced to narrow paths; the Brahmini bulls, the gifts to villages for breeding cattle have been declared to be nobody's property: the bones of cattle which surely belong to the owners, the cultivators, are now the property of the Zamindars because the carcasses are thrown on a common. Who will study agricultural economics and propose measures for adjusting the same to the present conditions? Is it impossible to prohibit the removal of bones from village grounds, or the slaughter of bulls dedicated to villages? Is it impossible to restrict the free export of oil-seeds? Let oils be exported but not the cakes. By this single restriction alone a vast industry will grow up in the country. It cannot be said that the cultivators will be deprived of a legitimate profit. For, the oilcakes left in the country will feed their cattle and fertilize their soil. What they lose in money is restored to them in a better way. Similarly if the cultivation of cotton be made profitable, *charka* and a dozen other industries will come in its train. It is industry along with agriculture that can stem the tide of poverty. The variety of occupations which characterized the villages has imperceptibly disappeared, perhaps never to return. Only the land is left behind, but insufficient to feed the population. In the season and crop report of Bengal for 1921-22, we read that "the general condition of the people [agricultural population was not very satisfactory owing



to prices of food grain, still running high, also of all important articles of daily use such as cloth, salt & etc., and also to the depression in the jute trade." Now when we remember that this report refers to the condition of the population engaged in actual agriculture who raise their food grains, the argument that high prices benefit the cultivators falls to the ground. High prices do not help the people to improve their condition. We believe a part, probably a large part, of this state is due to the want of sufficient land. The total cropped area in normal years is estimated at 32 million acres which if divided among the population of 47 million give about two bighas to each, and divided among the agricultural population alone about two and a half bigha to each. When all goes well, this quantity of land can just suffice to keep a man alive and leaves no margin for other necessities of life.

Some of our countrymen are desirous of extending the area, little considering that in most parts of Bengal every available bit of land has been put under cultivation. As a consequence the question of grazing land for cattle has been acute, the supply of fuel wood scarce and open land for amenities of life narrow, the result has been our cattle has deteriorated and cowdung is not saved for manuring. These tell directly on agriculture. No doubt there is culturable land in some districts, which is lying waste. At the same time we ought to remember that if these tracts have escaped the general scramble for land there must be good reasons. Either they are situated in places where rainfall is uncertain, or require a large capital outlay to make them arable. Besides we cannot transfer these lands to places where they would be more useful. Sometimes people having capital are advised to reclaim these

waste lands. This will not ensure that even distribution of land which can improve the lot of the majority. We believe that notwithstanding these attempts land scarcity will not be appreciably diminished. For ourselves we are opposed as a rule to extensive cultivation and to expand the area under crops. The reasons are well known to those who have thought of advancing the general prosperity of the people. Intensive cultivation is the only remedy, though at best a partial one. But this requires capital which is not forthcoming and arrangement of holdings which cannot be had. We come therefore to the same conclusion, viz. that it is the general poverty of the people which stands against successful agriculture and that agriculture alone cannot save us.

We have not said anything about sericulture. For we consider this rather to be a fit subject for the Industries Department than to the agricultural. It is the business of the Industries Department to look after weaving and other industrial schools. On the other hand the veterinary Department has a direct connection with agriculture. Similarly cooperative societies are chiefly meant for the good of the cultivators. These two should in our opinion, be under the control of one officer for the purpose of co-ordination. If this view be accepted, the Director of Agriculture should be an I.C.S. man who will have three assistants for the three branches as they are now under three names.

In concluding the review we wish to say that though we had occasions to criticise certain activities of the Department we hope we have not evinced any carping spirit. We have ventured to suggest changes which we consider necessary and to point out what may be done and what may not be done.

A COUNTRYMAN.

## PATRONAGE OF MUSIC

By DILIP KUMAR ROY

I HAVE often heard the complaint that music has steadily wilted because the British Government does not patronize our art as the ancient Hindu or later Maho-

medan princes used to do. It is argued that the artist must have leisure and security in order that his creative genius may have full play. And this leisure and security which is denied

to him by the British Raj used to be accorded to him of yore under the patronage of Hindu kings and the Musalman emperors. I propose in this article to examine this view as well as to adumbrate what is henceforth likely to prove to be the best kind of patronage of our music as an art. I mean, that is, to deal not with how our music is likely to be patronized under the changed environments of to-day, but also with what should (in my opinion) be the desideratum in this direction.

Few will deny that an artist stands in rather special need of leisure. For unlike business men and practical people, to whom activity is an end in itself, the artist has need of leisure not as a luxury but as a real necessity. It is because without leisure his budding creative impulse can hardly blossom forth as it should. I trust no thinking man will look upon the artist as presumptuous or egoistic if he says that he should be given some extra facilities, without which he can hardly turn his mind inward to receive the inspiration for the creation which he is essentially cut out for.

Here I must first of all explain myself to preclude the possibility of misunderstanding. By the term 'extra facilities' I do not mean luxury or affluence. For it must be admitted that the latter often makes the artist a little too ease-loving, which culminates generally in a happy-go-lucky sort of outlook on life. This spells the death of art inasmuch as artistic creation presupposes command of the technique of an art, and the latter in its turn presupposes sustained work, no matter how great the genius of the artist is. The great Beethoven often used to work 12 to 14 hours a day for months on end. Michael Angelo once wrote to a friend of his: "I tire myself out with work as no man has ever worked. I think of nothing other than working day and night.\*" Luxury very often undermines the will-power necessary to such sustained application. Thus I cannot possibly mean such enervating plentifulness when I advocate leisure and security. I mean only to say that it would be on the balance desirable for the artist to be spared the bitter and wearisome struggle for existence. This must not be taken to imply that it must necessarily be detrimental to his art if the artist has to sacrifice a good deal of personal enjoyment for the sake of his art. For such sacrifice

may often help to brace him up besides being a real test of his sincere love for his art; what is regrettable is that the artist should have to worry himself to make his both ends meet. It would be desirable, that is, that he should be able to devote the best part of his energy in works of creation, which may be aptly said to constitute his mission in life. Of course, every one has a mission to fulfil. Only the artist's differs from that of others in that it is not only cultural but creative to boot in the fullest sense of the term. And for this creation to have full play he must have a period of incubation as it were, in order to find his true self without which articulation in art becomes an impossibility. For the more the artist has to fritter his vitality away simply to keep his head out of waters, the less is the energy that he can consecrate to his creative work. In order that the art of an artist may be great, the latter must give of his very best and not the surplus only.

One hears it often urged that it is adversity which makes men of us and as such it is but meet and proper that the artist should go through the same schooling in his life as other self-made men who have come to the top from the bottom. Why must he alone claim exemption from such ordeals as are found eventually to contribute to sterling manliness? It may not be quite out of place to consider this point a little carefully.

It is true that people who have been commonly held up to us as great men have been found, at least as often as not, to have sprung from the ranks after desperate struggles in life. But if we should try to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of adversity, we would find that for the artist the disadvantages hold the sway. I must explain what I mean.

Quite a good many of those whom we ordinarily admire in life as self-made men will be found on examination to have contributed things of comparatively little value to society, although we often unthinkingly class them with others who are truly great by virtue of their having really enriched our society by lasting contributions. A great thinker of modern Europe has pointed out that a millionaire is respected in the world of to-day for no better reason than that of having amassed a fortune.\* The same thinker has emphatically deprecated our giving the reins to our possessive instincts

\* "Je m'épuise de travail, comme jamais homme n'a fait. Je ne pense à rien autre qu'à travailler nuit et jour."

From *La Vie de Michel Ange* by Romain Rolland.

\* *Principles of Social Reconstruction*, by Bertrand Russel.

in preference to the creative. The bundle of instincts which are possessive may sometimes incidentally contribute some good to society, but this contribution is almost always immeasurably inferior to the creation of an artist, or the discovery of a scientist or the thought movement of a philosopher.\* It is not a sound statement that the kind of energy that has succeeded in piling up money would easily create things of beauty for humanity if it only so chose. For I think it can be asserted with a fair degree of safety that there are some aptitudes which are born with some men who have proved themselves to be pioneers in great movements whether in the realm of thought research or art. It would be well worth while if society were to take some pains to recognise indications of such geniuses at the outset and provide them with the requisite help and stimulus by protecting them from the unfeeling persecutions of an exacting world. For their mission in life is not to ripen into the sort of self-complacent men who congratulate themselves as soon as they have succeeded in earning more money than they need. It need hardly be said that the latter are generally speaking not particularly flush of a capacity for creative work, specially in the realm of thought reform or art. Consequently neither they nor society stands to lose much if such people use themselves up by money-making. It is not so however with respect to the artist, the scientist, the explorer or the thinker. If *these* people have to devote the major part of their time in staving off such paltry persecutions as those of hunger, if *their* energy too gets consumed by worries, so much the worse for society. Thus far, our society has not shown any very convincing solicitude for the artist who has very often found himself quite out of his element in his unsympathetic surroundings. He is generally signally neglected only

\* I know that this statement may be challenged by people whose values are different from ours. Personally I agree whole-heartedly with Russel in his definition of civilization "as the pursuit of objects not biologically necessary for survival." A man like an American millionaire, an English jute-merchant or an Indian title-hunter will have a different set of values in life. For the first will consider ceaseless activity for human unhappiness to be the end of civilization. The second will look upon money-making as the goal of life, while the third will move heaven and earth to be simply patted on the back by the English officials. It is idle to try to convince people such as these that theirs are not perhaps the worthiest aspirations that are possible to man. To them we can only say that our advocacy of art and science—i.e. things cultural—is not meant for them.

till he has eventually succeeded in asserting himself. So he has often had to fight against tremendous odds. But this circumstance does not mean that he has not been the loser for it. Almost all the classical musicians in Germany like Beethoven or Wagner, had to weep that they could not say all that they had to say for want of time. Michel Angelo was one of the few artists who did not suffer from lack of funds. He had however enough governmental worries to keep him busy, which he bitterly complained of as having stood in the way of his creation. Dostoevski used to say that if possessed of the income of Tolstoy, or the leisure of Turgenieff he could have shown to the world how to write. Instances need hardly be multiplied to prove that if artists have been known to surmount great practical difficulties that have nothing to do with their art, they should be looked upon as having made their way *in spite of* and *not because of* them. Besides, it is only those who have conquered meaningless obstacles of whom we take notice. But who will count the hundreds of "mute inglorious Miltons" who have been effectually crushed by the weight of life? Our society can boast of having stifled many an artist by allowing the latter to be overpowered and engulfed by relentless odds. I do not hold with Leibnitz that everything is for the best in this best of all possible worlds. I believe with Voltaire (see his "Candide") that there *are* such things as waste of energy and want of sympathy. The only hopeful element about the whole business is that this waste can be prevented by a better order of society, and that sympathy for art and culture can be made more prevalent than they are to-day by preaching a different set of values in life.

Thus if the preoccupation of the artist or the thinker with petty worries is something regrettable, what would be the best way to obviate this difficulty? In the ancient Greek and Roman civilizations which were built upon slave-labour as well as the exploitation of the vast majority for the pleasure of a handful, it was not possible for the majority to enjoy the blessings of leisure or of culture which is one of the fruits thereof. So at that time it was given only to the few—the aristocrats or their favourites—to be able to enjoy the sweets of culture art and science. It was just the same in India as well. Our Brahmin aristocracy had to develop its potentiality and maintain its equilibrium at the expense of the lower castes in the social hierarchy. But culture being a



necessity, a place had to be found in society for the artist and the thinker, no matter what the stage of social evolution was. So the musician, the dancer, the artist and the painter, along with the poet, the scientist, the thinker and the philosopher had to depend on the sweet will of the Kashatriya princes for subsistence. Thus culture had to depend on the support of the ruling classes and the rich all the world over in the first stage of our civilization.

The next stage of social order was heralded by the gradual nascence and formulation of the spirit of democracy in Europe which only asserted itself at the time of the French Revolution. Of course French Revolution could not give men what it set out for—*viz.* égalité, fraternité, liberté. The time was not ripe for real democracy. What came however was the substitution of the supremacy of the bourgeoisie for that of the aristocracy. The French Revolution synchronised with the sounding of the death-knell of feudalism all over Europe (with the possible exception of Russia). As a result aristocracy is practically on its last legs to-day through the length and breadth of Europe.\* Such a profound change in the western institutions could not but have a far-reaching effect on such vital human activities as art, thought or science. The European artists—thanks to the gradual assertion of the middle classes all over Europe—became more and more independent of the sweet will of the aristocracy. It was now not the court but a gradually crystallising public opinion which took it upon itself to criticize, appreciate and finally patronize art and science. The effect of this emancipation of art was perhaps most striking in the case of literature and music. In artistic literature for instance it was no longer the princes and the lords who formed the eternal theme of the writers. It was gradually the common man who became the hero and the ordinary woman the heroine whose sorrows and joys men were asked to share in. Thus it was the adventures and tragedies of the ordinary man's life which were found to be of greater interest than the fates of cruel princes and their egoistic courtiers. The tendency of modern literature to pick out men from the more and more humble stations of life to fill the roles

of heroes is too significant in this connection to be ignored (see Dostoievski, Gorky, Bojer, Barbusse etc., in Europe and Sarat Chatterjee in India.)

The benefit that has accrued to music has been no less remarkable. Music has made giant strides in Europe during the past few centuries. For instance the wonderful and perhaps the greatest of harmonic music—symphonic music—has been altogether a later product. Operatic music too has made much greater headway under the great German operatic composers like Wagner of the last few centuries than under composers like Lulli in the Court of Louis XIV. One of the potent reasons is, that the Western artist has enjoyed much greater freedom and inspiration of late under popular encouragement than of yore under the benevolent patronage of the devitalised aristocracy. For it can hardly be a mere accident that most of our fine arts all over the West should have progressed by leaps and bounds during the last few centuries.

So there is reason to think that this will be the next phase in the orientation of patronage of art in our country as well, although thus far we have not been able to keep pace with Europe in accommodating ourselves to the new conditions under which our art has had to thrive. But this retardation is due mostly to the inchoate nature of the present forces—thanks to the superimposition of a foreign domination which has prevented a normal working or shaping of the natural tendencies. I will try to be more explicit as to what I mean.

In India the order of society has become a little hybrid, by reason of the unnatural constraint from the outside, namely that of unsympathetic and uncomprehending foreign dictatorship. This it is which has prolonged the term of life of Indian feudalism by preserving intact the princes and native chiefs as *bienveillant* figure-heads. These lords of mankind with 'pride in their port' and 'defiance in their eyes' have no *raison d'être* in the present age, which is unmistakably industrial and capitalistic as opposed to feudal. If the foreign Government had not interfered, these worthy puppets would have been long dead and gone in every province just as in Bengal, Maharashtra, Gujrat, U. P., C.P., etc. We can however safely take them to be as good as dead inasmuch as their contribution to the future development of our society is at an end. They have outlasted their utility. At the present time they are but a bolstered-up scare-crow of a spent-up force.

\* A certain well-known English writer has sarcastically remarked that although we have been told that imbecility has fled from Europe it is difficult to swallow this assurance since many of us have been to the House of Lords. I refer to this remark as it only humourously points out what is apparent, *viz.* that the age of aristocracy is past and that for ever.

It is well to take cognizance of the fact that what the spirit of the times clamoured for—viz. the replacement of the aristocracy as a moulder of society by the bourgeoisie—would have been impossible had science not come to the aid of the former. I mean the unquestioned boons that the labour-saving devices have conferred on mankind—particularly in extensive and intensive agriculture—thereby making it possible for the great majority to be able to taste of the joys of leisure and art\*.

The question however may arise if after all the old order of society, viz. the age of princes and aristocracy, was not on the balance more conducive to the growth of art than the present age, democratic though the tendency of the latter be? At any rate may it not be so in India, even if it cannot be said to hold with regard to Europe? The spectacle of our music languishing at the present age is undoubtedly one that is calculated to make us pause and think if after all the above mis-giving is not justified! For, is it not a fact that great classical musicians are dwindling steadily for want of support which used to be accorded to them by the princes of yore? I propose to dwell on this point at some length.

I find it difficult to deny that our music has wilted in recent times. The reasons are manifold, chief among which is the fact of our middle classes not coming forward to take our musical heritage in hand, as in other countries they have done. The result was that our music was confined to the professionals who were men of very little culture and as such extremely short-sighted people. They not only failed in consequence to develop further what they inherited from their worthy predecessors, but they served to make good music rarer by refusing to teach people outside their own class or family. An art cannot fail to suffer from anæmia if it is made a monopoly of. I do not deny however that comparative lack of royal patronage had also something to do with this decline. But if our musicians were cultured people they would have had the self-respect to refuse to be a

hanger-on on the idle aristocrats even when the latter grew indifferent to good music and was loth to patronize it any longer. The former should have gone to the middle classes, taught the latter their art and the resulting patronage would certainly have been more satisfactory on the balance. The supremacy of the middle classes however having been less speedy in India than in the West, they could not come to the rescue of our music as they probably would have done in the normal course of affairs. Consequently the substitution of the patronage of the middle classes for that of the ruling classes has been delayed a little in making itself felt. As a result music had to suffer in the beginning, specially because the transitional stage of our social order (always a difficult time for art even when it takes a normal course of development) was abnormal to boot, thanks to the artificial pressure of foreign exploitation which, as I have said, retarded the extinction of feudalism.

As however Nature can hardly be baulked out of its irresistible purpose, the nascent bourgeoisie began to take interest in music *pari passu* with the losing of such interest on the part of the aristocracy and the princes. Not that the former consciously realised that their patronage was going to be the next phase of a surer and more desirable form of patronage, but simply because their leisure made them feel that man cannot live by bread alone. Thus although the music was bound to suffer a little in the beginning in the rather new conditions it was required to thrive in, the signs are unmistakable that it is going to have much better soil to prosper in and that in the near future to boot.

Having tried to trace briefly the cause of the decadence of our music it would be just as well to ask ourselves, in what way are our future musicians likely to earn their livelihood while developing their art? It is not impossible to suggest an answer to this question with a fair amount of certainty. For that, it would not be quite out of place to envisage certain broad indications and more or less universal signs of the times in order that we might visualize the probable future with a fair degree of certitude.

One can see pretty clearly that industrialism has come to stay, however the advocates of the pre-industrial social institutions may deplore it. Whether it is going to change its masters from capitalism to some form of socialism in the near future may seem a little problematic just now. This much is however

\* See Russel's arguments on the immediate practicability of turning such economy of labour to account (Prospects of Industrial Civilization) as also his explanation as to the abuse of labour, viz. that production is to-day meant not for consumption but for profit. See also Prince Kropotkin's arguments as to how it is immediately possible to enable men to produce all the necessities of life by making all men work only 4 hours daily. (Conquest of Bread).

certain that the different countries are tending to develop in the direction of becoming more and more interdependent, science contributing not a little to such a development. (See Russel's latest book "Icarus on the Future of Science") so that the change in the social orders of countries far removed from each other is more likely than otherwise to experience more or less similar orientations. The indications which point to this contingency as likely are fairly numerous, whether in the world of ideas or in the world of facts: Thus one sees august royalties vanishing like soap-bubbles all over the world from the Hohenzollerns, Hapsburgs and Tsardom in the West to the Emperors in the Far East. Thus one can discern a new spirit of self-respect in the average man—in its incipience though it be just now—practically all over the civilized world. Thus one finds economic exploitation of raw materials laying its iron clutch on every unexploited territory of the globe etc., etc. There is therefore reason to infer that the growth (and future fall perhaps?) of the middle classes will follow more or less similar lines of development. Thus we can profit by the example of highly industrialised countries, to be able to foretell how the future generations of our countrymen are very probably going to patronise arts like music.

In the West, the musicians earn their livelihood now-a-days mostly by giving public concerts and teaching. They can already afford to do without fawning on the idle, rich and the depraved nobility, because they find considerable encouragement from the middle classes. In modern Europe even the masses are beginning to respond. Anybody who has been on the continent knows how crowded even the classical concerts are—not to speak of the popular music-halls etc. I have very often seen in Germany long queues of tired but expectant faces waiting for tickets for hours. I have heard auditoriums resound with "Nur ein mehr" (only one more) after the termination of the announced number of songs. I have been myself disappointed in getting a series of fifteen season-tickets (which are often sold together) even two and a half months before the commencement of the season. I have seen practically everywhere in Europe (including the least musical England) good musicians sought after, made much of and fairly overwhelmed with attentions. Artists like the late Caruso or Adelina Patti were the envy of kings. In fact it would not be too much to say that to-day singers like Chaliapin

or violinists like Kreisler would not perhaps care to change places even with the late Tsar in all his quondam glory. It is indeed a gratifying reflection that artists should be accorded honours that are their due and that this raising of their social status should be attributable to the patronage and appreciation of the middle classes. And to think that the people should have displaced the aristocracy in respect of the patronage of music.\*

In our country too the indications point fairly to the same direction with respect to the line of development of our music. That is to say, we can already discern how our music, too, tends to be more and more democratized with time (not using the word in its bad connotation—which has become the fashion lately among certain sections of the European intelligentsia) or in other words, how our music is going to succeed more and more in emancipating itself from the shackles of the demoralizing patronage of the rich. I should like to say a few words about why I deem such patronage demoralising for the art of the present and the future. I have pointed out already how and why such patronage was necessary once upon a time. But times are changing and new harmonies must be sought with such changes. I am personally of opinion that although there have been and still will be many abuses of democracy, its spirit nevertheless is a great advance on the old and decaying spirit of reverence for kings. The age of the idea of the divine right of kings is fast yielding place to the idea of the necessity of self-respect in the mind of the average man (just now noticeable only among the educated maybe, but sure in the immediate future to take root in the mind of the average citizen). This faith in the divinity of man, as opposed to that of kings alone, has enough to commend itself to every right-thinking man and I cannot therefore but welcome the spirit of democracy which

\* By the word 'people' I do not exactly mean the masses. The world has not evolved to that stage yet for the masses to be able to afford music or arts in general. It is however by no means unlikely that in the next phase of our social evolution it will be these very people who will be the patrons of art. It is a little premature to prophesy just now whether this will be *comme il faut*. I only want to suggest that this contingency is bound to strike one as more than possible takes cognizance of the trend of the forces of to-day. For instance the spread of socialism in every industrial country, the wiping out of the bourgeoisie in modern Russia, the coming of labour into power in England,—all these data cannot be without significance.



has propagated this new seed broadcast. It is true that democracy has a great many short-comings and that it is liable to abuse and misuse in thousand ways and one. It is true also that it has been found next to impossible to prevent autocracy from masquerading in its name. But when all is said and done the spirit of democracy is an immense advance on the servile spirit which obtained in the mind of the average man before its advent. The great distance that separates the cringing mentality of yore from the modern spirit of self-respect and equality has been very admirably depicted in the great play—*Princes Bébé* of the renowned Spanish playwright, Jacintho Benavente.

To come from the general to the particular, that is to our country, I feel convinced

that our future musicians too will draw on public encouragement for support in the near future. To enumerate their means of livelihood, these are most probably going to be (1) giving public concerts as has already become the vogue in Mysore or Madras; (2) singing to private audiences for stipulated fees as has already become the custom in large cities like Calcutta or Bombay; (3) publishing books on music with notations to songs as has recently been started in Bengal and Bombay; and (4) giving lessons which is already a stable means of subsistence with many musicians all over India.

I will deal in my next article with the manifold good effects that will result from such emancipation of our music.

## AN AMERICAN VIEW OF BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

BY DR. TARAKNATH DAS, M. A., PH. D.

THE present tendency of British foreign policy can be summed up as Anglo-French rivalry, Anglo-Japanese rivalry, and Anglo-American friendship. Other factors are Anglo-German understanding, Anglo-Russian understanding, Anglo-Italian understanding, Anglo-Spanish understanding and Anglo-Turkish understanding, to strengthen the British position in Europe and world politics, and at the same time bring about the isolation of France.

Great Britain is somewhat sure of Anglo-German and Anglo-Italian friendship against France. She knows it well that in future Germany and Italy are bound to be on friendlier terms because of the new states created by the breaking up of the Austrian Empire not being so friendly to Italian and German interests.

These States, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania now are more friendly towards France than towards either Italy or Britain. It is not comforting to the Italians to see that Rumania now has more territory and population in Europe than Italy has.

Britain knows that there are absolutely conflicting interests between Turkey and Russia. When Britain wishes to have friendly

relations with Turkey and at the same time favors Soviet Russia, she is trying to accomplish the impossible. She knows that Turkish co-operation is more stable, because Turkey would be opposed to France, hoping to recover Syria through British support. Britain feels that Turkey is more manageable than France or Russia. In fact Turkey would follow Great Britain siding with her, if Franco-Turkish, Italian-Turkish and Russo-Turkish relations be not so cordial. Britain sees that Turkey favors Anglo-Turkish understanding because of economic and political reasons, fearing a strong Russia.

Great Britain is showing consideration for Russia not for the love of Russia but to check any possibility of developing Franco-Russian understanding, which may even result in Franco-German-Russian understanding, provided the German statesmen see that that would be to their advantage more than being a party to the Anglo-Japanese-Chinese understanding, and there is every symptom of such a move on the part of Russia. If Russia can move in a way to bring about Russo-Japanese-Chinese alliance and if France and Japan move to have an understanding amongst themselves against British aggression,

then it is possible that Russo-Japanese-Chinese alliance will be aided by France and her Allies; in that case Germany may not be a party to Anglo-German-Italian understanding in Europe. Thus Britain is lined up against France and trying to use American support to gain her point of weakening France economically and strengthening Germany, a future ally of Britain; *The New York Evening Post*, in an able editorial published July, 5, 1924, discusses the Anglo-French rivalry in the following way:—

#### A BRITISH WEDGE FOR VERSAILLES PACT

The preliminary political maneuvering over the Dawes reparations program and its execution has brought one fact clearly to the front; that Great Britain has never abandoned the idea of revising and watering down the Treaty of Versailles. MacDonald's policy on this point is that of Lloyd George, of Bonar Law, of Baldwin. His manner of approach is different: the aim is identical.

The gains of Great Britain under the treaty have been solidified, cemented and put beyond the power of moth and rust to corrupt. The German navy is gone; Britain has extended her territories and made sure her future commercial dominance. The advantages that should have accrued to France still hang in midair. French security and reparations from Germany still depend upon the strict interpretation and execution of the treaty as the law of Europe.

The specific move now under way as the Allies are preparing to discuss the Dawes plan is directed against the decisive power of the Reparation Commission. In brief, Great Britain aims to take from that commission the authority to determine whether Germany is in default and put it into the hands of an "impartial body"—the League of Nations Council, say, or a specially constituted board.

France from the beginning has controlled the Reparation Commission. The United States not being represented, votes upon major issues have always resulted in a tie—France and Belgium against Great Britain and Italy. In this case the president, a Frenchman, casts the deciding vote. Diplomatic considerations have prevented Great Britain from attempting to take away from France the presidency of the body.

France has found from bitter experience that she must trust to her army to bring Germany to terms. Without the power to say when Germany is in default, France might lack the necessary legal backing for employing force. French opinion, therefore, is utterly opposed to surrendering control of the Reparation Commission.

The British argument for going outside the treaty and transferring the power of the Reparation Commission to an "impartial body" is a rather plausible one, especially from the British point of view. In order to put the Dawes plan into execution, the Allies will, in any case, have to go slightly outside the Versailles pact. Special agreements will have to be made with Germany with regard to the management of the "Gold Bank" and the transfer of railway and industrial debentures on the reparations account. The same is true of other details of the machinery provided for in the Dawes program.

Why then, asks MacDonald, should not the Allies go a little further, limit the authority of the Reparation Commission and set up this "impartial body"? The French, needless to say, cannot see the matter in this light. They have accepted the Dawes plan only because it goes so slightly outside the treaty and trusting that it will go no further. Besides, throughout the Dawes program it is distinctly implied that the authority of the Reparation Commission is not to be called in question. The experts were called to conference by the commission and submitted their report to the commission. The commission was, in effects their boss and nothing in their report could have contemplated giving their boss the sack.

The fear is expressed in certain circles in France that Herriot, in reaching an understanding with MacDonald, consented to throw overboard French control of the Reparation Commission and laid open the Versailles Treaty to the revisionist wedge of Great Britain. If it proves that this fear is well grounded, the result will simply be that Herriot will not go to London. For a portion of Herriot's Leftist group will join with the Poincarists to vote him out of office.

The Chamber of Deputies is on its guard against the possibility of Herriot's yielding too much to MacDonald; it will remain in session during the period of the London conference and will be quick to act in case necessity arises. While at the conference, Herriot will not for a moment be out from under the eye of his master.

Judged by past performance, MacDonald will not press too far the British revisionist idea. He sees clearly the necessity of quick action on the Dawes program if the settlement in Europe is to be under way by autumn. His own position at home, like Herriot's, is too insecure for him to risk a break with France at this stage of the proceedings.

This much, however, is plain. Great Britain, in the course of the coming settlement, will not miss any opportunity to undermine the Versailles Treaty to the advantage of British interests and the disadvantage of France. Their wedge is always ready for the block. Once it enters, France may be prepared to say farewell to the fruits of her victory in the war.

*New York Evening Post, July, 5.*

The foreign policy of the British Labour Party is absolutely imperialistic, and there is no change whatsoever, as far as the ultimate goal of British Imperialism is concerned. The MacDonald government has adopted new tactics which are approved by the Liberals and Tories, so far as Foreign Affairs are concerned. The present British policy towards Soviet Russia should not mislead any one about the possible liberalism of British foreign policy. Britain knows that Russia single-handed cannot harm her and it is best to be on apparent good terms with Russia and to concentrate against France, for the consolidation of the British position in Asia. The *New York Nation*, of July 9, 1924 gives an estimate of British Labor Imperialism in the following way:—

Cabinets come and Cabinets go—but British imperialism goes on forever. The Labor Party's Cabinets has just announced that it will under no circumstances renounce the Sudan, the vast hinterland of Egypt where British capital is developing cotton fields destined to rival our own Southland. "Independent" Egypt had hoped that the advent of a "Labor" Government would bring a change. In vain—and perhaps Egypt will become a sore again. Meanwhile Irak—the uneuphonious name given to the Arab State set up in what was not so long ago known as Mesopotamia—is also feeling the steel beneath the British glove. Irak was "mandated" by the League to Great Britain, and soon thereafter the faithful Feisal, son of the puppet King of the Hedjaz, and ex-king of Syria, was established in power there with an Arab parliament made to order. The British, readers of *The Nation* will recall, had such difficulty in collecting taxes for Feisal that they used airplanes and bombed whole villages, killing men, women and children with magnificent ruthlessness. Possibly memories of this persisted; at any rate the Iraqis—as the French called them—for a long time refused to sign the treaty which the British prepared for them. Finally, after a threat of abolition of the parliament, they voted it. But still the difficulties of British rule persist. For the Arabs of Irak now announce that they do not want Mosul.

At Mosul is Oil. The British clashed over Mosul with French when they were dividing up the spoils of the war at the peace conference. Mr. Hughes rained notes on the British until the British oil companies granted the Standard Oil a share of the Mosul pickings. The Turks have steadfastly refused to admit that Mosul belongs to Irak, and have more than hinted that they intended to sell the oil concessions of Mosul all over again without heeding the Anglo-Franco-American allotment of "rights." The Lausanne Conference nearly came to grief over Mosul oil and a new Anglo-French conference has just broken up because of inability to agree about Mosul. Mosul was mandated to England by the League of Nations along with the rest of "Irak" as defined in the Treaty of Sevres, and nominally England has been negotiating all along in the interest of Irak. Actually the interest of the British holders of an old Turkish oil concession and the British holders of a new oil concession from "independent" Irak probably has more to do with it. At any rate the Arabs of Irak have announced that they do not want Mosul, which leaves the British moral shirt-front—the Anglo-Saxon imperialism always wears a moral shirt-front—rather obviously spotted. What moral grounds will the British next discover to explain the presence of their soldier boys and their airplanes in the neighborhood of the oil-wells of Mosul?

New York—*The Nation*,

The history of British foreign policy from the time of Elizabeth up to the present indicates one purpose—Expansion of the British Empire by destroying its rivals through suitable combinations—intervals of peace were only to acquire strength and arrange alliances for the purpose of crushing the rivals. Britain crushed Spain through Anglo-Dutch Alliance during the Elizabethian era. Then she joined hands with France during

the Cromwellian period to crush Holland, a rival in the trade of the East. According to Prof. Seely, Britain fought France from 1688 to 1815, in seven distinct wars, in combination with other powers, to crush Russia during the Crimean war. During the Franco-Russian war, Britain gave her support to Russia against France to crush the ambition of Napoleon III. After this Britain joined with Japan and America to crush Russia and thus weaken the dual alliance of France and Russia against Britain. The story of the formation of the Triple Entente to crush Germany is known to all students of modern history.

The world war has not solved the problem of the so-called "balance of power" so far as Britain is concerned. In place of old rivals, new ones have arisen. The worst of all, America and Japan have become great factors in the game of world politics. Great Britain has three rivals in three continents, France in Europe, Japan in Asia, and the United States of America in the new world. Over and above these Russia is the potential rival of the future.

Britain cannot fight all of them at the same time, and it is not desirable for her to adopt such a course to maintain her power. Should Britain try to fight the United States, within a few days from the declaration of war, she would lose Canada and Australia; and it may be that Japan would be glad to side with America in such a conflict to oust Britain completely from the islands of Eastern Asia,—so Great Britain at any cost must try to remain friendly to the United States and do her best to use American strength in her favor. France and Japan are two immediate rivals of Britain, and Russia is the future one. Britain would force France in such a way as will not be against British interest, or she will fight them one by one or combined. Britain thinks that Japan cannot harm her immediately and the present Anglo-American policy against Japan is a sure guarantee against her at least for the immediate future. Britain is concentrating against France now. France will be crushed if America takes a stand against her and in favor of Britain. But if France, Japan and Russia, which are to be crushed successively according to the British plan of action, combine now, then the conflict between Britain and any one or all of these three powers—France, Japan and Russia will be postponed for a few years.

India has no control over her Finance, National Defense and Foreign Affairs. However



it is very pertinent for any far-sighted Indian statesman to inquire if it would be to the interest of the people of India to be a party to any war in which Britain may be involved for some reason, against France, Japan, Russia or any other power. It is equally pertinent for every British statesman to consider the possible difficulty if a large portion of the Indian population, if not all of it, take the attitude towards the next British war as the Irish Republicans took during the last world war, or the Czechs, Slavs and Poles did towards the Austrian Empire. Unless the situation changes in India, it will

not be possible for Britain to secure another Gandhi to act as a recruiting Officer as he did in the last world war. Although the last world war was fought to end all wars, there is every reason to believe that in the next war Great Britain will be involved to a larger degree than she was in the last one, and India will be called upon to make greater sacrifices. It is better for all concerned to face the possible future with a policy. It is needless to say that the key to the situation lies in the possible British attitude to India's aspirations towards the achievement of a real Swaraj.

## LET US BE PROVINCIALS

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M. A., PH. D.

(LECTURER IN POLITICAL SCIENCE, STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA)

We must feel in the very marrow of our being that our loyalty is due only to America, and that it is not diluted by loyalty for any other nation or all other nations on the face of the earth. Only thus shall we fit ourselves really to save other nations, to refuse ourselves to wrong them, and to refuse to let them do wrong, or suffer wrong.—Theodore Roosevelt.

THE people who worship the fetish of internationalism at the expense of nationalism are of dubious mental poise. They are for the most part enthusiasts and idealists.\* They set up the dreamy metaphysical abstraction called humanity in general, and then pull down all the bulwarks of nationalism.

In a well-ordered community nationalism should precede internationalism, and wholesome national consciousness should blossom in the soil of true provincialism. The significance of the local community has been rightly stressed by Hugh Walpole in his novel, *The Secret City*, in which he makes one of his characters say that "you couldn't really love all mankind until you had first learnt to love one or two people close to you. And that you couldn't love the world as a vast democratic state until you had learnt to love your own bit of ground, your own fields, your own river."

\* The American realist Mr. H. L. Mencken holds that an idealist is "one, who, on noticing that a rose smells better than a cabbage, concludes that it will also make better soup."

The late Josiah Royce of Harvard University once made a stirring plea for provincialism.\* Provincialism, declared the Harvard philosopher, is the love and pride which leads the inhabitants of a province to cherish their traditions, beliefs, and aspirations. Higher provincialism, wisely guided is no more disloyal to the nation than to the family. He declared that a sound provincialism is not only the hope of a community, but also the saving power to which the nation and the world must needs appeal more and more.

How is this local provincialism fostered in America? One of the most striking ways I have observed is through the study of local history.

Almost every state in America has its state and local historical societies. These societies are of three types. First, there are the societies which are chiefly museums, such as the Ohio Historical and Archaeological Society at Columbus. Then there are those which are mainly libraries, such as the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at Madison, the Minnesota

\* J. Royce, *Race Questions*, pp. 57-103.

Historical Society at St. Paul, and the Massachusetts Historical Society at Boston. The third, and perhaps the most important, are those societies which are devoted chiefly to research and publication. Doubtless this classification is somewhat faulty, because the activities of all local historical societies tend to coincide to a limited extent. Nevertheless, the fact remains that they all appear to emphasize one phase of work more than another.

Now the type of historical society that specializes in well-planned investigation and publication seems to me of utmost value. And in this field, the literary output of the State Historical Society of Iowa is unsurpassed, either in quality or in quantity, by any other similar organization in America. Indeed, so far as careful and scholarly contributions to American local history are concerned, the State Historical Society of Iowa, to my knowledge, has no equal and certainly no superior. A brief sketch of the Society, as indicative of its resourcefulness and breadth of historical vision, may not be altogether devoid of interest.

The State Historical Society of Iowa is a public institution supported by the government of the State of Iowa. The Society is not "a guardian of museum specimens and out-of-date material"; its main purposes are the compilation, publication, and dissemination of the materials of Iowa history. And so it has been the policy of the Historical Society to employ experts to compile from the collections of the Society and other repositories the more important data for publication. These researches or investigations are made for the most part by trained historians, working under the direction of the Superintendent of the Society. Thus, from thousands of books, pamphlets, documents, papers, and other sources, all phases of the history of Iowa are explored. The words, "Sifted Grain and the Grain Sifters", if inscribed over the portals of this granary of historical knowledge, would serve as a clue to its character.

The Society, as a public tax-supported institution, does not exist merely for the profit and delectation of a coterie of academic high-brows. It is for all the people of all the State. Realizing that if any considerable number of people are to have access to the materials of the history of this State, the products of the trained historians who do the research work for the Society must be published. Accordingly this Historical Society has made the publication of Iowa history one

of its chief functions. Already the Society has issued over 170 separate publications. What are they?

Covering the whole field of Iowa history, these publications may be grouped into the following series:

*The Quarterly*, known as the *Annals of Iowa* from 1863 to 1874, as the *Iowa Historical Record* from 1885 to 1902, and as *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* from 1903 to the present time.—51 volumes.

*The Monthly*, known as *The Palimpsest*,\* aims to present the materials of Iowa history in a style that is popular in the best sense.—4 volumes.

*Public Archives Series*, in which are included three volumes containing the documentary history of the government of the State, seven volumes of the messages and proclamations of the Governors of Iowa, and the Executive Journal of Governor Lucas.—11 volumes.

*Iowa Biographical Series*, containing extended biographies of men prominent in Iowa history—Governor Lucas, Governor Chambers, Governor Dodge, Senator Jones, Thomas Cox, Senator Dodge, Justice Miller, Senator Harlan, General Weaver, Governor Kirkwood, and Colonel Hepburn.—11 volumes.

*Iowa Economic History Series*, in which there are volumes dealing with such subjects as the history of labor legislation, taxation, road legislation, work accident indemnity, economic legislation and the history of banking.—7 volumes

*Iowa Social History Series*, in which appear volumes dealing with such subjects as the history of social legislation and the history of poor relief legislation in Iowa.—2 volumes.

*Iowa Applied History Series*, which represents an attempt to bring the light of history to bear upon the solution of current problems

\* "The word palimpsest, which is of Greek origin, has an interesting history. In early times Greek and Roman palimpsests, explains a classical scholar, were "parchments or other materials from which one or more writings had been erased to give room for later records. But the erasures were not always complete; and so it became the fascinating task of scholars not only to translate the later records but also to reconstruct the original writings by deciphering the dim fragments of letters partly erased and partly covered by subsequent texts."

The history of Iowa, as indeed of any other country, is like a palimpsest which holds the records of successive generations. To decipher these records of the past, reconstruct them, and tell the stories which they contain is the unique task of those who write history.



of legislation and administration. The last volume in this series is on Statute Law-making in Iowa.—3 volumes.

*Iowa and War Series*, containing short articles on the war history of Iowa.—24 numbers.

*Iowa Chronicles of the World War*, containing an account of Iowa's part in the World War.—7 volumes.

*Miscellaneous Publications*, consisting of a large number of volumes covering a great variety of subjects in the political, educational, and religious history of Iowa.—40 volumes.

*Bulletins of Information Series*, containing information along certain lines of historical interest.—11 numbers.

The researches of the Society are in no sense government reports: they are historical contributions of great worth. And since the researches and publications of the Society are not meant alone for this day and generation but for succeeding generations as well, it has been the policy of the governing board to print and bind all publications containing historical material in substantial and permanent form. The carrying out of this policy involves the use of high grade paper, careful printing, and first-class binding.

How are the publications of the Society distributed? The publications of the Historical Society are made accessible to the people of the State in two ways: through official depositories and through membership.

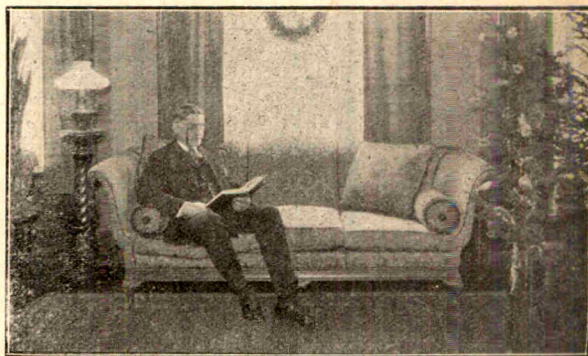
In order that the materials of Iowa history may be made available to the largest possible number of citizens, one hundred and sixty public and college libraries in the State have been designated as official depositories, to which the publications of the Historical Society are sent free of charge. These official depositories are found in every county of the State, thus assuring the dissemination of a knowledge of Iowa history throughout the entire Commonwealth.

As for distribution of publications through membership: individuals interested in Iowa history and desiring the publications of the Historical Society may become members of the Society upon election by the Board of Curators. The annual membership dues are nine rupees. At present there are about 1,400 members representing practically every county in the State. Members receive the publications of the Society during the period of their memberships. These publications, including the periodicals and books, average two dozens a year.

The State Historical Society, though primarily a research laboratory, is not without a working library of its own. It has been collecting materials of Iowa history and politics for over a period of sixty seven years. The collections now include a library of over 62,000 volumes or titles, nearly 3800 bound volumes of newspapers, and hundreds of valuable historical letters, papers and documents. The library has already become a resort for specialists in American local history. It is interesting to note that three-fourths of the collections, priceless treasures, have come to the society as voluntary gifts. The precious materials thus garnered are preserved in fire-proof rooms in the Hall of Liberal Arts, a State University building at Iowa City. The most valuable papers and documents are kept in steel cases under lock and key.

The writer has a desk in this temple of history. And as he looks at the accumulated treasures of the historic lore, freely open to all, he seems to hear the clarion call as of a librarian of Nalanda or Taxila of old: "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters and he that hath no money come."

The State Historical Society of Iowa is in a sense the trustee of the Commonwealth; and so the State provides for the maintenance of the society. Sixty-seven years ago the first government appropriation made for the society was 750 rupees. With the growth of the activities of the society, the annual support has been increased, and now amounts to about 134,000 rupees. There is little doubt that without this liberal official aid, the Society could not have carried on its activities so successfully.



Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, the Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa

The dominant activity of the Society, let it be stated again, is not the collection of



historical materials in one place, in its library. Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, who as the Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, has justly won a national reputation for scientific scholarship and administrative ability has blazed a new trail in the field of local historical research. It is his idea that the message of history should be carried to the multitude. "Instead of hoarding books and manuscripts for the use of the few, says Dr. Shambaugh, a convinced believer in the gospel of creative provincialism, "the Society aims to distribute the greatest amount of accurate, scientific historical literature to the people. Nor is this all. After the publication and distribution of scholarly monographs, comes the effort to transmute them into popular literature. It is then that the historical knowledge becomes accessible to the many, becomes a living part of the community. That's the supreme moment of the State Historical Society."

Dr. Shambaugh then pulls out his shell-rimmed nose-glass. And as he leans back on his swivel chair, he proceeds with the quiet strength of a mountain stream.

"The positive knowledge of one's own community kindles an ardent patriotism and a sense of practical loyalty—a very necessary force in the making of a nation. Viewed in this light, a local historical organization which is

a microcosm of the whole nation, furnishes a rallying point for philosophical synthesis, an intellectual reservoir of national unity and strength."

All of which goes to prove that the study of the facts of local history are of inestimable value to one who wishes to function as a citizen of the province and a citizen of the nation. It would be shallow to believe that provincialism is destructive to nationalism. In the best regulated state, there is no necessary conflict between the life of the nation and that of the local community. Just as the symphony of a great orchestra is due to the blending of many notes, so is the national spirit the merging of the spirit of each province. The nation, to be alive and aggressive, must be fed from the magic inner springs of the love of the local community, the patriotism of the province.

Our prime need in India is sound provincialism and nationalism. National strength and unit should be the basis of international peace. We can serve the world at all, in the slightly adopted language of Mr. Roosevelt, only if we serve the Fatherland first and best.\*

\* H. Hagedorn, *The Americanism of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 225.

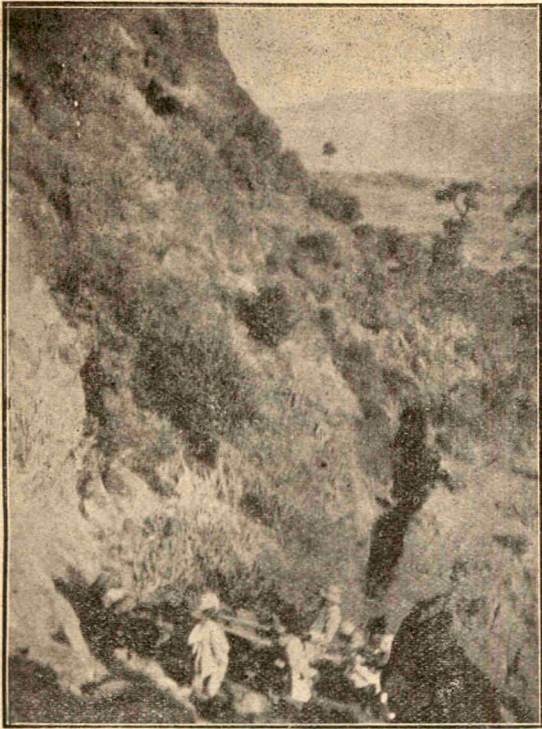
## THE CAVES OF KARLA

THE caves of Karla are situated at a distance of thirty-seven miles from the city of Poona and can be reached either from that place or from Bombay by railway as well as by motor. The Bombay-Poona road, which is the principal road connecting Bombay with Bangalore, Madras and Secunderabad passes within two miles of the caves. The nearest railway station is Malavli, which was formerly called Karla. From Malavli station the feet of the hills is about three miles distant, but as no conveyances or food-stuffs are available either in the village of Karla or at the caves, visitors with ladies and children with them should avoid getting down at Malavli. For such parties of visitors, Lonavla or Lonavli is the

most convenient station, because, in the first place, all fast trains stop at Lonavla while none of them do so at Karla; in the second place, all sorts of conveyances, including a motor car are available for hire at Lonavla, which is a flourishing summer resort within easy reach of Bombay. Leaving the Bombay-Poona road near the 78th mile from Bombay, a feeder road leads to the foot of the hills. Here the villagers wait with chairs in which the weak, the portly as well as the lazy can be transported uphill. The climb from the bottom of the hills is about 400 feet. A well-made hill-road leads from the foot of the hill to the platform in front of the caves. With very little alterations this road can be made suitable for wheeled traffic, specially for



rickshaws which one misses so much even on the hill-stations of the Bombay Presidency.



On the Hill-road to the Caves

The caves of Karla are very few in number compared with the innumerable excavations at Ellora and at Ajanta in the dominions of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. In the place of the ninety-nine excavations of Kanheri there are only four or five at Karla, but most of the caves of Karla are on a very grand scale and in point of artistic beauty much superior to those either of Kanheri or the majority of the excavations of Ellora. There are in all five different groups of excavations on the spur of the hill at Karla, which is named after a village in the plains down below. As at Ajanta and Kanheri, a position very secluded but commanding was selected for these excavations. The position selected was on the side of the wide valley now known as Mawal, which supplied the best soldiers to the founder of the Maratha power. The spur from which the caves have been excavated juts out from the hill-side at right angles to it. There is a natural projection in front of the series of the excavations which served as a platform for the Buddhist monks as a promenade on which they could take exercise. No more suitable site could have been selected for the excava-

tion of residences for Buddhist monks during the four months of the rains when they were compelled according to Buddhist scriptures to reside at one place instead of wandering from place to place. All Buddhist caves were meant primarily to serve as residences for the Bhikshus during the Rainy Season (Sanskrit *varsha*, Pali *vassa*).

The majority of caves in India which are not Buddhist are either Hindu or Jain cave temples. With the exception of the very early Jaina caves in the Khandagiri and the Udayagiri hills in the Puri district of Orissa, the majority of Jaina caves are temples and not monasteries. Very few of the purely Hindu caves were intended to be used as residences of monks and the only known instances of Hindu monasteries are to be found in separate buildings and not in cave dwellings.

Wherever Buddhist monks dwelt during the rainy season, they had separate apartments for worshipping, sleeping as well as eating. The caves at Karla fall into these three different categories. The first cave is a small



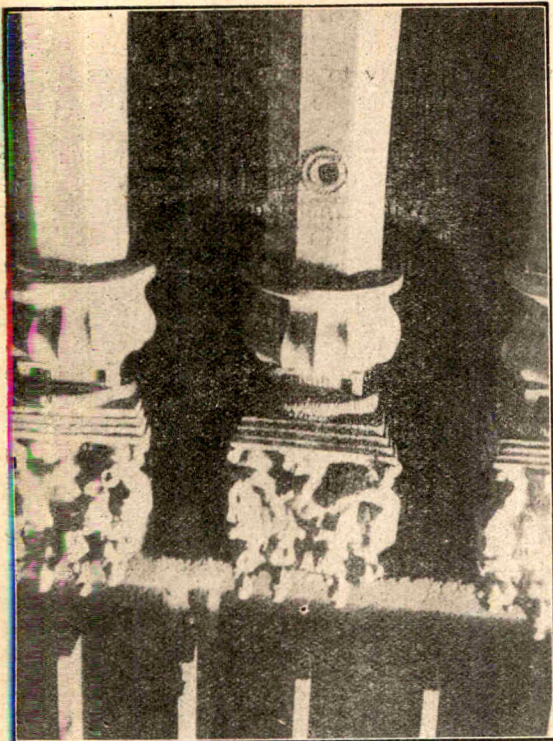
Chaitya Hall

one and contains a rock-cut Chaitya or Stupa and two or three rock-cut cisterns or tanks of very sweet water. The second cave is more complex in character; it is two-storied and contained the kitchen and the refectories of the monks on the ground floor and dormitories on the first floor. The dormitory consists of a large hall in the centre on three sides of which are small cells, intended for accommodating a single monk. In many cases these small cells contain a rude stone bench, which served as a seat during the daytime and a bed during the night. On the back

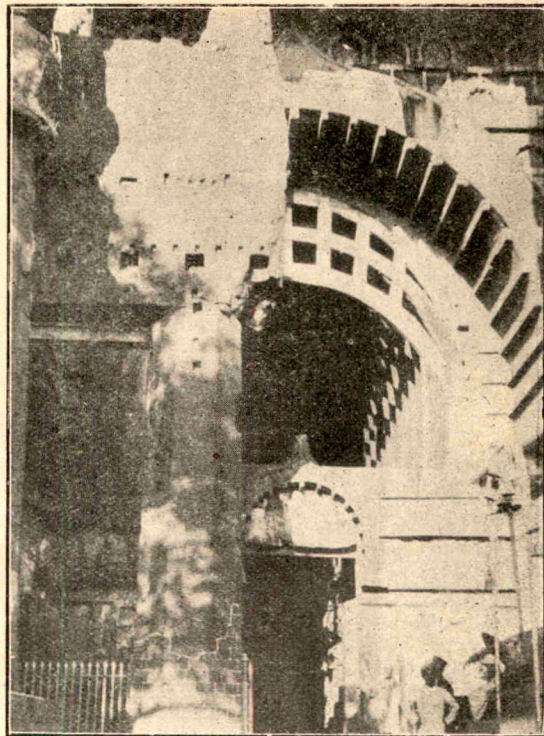


wall of the hall on the first floor there is an inscription in ancient characters according to

the cave as well as of the entire hill-side. The temple lies just in front of the great cave,



Pillars of the Chaitya Hall



The Façade of the Chaitya Hall

which the cave was excavated by the lay worshipper Tetapharana, son of Setapharana in the fourth year of the reign of the king Siri-Pulumavi. The donor meant the cave to be a gift to the Buddhist sect of Mahasanghikas, the date of the inscription is the 24th year of the king's reign but later on the inscription mentions that it was completed in the 21st year of the king's reign.

To the right of this cave there is another which is a three-storied one. Like the second cave the lower part of this cave also was used formerly as a refectory and a dormitory, the first and second floors consisting entirely of dormitories. To the right of this cave is the great cave of Karla, commonly called the Chaitya cave. The façade of this excavation, which I believe was the most splendid and unequalled by that of any other cave temple in India has been spoilt entirely by the erection of a two-storied music-house and a small insignificant temple of a Hindu goddess in front of it. The two-storied music-house is copied from Mughal naqqar-khanas and is very seldom used. It is a permanent disfigurement of the façade of

within a few feet of the high verandah which is about ninety to hundred feet in height. It contains the image of the goddess Ekavira, which is worshipped solely by the Kolis of Bombay who come to the shrine in great crowds during the days of the festival. Two well-built rest houses (dharamshalas) have been built by these people for the accommodation of their own pilgrims which are kept clean and well looked after. The special veneration of the Kolis for the Karla goddess appear to be due to the original faith of these people being Buddhism and their late conversion to modern Hinduism. The goddess worshipped by the Kolis of Thana and Bombay at Karla has not advanced sufficiently in the esteem of the higher castes of the Deccan to find herself worshipped by a Brahmana. She is called Ekavira and is worshipped by a Gurav or a Sudra priest like the god Khandova of Jejuri.

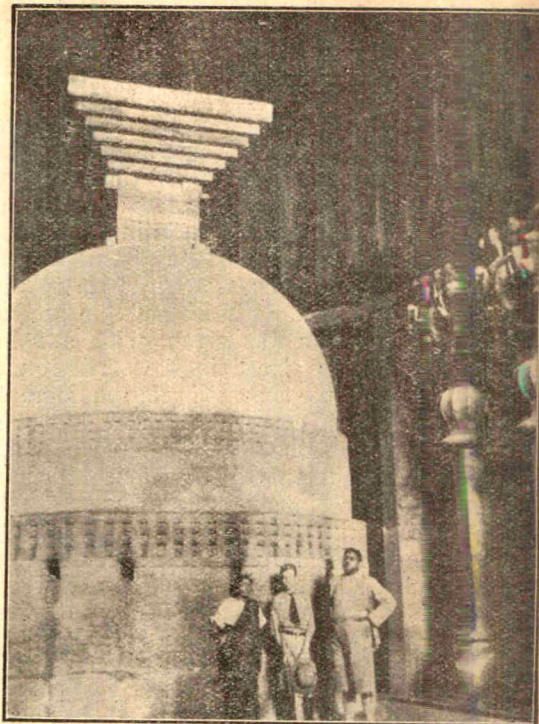
The front of the great cave is separated from the compound of the temple by a modern and very ugly cast-iron railing which the custodian explained to us was very necessary in



order to keep away the crowd of visitors on the days of the festivals of the goddess, when people sleep and cook at every available place on the hill-side. To the left of the entrance to the caves is an old stone pillar carved out of the rock which is surmounted by figures of lions.

Once inside, the visitor is struck at once by the great height of the roof of the verandah. On each side of the verandah there are three elephants carved out of the rock and over them several group of pairs decorate the walls. Two or three of these groups are labelled as being the gift of a Buddhist monk named Bhadasama ( Bhadrasarman ). Beside the elephants and the groups there are numerous images of Buddha on the walls of the verandah in different postures. The images are all to be found in the lower half of the three walls, the upper part being decorated entirely with the carvings of the front of the caves. Originally there were four big tall pillars in the façade of the verandah ; of these four are pilasters and two were pillars. One of these pillars has fallen down and its fragments are lying down near the modern Hindu temple. There is a huge opening, horse-shoe-shaped, in the back wall of the verandah of this great cave which served to admit light into the great Buddhist Church in the interior. A portion of this roof projects into the verandah and along its bottom are imitation beams carved out of the rock which are but mere ornaments. But in the opening is fixed a support consisting of three wooden beams semi-circular in shape with uprights between them. These beams appear to be of great age as they are very black while portions repaired are still red. The different openings lead from the verandah to the hall in the interior of which the one in the centre is the largest. The side openings are small and lead into two ends of a narrow passage which run parallel to the ellipsoid walls of the great hall. This narrow passage was meant for the circumambulation of the monks and pilgrims which they could do without disturbing the devotion of the worshippers in the centre of the hall in front of the Chaitya. The pillars of this passage bear capitals on which one finds four divine figures, two riding on elephants and two others riding on horses. When the light is strong, these pillars with their quaint capitals present a magnificent view of the interior of the hall. At the other end of the ellipse is the solid Chaitya built in tiers with the ancient wooden umbrella still crowning it as in the days when the devout

followers of the Buddha crowded it from morning to evening and when the dormitories were full of monks of all classes



The Main Chaitya in the Chaitya Hall "

during the recess of four months of the rains. The oval roof of this great hall is another wonder. It is covered with a network of wooden beams horse-shoe-shaped, which seem to be mere toys when compared with the immense weight which they have to support. Most of the pieces of wood forming these supports are old and their ends are let into the stone walls. The method of construction can be better understood by a visit to cave No. 3 at Kanheri where there was a similar arrangement of wooden beams but which have now entirely disappeared. The ends of these beams are let into small grooves or notches cut into the rock surface. On account of their shape and the hold they obtain in the nooks, these beams can really support a good deal of weight.

The big cave, or the Chaitya hall as it is called, contains a large number of inscriptions. The most important of them are the records of the donor where it is stated that this room of stone was the most excellent in the whole of the Jambudvīpa (that is, India) and that it was constructed by the merchant Bhutapala, an inhabitant of Vaijyanti (modern Vanaṇasi in the



Kanara district of the Bombay Presidency). The lion pillar in front of the verandah is the gift of the Maharathi (? Maratha) named Agnimitranaka, son of Goti, the elephants and the rail mouldings above the elephants were the gifts of the Buddhist Elder (Sthavira), Indradeva. The doorway on the right was the gift of a seller of perfumes named Simhadata, an inhabitant of Dhenukakata. Inside the cave, the third pillar of the left row was the gift of the Greek Sihadhayana, an inhabitant of Dhenukakata. The fifth pillar is of great interest as it bears two inscriptions, both of which record that it was the gift of an inhabitant of Soparaka or modern Sopa in the Thana District named Satimita and the second states that the pillar was given with a relic in it. The relic was placed in the small round hole to be seen in the accompanying photograph which again was carved in the calyx of a lotus sculptured on the rock. The fourth pillar was the gift of another Greek named Dhamm who was also an inhabitant of Dhenukakata. The seventh pillar was the gift of another inhabitant of the same city named Mitadeva, son of Usabhadata, who is generally regarded by archaeologists to be the son-in-law of the celebrated Scythian monarch the Satrap Nahapana of Gujarat and Kathiawar who lived just a little before or after Christ. On each side of the main entrance to the hall there is a big inscription. The big record on the right states that a king, whose name cannot be read now, commands his officer stationed at a place called Mamada that the king gives the village of Karajaka, situated in the district of Mamala on the northern road for the support of the monks of the Mahasanghika sect residing in the caves of Valuraka. There is no trace of the northern road, though the Bombay-Poona road passes within a short distance. The district of Mamala has been identified as the modern Taluka or perganah of Mawal. Valuraka is the old name of the caves and Karajaka has been identified with the village of Karjat.

The inscription on the left is a grant of the same village to the same community of Buddhist monks by the great Scythian chieftain Usavadata (Risabhadatta), the son-in-law of the celebrated Scythian monarch who is said to have been overthrown by the Satavahanas. As both inscriptions refer to the grant of the same village and that to the same community, it appears possible that the village was simply regranted to the same community of Buddhist monks after the overthrow of one dynasty of kings. So one may say that the village was originally granted

to the monks by the son-in-law of the Scythian monarch and regranted to the monks by the Satavahanas on the overthrow of the Scythians.

Both to the right and the left of the verandah of the Chaitya hall there are small caves. On the right there are very big water tanks over which there is a cave containing figures of Buddha. It appears that the very shrine of the Hindu goddess Ekavira was built in front of one of these small caves and over the modern Hindu temple there is another of these small caves which is now used as a kitchen by the Sudra worshipper of this goddess. Between this hall and the other caves on this hill, there is a great gap. When the caves were first excavated, a broad platform extended in front of it towards the left and encircled the semicircular projection of the hill in which the caves are carved. Originally there



Image of Buddha in the verandah of the Chaitya Hall

was also a staircase for people to ascend the hill. Sometime ago this platform was carried away by a prodigious landslide, though three or four steps are still visible at the foot of the hills. This ancient platform allowed monks and other people to go to the other caves to the right of the great Chaitya hall. Since its partial



collapse, the remaining portion has had to be partly broadened and guarded by a railing to prevent accident. To the right of the great hall the first cave is a small one on the floor of which is a modern Linga of Siva smeared with vermilion and on the back wall a bas-relief of Buddha teaching. Next to this is the Vihara cave. This cave is very low and there is a verandah in front of it, which can be reached by a flight of three steps. The verandah is a very small narrow one which is supported by two pillars and two pilasters. Behind this verandah there is a big square hall on three sides of which there are small cells similar to those to be seen in the two and three-storied dormitories of the monks. It is very wrong to call it a Vihara as it is clear that originally it was used as the living and sleeping room of certain monks. Probably this cave was used by the higher order of the monks, who slept in the cells and passed their days in the central hall. In the back-wall of this hall, there is another bas-relief of

Buddha. To the right or the south of this cave there are two or three single cells. The first of these is an unfinished excavation and after this comes a natural fissure in the rock smeared with vermilion, which is worshipped by the local people as a malevolent deity. On the south face of the rocky projection, there is another single cave and the inscription in it tells us that it was the pious gift of the ascetic Buddhakhita. The narrow shelf of the rock which encircles the projection in which the caves are excavated goes round it but there are no other caves beyond this point. The custodian of the caves speaks English and is a very nice man. He possesses a type-script of a translation of the inscriptions in these caves by some archaeologist whose name is not given. The want of a reliable guide written by somebody who understands the carvings as well as the inscriptions is very much felt by many intelligent visitors.

"AFU-RIHAN"

## THE MAN WHO SAVED IRELAND—LIFE-ROMANCE OF GENERAL RICHARD MULCAHY

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

### I.

**M**AOUL-CATHA, in Gaelic, means "Disciple of War". A family bearing that name lived, for generations, in the south of Ireland, without giving any special cause to remind anyone that it was descended from martial stock. If the Maol-Cathas had a passion for any particular vocation, it was not for the field of battle, but for the Roman Catholic Church, which many of them elected to serve by becoming priests and nuns.

Thirty-eight years ago a boy was born into this family, at that time settled in Waterford, celebrated for the glass of fine quality which it once produced. He was christened Richard (Ristead), and was destined to live up to the family name which he bore, and, by proving a veritable "disciple of war," became one of the most dominant figures in Ireland.

Richard Mulcahy did not, however, begin life as a soldier. When the time came for him to choose a career, he joined the Post Office.

While he was occupying a humble position in that Department, Ireland entered upon the travail from which she later emerged a free nation. He unhesitatingly abandoned the postal engineer's tools for the rebel's rifle; and in an astonishingly short time found himself the organiser and director of the guerilla warfare which Irishmen, untried like himself, were carrying on against the mightiest Empire the world had ever known.

When in December 1921, that struggle ended in the conclusion of an Agreement which led to the constitution of the Irish Free State, Richard Mulcahy, holding the rank of a full General in the Irish Republican Army, was appointed Minister of Defence, in addition to continuing to act as its Chief of Staff. A few months later a Civil War broke out. The head of the Provisional Government and the Commander-in-Chief of the Army fell victim to the insurgents, and upon Mulcahy devolved the ordeal of breaking that movement,





General Richard Mulcahy at his desk in his office in the Portobello Barracks, Dublin

which menaced the very existence of the infant State, and of restoring order.

That task involved carrying on a merciless campaign against men who, only a short time before, had been fighting a common enemy shoulder to shoulder with him. Mulcahy did not flinch. Aided by men equally resolute, he succeeded, in a few months, in putting out the fire of rebellion and saving the Irish Free State.

## II.

I met Mulcahy soon after I arrived in Dublin. It was late in the afternoon in the third week of December, 1923, when I went, knowing no more about him than I have sketched in the preceding paragraphs, up to Lissonfield House, where he lived in the shadow of Portobello Barracks, which then served as the Army Headquarters.

On my arrival a minute or two before the appointed time, I found the gates barred and a sentry with fixed bayonet standing guard.

When I told him my name he said that the General had returned from a walk half an hour earlier, and had left orders with him to let me in when I came. Leaving one of his comrades in charge of the gate, he conducted me to the house.

As the maid who opened the door was helping me to take off my coat in a little ante-chamber, a man came out of the adjacent room, walked towards me, shook hands with me, and immediately began talking. Small in stature, almost boyish in looks, and dressed in "civvies", I took him to be the General's secretary.

Soon, however, the conversation showed that I was talking to Mulcahy himself; and I blessed the caution, born of experience, which had prevented my committing any *faux pas*. I must confess, however, that I was taken aback at the discovery, for I was expecting to meet a tall, strapping man—like the Irishmen who police New York and Chicago



and other cities in the United States, so many of whom I had seen and known and admired when living in that country. I was not, in any case, prepared to find the saviour of the Irish Free State a man actually below even the average height, and slender in build.

On being ushered into the drawing room I was pleased to note that our meeting was not to be of a formal character, conducted in the chilly atmosphere of officialdom. Mrs. Mulcahy was sitting in an easy chair in front of a cheerful fire—the evening was cold—and received me with a friendly greeting. As she rose and shook hands with me, I saw at a glance that she possessed a vigorous frame. Before many minutes had elapsed, I also noticed that her manner of speech and her processes of thinking were positive. A graduate of the National University, she possessed a mind which cut like a knife through any problem coming before it. There was not much in her husband's life—or mind—which was hidden from her. She took almost as keen an interest in his work as he did himself.

As the General sat on the couch in front of the fire with his wife at his right and I facing her, and I had the opportunity of critically examining his features, I saw that the terrible times through which he and his country had recently passed had engraved rather deep lines upon his otherwise youthful face. His lofty intellectual forehead was seamed, his greenish-grey eyes had a mystical look about them, but now and again danced with merriment. His jaw was well developed, and his chin was exceedingly firm—the chin characteristic of a man of action. His face, when set, gave an impression of relentless determination.

### III.

I asked the General to tell me something about his boyhood and early manhood. There wasn't very much to tell, was his reply. He was born at Waterford on May 10, 1886. His father was a Tipperary man from the foot of Slieve-na-Mon, who was employed in the Post Office, and his mother came of an old Waterford family and was a devout Catholic. He was the second eldest of the family, consisting of five girls (four of whom are now nuns), and two other boys (one of whom is preparing for the Chinese Mission and the second is in charge of the Artillery Corps of the Irish Free State Army). He went to school at the Ursuline Convent, later to the one conducted by the Christian brothers at

Mount Sion, Waterford, and still later to the one kept by the same brothers at Thurles. Among the Junior Grade Pass List boys for the year 1901 he was third highest in the Grade, and third highest in Mathematics. He had to leave school at the age of 16 to make a living, and entered the Post Office at Thurles. Subsequently he served for a couple of years at Bantry, in West Cork.



General Richard and Mrs. Mulcahy outside their home near Portobello Barracks

While there Mulcahy was swept into the movement, started in 1893 by Dr. Douglas Hyde, now a professor in the National University, and Dr. Eoin MacNeill, now the Minister for Education of the Irish Free State, for the revival of the Gaelic language and culture, which had been practically crushed out by English education. He began to learn Irish and being quick of intelligence and studious of habit, made considerable progress.

At the same time, he was studying to improve his position in the Government service. Success at a competitive examination enabled him to secure a transfer to the Engineering Department of the Post Office in 1907. After serving at Wexford for a year, he was





Lissonfield House, Dublin. General Mulcahy's Home

transferred to Dublin, which at that time was the stronghold of the Irish Parliamentary party. Arthur Griffith was hard at work trying to show his people the folly of expecting to win Irish freedom on the floor of the British Parliament, and urging them to rely upon their own efforts. His was, however, the voice of one crying in the wilderness.

A few years after Mulcahy had settled down in his job in Dublin, it looked as if the parliamentary party, under John Redmond's guidance, was on the point of reaching its objective. The British Radicals pledged to the hilt to carry Home Rule through, had drawn the fangs of the House of Lords, and commanded a large and decisive majority in the House of Commons. All the obstacles which therefore had barred the progress of the measure, it was thought, had been removed, and soon the Irish Parliament would be functioning at Dublin.

#### IV.

During 1912 when the Home Rule Bill was going through the Commons, the Irish

minority—almost entirely concentrated in north-eastern Ireland (Ulster) and Protestant practically to a man—aided by the British Conservatives, put up a fierce resistance to it. Mr. Asquith and his colleagues refused, however, to yield and the measure was passed substantially as it had been introduced.

Since the way had already been found to overcome the attempt the Lords were sure to make to defeat it, the principal leader of that minority (Sir Edward, now Lord, Carson) turned to other means to achieve his object. Lawyer though he was, as was, indeed, his chief lieutenant (Sir James Campbell, now Lord Glenavy, Chairman of the Seanad Eireann), he did not hesitate to launch a movement for organising an armed force to resist the application to his part of the country of the measure when, after its passage by Parliament, it received the assent of the Crown.

For months the majority in Ireland, Nationalists and Sinn Feiners alike, saw Sir Edward Carson, openly supported by the British



conservatives, import arms and drill Orangemen, but did nothing by way of counter-action. Towards the end of October, 1913, however, they set out to organise "Irish Volunteers". Mulcahy was among the first batch of Irishmen to enrol.

Shortly after the inauguration of this movement, Mr. Asquith's Government appeared to wake up. Whereas it had failed to take effective steps to prevent "gun running" by Orangemen for obstructing the will of Parliament, a Proclamation was issued in December, 1913, prohibiting the importation of arms, except for sporting purposes, which was taken as a move directed against the National Volunteers. It did not daunt them, however, and they succeeded in smuggling in arms in small quantities. In August 1914 the officials learnt that a considerable consignment of arms was to be landed at Howth (on Dublin Bay, a few miles north of the Capital) and tried to prevent the effort, but were outwitted.

Thereafter, for a period of about two years, no active steps were taken to stop either drilling or parading with arms, and training was openly conducted at night, and on Saturday evenings and Sundays. In the summer of 1915 special training camps, lasting a fortnight or three weeks, were conducted in various parts of the country. So contemptuous of the movement or so inept was the Government that Mulcahy tells me that throughout this time, he, a Civil servant, was able to parade regularly under arms in the Dublin streets and to perform training work outside Dublin, without ever being challenged in respect of that matter even by his official superiors.

Collision with the authorities was inevitable, for men could not indefinitely go on training without insisting, sooner or later, upon making use of that training. The Volunteer organisation, fearing that it would wither through inaction, decided to challenge the British during the Easter week of 1916.

General Mulcahy recalls that as he was leaving his house at Sutton (a suburb of Dublin) at 4 o'clock on Sunday afternoon, in full war trim with his bicycle, to carry out certain work entrusted to him, he was accosted by a friend who said: "I see ye'r manoeuvres are off." At the eleventh hour an effort had been made to call off the rising, because the attempt to import arms from Germany had miscarried, and a notice to that effect, in cipher, appeared in the paper for that morning over the name of Dr. MacNeill (the present Minister for Education). So late was that

move made, however, that it was impossible fully to circulate instructions to all concerned, and the rising actually took place at 12 o'clock on Easter Monday.

## V.

At that time Mulcahy was a Lieutenant in the Volunteers. He was detailed to interrupt certain telegraph circuits outside Dublin, and to report when that work had been done to the General Post Office, which was seized and occupied by the Volunteers as their Headquarters.

Just as Mulcahy was through with this job he came in contact with Commandant Thomas Ashe; who was in charge of the North County Dublin Volunteers and had taken up a position at Finglas. He had 87 men under his command, but was handicapped for lack of trained officers. He immediately commandeered Mulcahy's services and sent word to that effect to the General Post Office.



he General Post Office, in O'Connell St. Dublin, after being destroyed by British Guns in the Rebellion of 1916

Next day Ashe was instructed to send 50 men into the City, and later on the same day, hearing that the British had broken through the outposts' position at Phibsboro—a point between Finglas and the General Post Office—he withdrew to the country and, with Mulcahy as Second-in-Command, began, with the band of 37 men, a campaign against police posts in the country, which culminated, on the following Friday, in the overthrow of a much superior force of police, which, it must be remembered, was constituted on a semi-military basis. It happened in this way:

Early on Wednesday morning a portion





General Mulcahy's younger brother, in charge of the Artillery Corps of the Irish National Army, with a class in heliographing. The little boy is General's eldest Son Paedrig

of the Volunteers succeeded in surprising the police garrison at Swords, securing all their rifles and ammunition, and dismantling the barracks. They proceeded immediately to Donabate, where, after a brief fight and without any casualties to themselves, they repeated the performance. At two o'clock the following morning, after a strenuous day, they entered Garristown to find that the police there had hastily sent away all their arms and war materials.

The little band of Volunteers set out from their camp at 11 o'clock on Friday morning with an ambitious programme. They were to capture three Police barracks, interrupt the railway service on the Midland Railway, and return after dusk.

The police stationed at the Ashbourne barracks evidently anticipated their arrival. The road in the neighbourhood was barricaded. The garrison had been strengthened to the number of 13, and a District Inspector had

been put in charge. Three additional police hurrying to the barracks were intercepted.

The Volunteers, numbering 37, armed with rifles, shot-guns, revolvers (mostly captured from the police), and two "tin can" bombs, attacked the strongly defended station. The garrison made a pretence of surrender: but treacherously opened fire upon the men sent out by the invading party.

A battle ensued. After half an hour's fighting the garrison was compelled to surrender but before the surrender could be effected a cavalcade of motor cars conveying a force of 90 fully armed police swept down the long, straight road from Slane on top of the investing party.

Leaving one man in front and another in the rear of the barracks, the 35 Volunteers engaged the 90 plus 14 members of the Royal Irish Constabulary. A desperate call brought half a dozen comrades from the camp near by.

For five hours the 41 Volunteers—all raw

men, indifferently armed and led by Ashe and Mulcahy, who had learnt their tactics out of books, fought 104 policemen trained by experts and armed with weapons of the most up-to-date description. Natural intelligence, tenacity of purpose, and faith in the righteousness of their cause finally had their reward. The mercenaries outflanked were captured with their motor-cars and equipment.

When the losses were counted, the Volunteers found that two of their comrades had been killed and two wounded, while the corpses of 11 policemen lay by the roadside, and at least 20 had been seriously wounded. The victors had a doctor in their party who rendered first aid to the wounded and sent them in motor-cars to the nearest hospital.

This was Mulcahy's baptism of fire and blood!

## VI.

On the following Sunday morning the outpost captured a District Inspector and three members of the police force in plain clothes, from whom they learnt that an order to surrender had been given by Padraic Pearse, the "President of the Provisional Government." The Inspector was retained as a hostage in camp, and Mulcahy was commissioned by Ashe to repair with the others to Dublin and investigate their story. He saw Pearse in his cell at Arbour Hill.

Finding that no useful purpose would be served by the small band in Fingal holding out any longer, Mulcahy interviewed General Friend at the British Headquarters and discussed arrangements for surrender, should it be decided, upon his return to the Camp, that they would give themselves up. They did so, late on Sunday evening, surrendering to a party of Cavalry sent especially to take them in charge.

The British authorities were so haphazard in their methods that they were unable to recognise Mulcahy apart from the men he had led, though he had played so important a part in the fighting and the subsequent negotiations. Later on, however, in a memorandum made on November 2, 1916, P. G. C. Flavin, Chief Commissioner of the Royal Irish Constabulary, wrote that "he should on no account be released."

Thereupon Mulcahy was imprisoned in Jail at Knutsford (England) and later was sent to the internment camp at Frongoch in North Wales, where he remained until Christmas Eve, 1916, when he and his companions were released as the result of a campaign of ob-

struction which they organised and pursued with great ingenuity and determination.

## VII.

Since Mulcahy did not have a job to go to, having been summarily dismissed from the Post Office, he joined the National University and began to study Medicine. His ambition was, however, destined to remain unsatisfied, because the country was passing through strenuous times and his duties as an organiser and leader of the Volunteers left him little time and less energy to prosecute scientific studies.

The executions of the rebel leaders of 1916, and the attempt to coerce Irishmen into joining the British Army and fighting for the freedom of "small nations" while Ireland herself was in fetters, brought many converts to Sinn Féin. At every by-election which was held the candidates put forward by the parliamentary party were defeated by "Seinners." In the General Election of 1918, that party was destroyed.

Mulcahy had stood for election for Clontarf, Dublin and had been returned by his constituency. He in company with the other Sinn Féinners, refused to take his seat at Westminster, and was one of the organisers and original members of the *Dail* which set itself up as the only rightful legislature for Ireland and declared Ireland a Republic (Saorstát).

The speech which Mulcahy made during the first session of the *Dail* showed that he was by nature, a builder—and not a destroyer. On introducing the "democratic programme," speaking in Gaelic, he declared:

"A Cheann Comhairle and Members of the Dail;

I offer you this programme and I ask you to accept it willingly and to put its intentions into effect exactly in your actions and in your laws. For a long time our Country and our People have been under the tyranny and under the bonds of our enemies. To-day we are breaking those bonds and we are dispelling that tyranny from our Country but the mark of both bond and tyranny lie on her.

"Work and organised industry are the great arteries of a Country's life. It is in those arteries that runs our Country's life-blood, that blood that gives life and health to its body and energy to its soul. These arteries are badly bruised, and even broken as a result of the tyranny that has been among us. There is not a proper running in the blood. Because of that there are ugly growths here and there on the body of our Country in our cities, in our towns and even in our countryside. These growths indicate to us a disease that will grow and that will, perhaps, kill our Country unless they are cured.

• "If we wish our Country to exist and to be



living country not only must we free it of these growths, but we must restore its health. Let us do it with efficiency and with careful thought.

"And when we set ourselves to regulate by our laws the application of our peoples' industry to our Country's riches let us do it in such a way as will prevent the spiteful and the robber stealing the riches for themselves to the impoverishment of the people.

"A Nation cannot be fully free in which even a small section of its people has not freedom. A Nation cannot be said fully to live in spirit, or materially, while there is denied to any section of its people a share of the wealth and the riches that God bestowed around them to make them living and to sustain life in them."

Soon after the Dail had set to work, it was declared an illegal body and the Volunteers were proclaimed. The Dail thereupon began to hold its meetings in secret, and the Volunteers (which a little later became the Irish Republican Army) set out to pursue a relentless guerilla warfare upon the British—raiding and burning police barracks, court houses and other buildings which constituted an essential part of the British administrative machinery.

Mulcahy, as the Chief of Staff, was the directing genius of this warfare. Never having seen the inside of a military academy, he was called upon to outwit British Generals—the pride of Sandhurst and the heroes of many campaigns—and to pit his handful of men,—patriotic and determined but lacking any regular military training—against the resources of a mighty Empire. By the middle of 1921 the British soldiers operating at the Irish Front exceeded 50,000, while the semi-military police had been greatly augmented.

And while Mulcahy was at this job—preposterously foolhardy, as nearly everybody who knew of it thought at the time—his picture and description appeared in the "Police Gazette or Hue and Cry—" published (by Authority) for Ireland. His likeness was printed under a portrait of Ernest Blythe (now the Minister of Finance), and between two of his comrades. Under it ran the legend:

"Richard Mulcahy, M. P., Dublin city, Age 33 years, height 5 ft. 8 in., fair hair, has slight stoop when walking."

It was amazing how Mulcahy managed to elude the Dublin Metropolitan police, specially reinforced by the "Black and Tans" and the "Auxiliaries"—most of them desperate men. Mr. Diarmad O'Hegarty (now the Secretary of the Executive Council), who was at that time the Clerk of the Dail, told

me of an escape that Mulcahy and he had on one occasion.

A slip of paper reading "Usual meeting, usual time, usual place Sunday" had been circulated calling a meeting. "On Sunday morning at 11 o'clock, when Mulcahy turned up, he saw O'Hegarty and the late Quartermaster General, (Lieutenant-General O'Muirthuille) standing outside the house in Parnell Square where they were to meet. They explained that the police had come to know of the meeting and would raid it and therefore, that it was inadvisable to hang about there. It was settled that O'Muirthuille would go and see General Michael Collins, who was in a house near by, and settle an alternative place of meeting, while Mulcahy and O'Hegarty waited.

Mulcahy waited inside the house and O'Hegarty outside it. Before Lieutenant General O'Muirthuille was ten doors away a cavalcade of tenders of "Auxiliaries" headed by an armoured car, flashed round the corner of the square. O'Hegarty shouted to Mulcahy at once and both left the house leisurely and calmly, just as a tender containing the police stopped outside it.

The "Auxiliaries" had their attention divided by the fact that they, not knowing exactly which of three houses in the square was to be used that morning, had decided to raid them all simultaneously. Not having enough forces to hold up the whole street, they left a few of their comrades outside who accosted odd individuals here and there. Mulcahy and O'Hegarty, apparently taking no interest in what was going on in the street or in the armoured car, went their way and passed out of sight unrecognised and unmolested.

Professor Michael Hayes, of the National University (now the Speaker of the Dail), told me of another dramatic escape which General Mulcahy had when staying with him at No. 49, Longwood Avenue, South Circular Road, Dublin. It sounded like the scenario of a cinema play.

The police, learning of Mulcahy's presence there, raided the house at 5 o'clock in the morning. Mulcahy climbed out of a back window and up on to the double roof, and crept between the two roofs for ten or twelve houses, which were built solidly in a block one against the other. He then let himself down on to a window still and crawled in through the window, which, happily, was unfastened.

The house which the General had entered

in this unceremonious manner belonged to a family of Jews. He got into the children's room so quietly that he did not awaken any of them, and passed on into the room in which their father and mother were sleeping. After an interesting conversation they gave him some clothes and he left the place by the hall-door at a time when the sentry had been taken off the street for a few minutes. In his hurry he was not able to take away some of his papers which were captured.

While dodging the police Mulcahy and his colleagues at the "General Head-Quarters," situated at first within a hundred yards and later two hundred yards of Dublin Castle—then the nerve centre of the British Government in Ireland—continued to direct

the guerilla warfare until the Truce was proclaimed in the summer of 1921. Both sides were tired of the terrible struggle—of reprisals and counter-reprisals—which had been going on for eighteen months. The British had been incurring a heavy loss in men and money, and were, in addition, being exposed to the jeers of the world. The Republicans were well-nigh exhausted.

The terms which the Irish delegation sent out to England secured from the British did not, however, satisfy president De Valera and some of his associates, and a split threatened in the Dail. Mulcahy had a great part to play in the struggle which followed the disruption of the Sinn Fein Party.

(To be continued.)

## "PATRIOTS"

### A PLAY IN ONE ACT

BY WILFRED WELLOCK

#### *Dramatis Personae:*

Mrs. SELDON ... A War Widow.  
 GEORGE ... Her Son, aged 19.  
 ADA ... Her Daughter, aged 9.  
 Sir HORACE BLENKINS.  
 THOMAS SLINGSBY ... A Company Promoter.  
 The Rev. Mr. MELSOP.  
 A STRANGER.  
 A NEWSBOY.  
 A MAID SERVANT.

*NOTE.*—The names of the characters in this play are entirely fictitious and do not refer to any living person.

Scenes I. and IV.: *Mrs. Seldon's Cottage.*

Scenes II. and V.: *Sir Horace Belenkins' Drawing Room.*

Scene III.: *A Street.*

#### SCENE I.

*Mrs. Seldon's Cottage. Furnished in usual style of workmen's cottages. Everything rather cheap, but well kept. General aspect bright and cheerful. A table stands in the middle of the room. Mrs. Seldon is sewing, sitting in a rocking chair by the table, on which are sewing materials. Ada, her daughter, is sitting on a stool by the fire, reading.*

*After a pause Ada looks up, then speaks.*

Ada: Do you think George will get that job, mother?

Mother: I don't know, Child; why do you ask?

Ada: If he does, happen I'll get a new frock at the Feast?

Mother: Happen! We'll see.

*Ada resumes her reading. After a short pause:*

Ada: Helen Fawcett is having a new hat at Whitsun.

Mother: Are you sure? Her father is out of work?

Ada: Oh, yes. It's going to have some pink silk on.

Mother: Fancy?

Ada: If George gets the job will he get a lot of money, mother?

Mother: Not so much for a while, I'm afraid.

Ada: Amy Morrison's father must get a lot of money, mustn't he?

Mother: Yes, I daresay he does.

Ada: Why do some people get a lot of money, mother? and others only a little?

Mother: I don't think I know, I suppose some work is more important than others.

Ada: Can't George do important work?

Mother: I'm sure he could if he got the chance, for he really is clever.

Ada: Why doesn't he get the chance?

Mother: There are always so many after the good jobs.

Ada: Oh, mother, I wish there weren't so many clever people; don't you?

Mother: It does rather look as if there were too many, to be sure.

Ada: The teacher at the Sunday School says that God has work for everyone.

Mother: Yes.

*Ada* : Hasn't He work for George?

*Mother* : He has, I think. But there's something wrong with the world.

*Enter George.*

*His manner is evasive, his face betrays his condition. Disgust and despair are revealed in his every movement. He throws his cap upon the table, and sits down mutely at the back of the room. At first sight of her son, Mrs. Seldon's face darkens, for the moment words fail her.*

*Ada* : Did you get the job, George?

*No answer.*

*Ada* : George?

*George* : What chance has a fellow when there are hundreds after it?

*Mother* : Who got it?

*George* : I don't know. The hungriest, I suppose. A rascal of a fellow sat there and asked each man the lowest wage he would take. His hard face and cold eyes sent one's heart into one's shoes. My God ! That chap roused the devil in me, mother.

*Mother* : Never mind, my lad, you've done your best. We'll just have to make the most of what we have, and go on as long as we can. There'll be some way done.

*George* : We've been going on like that for the last eighteen months !

*Mother* : Yes, I know, it's very hard.

*George* : Hard ! I wouldn't mind it being hard, if it were human. But it's inhuman. We're treated worse than dogs. At the very best we are only regarded as animals. Look at me ! I've to prow round the town all day long seeking whom or what I may devour. Why, mother, we're worse than barbarians : civilisation is a huge pretence. What am I allowed to do that's civilised ? I eat bread and margarine two or three times a day, seek work, and otherwise slink about for the most of my time. I have no money, and my mind is haunted by fear and consumed by hatred and disgust. Far better go into the jungle outright, and have done with it. In fact, that's what I've decided to do !

*Mother* : What do you mean, George ?

*George (after a moment's silence)* : I've 'listed.

*Mother* : What ? You've 'listed ? You're goin' for a soldier ? (*No answer.*) Good Lord deliver us ! Goin' for a soldier ! (*Covers her face with her hands.*) My God ! My God ! (*Moans.*) George, George, whatever have you been thinking about ? It isn't really too late, is it ?

*George* : I've been thinking a good deal lately, mother.

*Mother (half dazed)* : Goin' for a soldier ! My George goin' for a soldier !

*George* : You know I don't want to go, mother, but I'm not going to sponge on you any longer.

*Mother* : You are not sponging on me. Everything I have is yours ; it has never been otherwise. Besides, you get the dose.

*George* : The dose doesn't keep me. And when I'm not on the dose, what then ?

*Mother* : But you know I keep you gladly, and have never once complained.

*George* : Of course I do. That's the trouble. It's your long suffering which pains me. You endure too much for my sake, and I cannot bear it any longer. Fancy, a strong healthy lad, 19 years of age, having to sponge on his mother ! No, I can't stand it, mother ? But why it should be, baffles me. I've got brains, and energy, and I long to do things ; but nobody'll let me, give me

a chance. Yet you've only to open your eyes to see that there's lots to be done. Who's to blame ? Is it the Government ? If it is, it's time they were demolished, that's all I've got to say.

*Mother* : But how are you going to help matters by becoming a soldier ? If the Government is at fault, why go and serve it ?

*George* : I don't know mother. I expect I'm mad. But, at least, there'll be some pretence that we are doing something useful ; and that will be worth something. Besides, I shall see things. Here it is all poverty and vacancy, one perpetual run of sordidness. And I'm tired of it. (*A pause.*)

*Mother (softly)* : George, you know what it is a soldier's business to do ?

*George* : Oh, I've thought about all that. But you needn't worry on that score ; I shall never kill anybody, don't imagine !

*Mother* : But your father, George ! If he should know what you have done, it will be insufferable torture to him. Is it possible you have forgotten his last words, his very last letter from France ? Never ! Never !

*George* : I was only young then ; I didn't know what it was all about. Why did he go ?

*Mother* : He was Conscripted ! But he regretted, afterwards, not having defied the law. When he had seen what the war was, and learned something of what it all meant, he vowed that no boy of his should ever pass through what he had been compelled to pass through. Time after time, on his last leave he said : That boy shall be brought up never to have anything to do with war ; and in every letter afterwards he said the same thing. Oh, George, you do not understand. You do not see what I have done. I have betrayed my trust, the trust your father gave to me. Oh, it is terrible I am disgraced ! You are disgraced ! We are all disgraced together !

*George* : Nonsense, mother. When father learns all he will not blame you ; he will blame those who have driven us to it. As for me, was I not disgraced already ? My humanity is disgraced every day I walk the streets idle.

*Mother* : No, you do not understand. You have consented to kill your brother, and killing is murder—murder, George, murder !

*George* : As to that, aren't we all being killed, murdered daily, body and soul, by idleness and starvation ?

*Mother* : Then, God be merciful to those who are doing it ! I wouldn't have their lot for all the wealth of England. Better be murdered than a murderer.

(*She goes to a box in a corner of the room, takes out a letter and reads. Presently she looks up.*)

*Mother* : George, forgive me. It is I who am to blame. I ought to have explained to you sooner, but I thought it wicked to acquaint one so young with such ghastly horrors. Is it too cruel to tell you now ? No, it cannot be : you must know. Listen ! (*She reads.*) "Edith, my soul cries aloud : can you, can no one save us from this hell ?" All his last letters were like that. (*Continues reading.*) "Our humanity revolts, cries out against the devilry to which we are subjecting it. But no one heeds : no one hears. We have destroyed our souls, torn out our hearts, and become ghouls. We are murderers, murderers, ghastly murderers, every one, incarnations of the fiends of hell. Day after day we are brought to this devilish work, mere flesh and blood, remnants of our former selves, our souls



dead within us. Even the flesh will not endure it much longer. It will kill me. I shall never return: nay, I dare not return, for without my soul you would not know me. One charge I leave you: it is that you shall teach George what war is and means; that you shall save him from becoming dehumanised as his father has become dehumanised. If it should be that he must give his life for his fellows, or for a great cause, then let him give it freely and manfully, and in the possession of his soul. I know that this war is evil at the core, because it asks of us that which no man ought to be asked to forfeit. Preserve George from this hell, and you will earn the eternal gratitude of your old. . . .” Oh, my God: what shall I do? (*She bursts into sobbing.* *Ada goes to her side, and puts her arm around her neck.*)

*Ada:* Mother! Don't cry, mother; he won't go. I won't let him. (*She runs across to her brother, half jumps on his knee, and embraces him.*)

*Ada:* You won't go away, will you, George? You won't go away and leave mother and me?

*Curtain.*

## SCENE II.

*Some months later.*

SCENE — *The residence of Sir Horace Blenkins, a corner of the drawing-room. Antique furniture, oil paintings and gilded mirrors on the walls. An elaborate candelabra is just visible. Sir Horace Blenkins is standing near a little table, holding a letter. He is meditating.*

*Sir Horace:* I wonder what's in the wind. A terrible fellow, Slingsby. But it's of no use worrying, and Slingsby doesn't usually mind matters. Still, it's just as well to know what's afoot. These Company promoters are devils of fellows, and they don't ask for interviews just for fun. And the worst of it is, I'm a bit green on financial matters, and can easily be taken in. But even the devil must have his due, and there's no denying that Slingsby has put a few good things in my way of late. At the same time, there have been some frightful smashes up, and exposures recently. One must be careful. A single slip and one's whole life is a heap of ruins. I must confess that Slingsby has removed a horrible old skeleton from my cupboard, but, bless my soul, if I don't sometimes think that a more horrible one may jump in its place. Well, he'll be here in a moment, and he'll want to know at once what I think about his new Company. But I don't think anything about it, and I shall tell him so. These damned Company promoters can make anything show up well on paper, these days. Ah, I hear footsteps.

*A knock. Servant enters.*

*Servant:* Mr. Slingsby, sir.

*Sir Horace:* Show him in. Oh, here you are. How are you?

*Slingsby:* Topping! Bound to be, you know, and you?

*Sir Horace:* Nicely, thanks.

*Slingsby:* What did you think of the Kubic dividend last week? Fine, wasn't it?

*Sir Horace:* Very good; very good!

*Slingsby:* I should think so! I was afraid you might be off to the Riviera on the strength of it. But this other thing is even better.

*Sir Horace:* Ha, ha! The same old story.

*Slingsby:* No, no! Joking aside, it's the surest thing I've touched for years.

*Sir Horace:* Really?

*Slingsby:* Without any doubt, in all seriousness. If it comes off, it's a veritable gold mine.

*Sir Horace:* What do you mean by saying: If it comes off?

*Slingsby:* Just this: the oil is there, one of the richest fields in the whole world. But to insure the venture we must have possession.

*Sir Horace:* Is it really necessary? Couldn't you bargain with the natives?

*Slingsby:* Not in this case; no! It is absolutely imperative that we have possession. The very attempt to bargain will mean that we shall lose some of the richest cream of the venture.

*Sir Horace:* That, Slingsby, is a huge undertaking, and I should be inclined to say an impossible one. Why, apart from the act of taking possession, you've all the diplomatic difficulties to overcome at this end.

*Slingsby:* What would you say if I were to tell you that the latter are nearly overcome already?

*Sir Horace:* You don't mean it?

*Slingsby nods.*

*Sir Horace:* How have you managed it? Who's behind the venture?

*Slingsby:* At this stage, I cannot tell you.

*Sir Horace:* What are you waiting for? What's the next step?

*Slingsby:* We are now waiting for you and one or two more to come in. It's no good beating about the bush, Sir Horace. We simply want you in. Give your consent, put down fifty thousand, or so, and I'll wager you'll be a millionaire inside seven years!

*Sir Horace:* No, no, Slingsby. That's too rosy altogether.

*Slingsby:* I know it sounds too good to be true. But it is as certain and as clear as daylight. It's just a case of two and two.

*Sir Horace:* But you've said nothing about the natives. They're entitled to some consideration, you know.

*Slingsby:* And they'll get it. We'll treat them properly, providing we get control. Besides, of what use is oil to them?

*Sir Horace:* They can sell it, can't they just as we propose to do?

*Slingsby:* They don't even know its value, not to speak of getting, purifying, storing and transporting it.

*Sir Horace:* But it doesn't take long to learn these things, and you certainly cannot deny that the oil is theirs. Then you must remember that the backward races are waking up.

*Slingsby:* That is no doubt true. But we are hoping to get this business settled before such an event takes place in that particular region.

*Sir Horace:* How much territory do you propose to take in?

*Slingsby:* The greater part of Marrigoldland is reported to be very rich in oil. And, of course, while you are at it, you may as well do the thing properly.

*Sir Horace:* I don't know. I am not at all happy about the matter. You see, Slingsby, our people at home are much more alive to this kind of thing than they used to be. Twenty years ago, or even ten, it would have been possible.

• *Slingsby:* Bah, Sir Horace, you idealise. The

British public is a pretty stodgy mass, I assure you. It wakens up once in a while, but it soon falls asleep again, settles down and forgets.

*Sir Horace*: Ah, but the war has opened its eyes, made it more sensitive.

*Slingsby*: There you are wrong. On the contrary, it has dulled its sensibility. Just observe! What occurs the moment someone tries to kick up a little dust over something or other? Why, the people turn away from it, weary. They are too morally tired out, too stupefied by continued wretchedness to take much notice of anything.

*Sir Horace*: Even if what you say be true, it isn't particularly encouraging, do you think? After all, the morality of an issue doesn't depend upon the applause or condemnation of the crowd.

*Slingsby*: (*meditatively blowing his cigar smoke towards the candelabra.*) I think it will be just as well to leave morality out of the question altogether. He's a clever man who knows what is moral, these days. Take that shipping transaction of yours, Sir Horace . . .

*Sir Horace* (*nervously*): I know! I know! It is, as you say, a difficult question.

*Slingsby*: Just you be wise. Give me your name, and plank down as many thousands as you choose. The better for you the more you put in.

*Sir Horace*: I should be more content if I knew who was going in besides.

*Slingsby whispers to him.*

*Sir Horace*: He's in? It ought to be all right, then?

*Slingsby*: It's as safe as the heavens, I tell you.

*Sir Horace*: And who's pulling the wires?

*Slingsby*: The major part of that particular duty falls to your humble servant. The plans are made, the scheme is well laid. As a fact, we are on the point of making the final arrangements.

*Sir Horace*: And you really think you can take possession without causing trouble?

*Slingsby*: Well, of course, there may be a little scrap or two, but we don't expect anything serious.

*Sir Horace*: But even a scrap would give the show away, and once the public got hold of it.

*Slingsby*: Oh, yes; but an official explanation would put everything right.

*Sir Horace*: Is H. all right?

*Slingsby*: Quite. He wanted to know if you were coming in. Well, I must be off now, Sir Horace. I'm awfully glad you're coming in. I'll send down the documents as soon as they are ready. Ah, I love this sort of thing, you know. Apart altogether from the prize, there's the joy of pulling it off. Removing prejudices, overcoming opposition, persuading timid people to make a bold venture—and all that sort of thing—I simply love it!

*He rises and goes towards the door.*

*Sir Horace*: Now, above all things, avoid doing anything rash. Bargain if you possibly can; it's much safer, and I believe more profitable in the long run.

*Slingsby*: Have no fears. The best course will be taken. Good-bye!

*Sir Horace*, after closing the door, shakes his head, and returns a little way into the room, reflecting: "He's a cute old rascal, Slingsby. One has either to take him or reject him. One can make nothing of his stories. Either he puts one in his pocket or severs all connections. It is terrible! Now I wonder what will come of it all! He is

capable of anything, Slingsby—of using soldiers, exercising mild coercion, subjecting natives in the name of liberty! Yes, he is capable of all that! And how he closed me up when I raised the moral issue. Shocking! Positively shocking! One doesn't know where one is nowadays. Even here, one false step, and won't the devil have a jubilee! And this is modern business . . . what is called success! Once I walked behind a plough. I've travelled far since then; but it has been in a barren country, for the most part. Ah, no, it doesn't yield what the old country yielded. I wonder why it is called success? I wonder!

*Curtain.*

SCENE III.

*Some weeks later.*

*Scene: A Street (before curtain, if desired).*

*Enter Newsboy.*

*Newsboy*: Evening paper, latest edition, Brenton Wood murder, mystery deepens; British victory in Marrigoldland, hostile rebellion successfully suppressed, seventy native casualties, seven British, Evening pa—

*Enter Minister.*

*Minister*: What's that you say about Marrigoldland?

*Buys a paper.*

*Newsboy*: British victory! Seventy native casualties,

*Minister*: I see. How many British casualties?

*Newsboy*: Seven.

*Minister*: Ha! Those Heathens again! There'll be no peace in the world till Heathenism has been wiped out.

*Enter Stranger.*

*Stranger*: What's this about a rebellion?

*Buys a paper.*

*Newsboy*: Oh, it's the Heathens!

*Stranger*: Heathens? What is a Heathen?

*Newsboy*: I don't know. Ask the minister.

*Minister*: Now, come, my boy: it's not so long since you were in a church, surely! You've never heard the minister say that a Heathen is one who does not believe in God?

*Stranger*: Yes, I suppose he would say that, but don't you think a better definition would be: One who does not believe in his fellow-man? But, in any case, natives, as you call them, are ferocious believers in the Deity, whereas the majority of the white races don't care a tinker's curse about God, these days. Gold and power are the white man's gods, and how peace is going to come into the world by the acceptance on the part of native races of such gods, rather puzzles me. (*Turning to the boy.*) Where do you say the trouble is?

*Newsboy*: Marrigoldland!

*Stranger*: Marrigoldland! Oh, that sounds bad. Perhaps I ought to say it smells bad. Paraffin! Ugh! (*Turning to the minister.*) I suppose we've been protecting the natives, as usual! It might seem that we have taught them the gentle arts of civilisation. At any rate, they would appear to know how to kill.

*Minister*: (*to boy.*) What is the cause of the trouble, do you know?

*Newsboy*: No! I don't read the papers: I only sell 'em.

*Stranger*: Wise boy! There's some hope for

your soul. (*Gives him money.*) When you shout again, say this: Seventy natives killed by the Heathen.

*Newsboy*: All right!

*Exit Stranger.*

*Minister* (*going off in the opposite direction, returns to the boy*)—Do you know who that man is?

*Newsboy*: No; who is he?

*Minister*: (*Ominously*). He's a Bolshevik!

*Newsboy* (*Looking at the stranger's money.*): Good sort, eh?

*Minister*: Beware, my boy! That man is on the straight road to hell!

*Newsboy*: Hard cheese! That's where Uncle Sam says I'm goin'.

*Minister*: Beware, now! (*He gives the lad a penny, and departs.*)

*Newsboy* (*Examines the penny, then puts it in his pocket. He hesitates, as if preoccupied, puts down his papers, takes off his cap and scratches his head; he soliloquises.*): I can't make it all out. (*He counts on his fingers.*) (1) There's old Peter Popwell: he gies me sixpence every Saturday night—after 10. He's goin' to hell! (2) There's Michael O'Brien: he gies me a black pudding every Friday. He's goin' to hell! (3) Then there's this Bolshevik chap: he gies me three pence. And he's goin' to hell! (4) And Uncle Sam says I'm goin' to hell! The minister, he gies me a penny: I s'pose he's goin' to heaven! Blimey (*picking up his papers*), if the devil ain't got all the best yins! Evening paper: latest edition! Brenton Wood murder; mystery deepens. British victory in Marrigoldland: seventy natives killed by the Heathen! Latest edition. . . . (*Departs.*)

*Curtain.*

#### SCENE IV.

*As Scene I.; Room in Mrs. Seldon's Cottage.*

*Mrs. Seldon is sitting alone, in the gloaming, before the fire. Her head is resting on one hand; in the other she holds a white handkerchief, with which she occasionally dries her eyes. Presently someone knocks at the door.*

*Mrs. Seldon*: Come in!

*Mr. Melsop, the minister, enters.*

*Mr. Melsop*: Is it true, Mrs. Seldon?

*Mrs. Seldon*: (*Nods, then bursts into tears. After a moment, she points to the papers lying on the table*): You may look at them if you like.

*Mr. Melsop*: I am very sorry, Mrs. Seldon! The path of duty is often very hard, and the ways of the Lord past finding out!

*Mrs. Seldon*: I'll never believe it was George's duty to go and kill anyone; nor do I believe that it was God's will that he should go for a soldier.

*Mr. Melsop*: Yes, I know that has been your view from the first. And certainly it is a pity there should be any arms at all; but in this imperfect world they would appear to be necessary.

*Mrs. Seldon*: No, I do not think so! If people have arms they will use them. If one side is better armed than the other, that side will be arrogant. If neither side has arms, they will know that the only way to peace is to be reasonable. What were young lads, like George, doing with guns in Marrigoldland, amongst a people of whom they knew nothing? What business had they to be there? What were they doing?

*Mr. Melsop*: I suppose they were defending

British property. You see, there are very rich oil wells out there.

*Mrs. Seldon*: You mean that because there are rich oil wells, the land must, of course, belong to us?

*Mr. Melsop*: Not at all. But I take it that we had some sort of a claim to them.

*Mrs. Seldon*: I'm inclined to believe we were just stealing them. Bob Lee—you know Bob?—he says he can prove it; he's going to bring me some newspaper cuttings. He's a member of some Society, or something, which goes into all these things.

*Mr. Melsop*: I think you would be well advised to think twice over what Bob tells you.

*Mrs. Seldon*: I don't know. Bob Lee knows a thing or two, and he's generally right, too. He opposed the war, and he and my husband had many a squabble over it. But Bob can show you a letter he got from my man before he was killed, in which my man confessed that he had been deceived, and that Bob was right. What right we have to go and take other people's property?

*Mr. Melsop*: Some of the coloured races are very ferocious and revengeful.

*Mrs. Seldon*: Shouldn't we be, if some one came and tried to take possession of our richest lands? I don't blame the natives for George's death. I blame those who sent him out there.

*Mr. Melsop*: These are big and intricate questions, beyond ordinary people like you and me; so many things are involved of which we are ignorant.

*Mrs. Seldon*: Then you think we should give up our sons for cannon fodder without question, on demand, on the ground that we are ignorant? Haven't we a right to ask for what purpose the lives of our children are to be sacrificed by the State? What is this new god, the State, that we are not to question? I believe my boy has been murdered, and I mean to find out. I am going to give my life henceforward to the abolition of this organised State murder. My boy's life is part of an unholy sacrifice made in the interest of stolen property. Who belongs to that property?

*Mr. Melsop*: I don't really know, Mrs. Seldon. I am ignorant of the details.

*Mrs. Seldon*: Do you think the Government belongs to it? No. Those oil wells are owned by a number of privileged people—blessed or cursed—with titles, riches, or well-placed friends and relations. I know. And I'll know more yet. I want to know who has murdered my son.

*Mr. Melsop*: You must try and keep calm, Mrs. Seldon, otherwise you might be carried off your feet and tempted to seek revenge.

*Mrs. Seldon*: No, never! Revenge has no sweetness for me, Mr. Melsop. I have loved my husband and my son too well to spoil their memory by revenge. Just because I have loved them I am going to work for the cessation of a system of society which makes such barbarous sacrifices necessary. My husband was murdered in the Great War, and who benefited from that but the rich and mighty? Now my son has been murdered and, as it would seem, to enrich a few oil magnates. Yet neither father nor son desired to go into the army. Both were driven there, the one by Conscription, the other by unemployment. I shall never be able to forgive myself for my boy's death. My husband charged me above all things to save George from such a fate as his, to keep him out of



the army by all means. But I waited too long; I didn't realise the danger; I thought that such things were far from his mind. But, alas! Yet he was a good boy, and hated the very thought of going into the army; but he could not bear to be idle and dependent, especially to be dependent upon his widowed mother. The wages of the father's sacrifice was unemployment for the son, and finally, that son's sacrifice. And all the while the rich flourish, and the mighty sit securely in their seats.

*Enter Ada.*

*Ada: Mother, has our George (on seeing the minister she hesitates, and creeps up to her mother.) Mother, Ethel Taylor says our George has been killed. He hasn't, has he?*

*Mrs. Seldon draws the child nearer to her, and sobs.*

*Ada: Has he mother?*

*Mrs. Seldon: Yes, darling.*

*Ada: Where? Who killed him?*

*Mr. Melsop: There has been a war, and George is one of those who have been killed?*

*Mrs. Seldon: England has murdered him, Ada.*

*Ada: England?*

*Mrs. Seldon: Yes, child, I'll teach you how, some day, because I want you to live for a pure and noble England, an England which no longer sells its soul for power, its sons for gain. That England will come as soon as the people see what I have lately been brought to see—the sordid circumstances out of which the horrors of war arise.*

*Mr. Melsop: God, speed your efforts, Mrs. Seldon. I fear we have all much to learn.*

*Mrs. Seldon: It is easy to learn when we desire the truth and are not in bondage to our prejudices.*

*Mr. Melsop: You speak truly. Wouldn't you like me to fill up these forms for you?*

*Mrs. Seldon: Thank you, Mr. Melsop. It is very good of you. All the same I would like to be able to snap my fingers at the whole dirty business. To accept a pension, in a case of this kind, seems to me almost like entering into a bargain with treason and murder.*

*Mr. Melsop writes at the table.*

*Ada: Mother, won't George ever come back again?*

*Mrs. Seldon: No, darling. (Presses her daughter tightly to her and sobs.)*

*Curtain.*

#### SCENE V.

*As Scene II.: A Corner of Sir Horace Blenkins' Drawing-Room.*

*Sir Horace Blenkins and Mr. Slingsby in lively conversation.*

*Mr. Slingsby: Well, although I say it myself, the whole thing has gone through in magnificent style.*

*Sir Horace: Oh, I never doubted your cleverness, Slingsby.*

*Mr. Slingsby: No, but you've been a doubting Thomas in this affair from the very first, Sir Horace. I've had to carry you every inch of the way, as you know.*

*Sir Horace: I must confess I've had my misgivings. Even now I am not too sure that we're out of the wood.*

*Mr. Slingsby: Out of the Wood? Nonsense, Sir Horace. Why, the thing is an accomplished fact, and although the situation was rather critical*

a few days ago, I think the worst is over. Fortunately, too, the affair has scarcely raised a single inquiry. Of course, we chose our people with great care. As for the results—I suppose you have seen this morning's paper? The shares are up another 15s. They stand now at £5 10s., which isn't bad for a £1 share. That means something like a quarter of a million in your pocket already, Sir Horace. You've cause to be cheerful, old chap!

*Sir Horace: Pray don't think I am unmindful of all your help. I am indebted to you beyond measure, for infinitely more than I shall be able ever to repay you. More than that, I admire your genius and self-confidence tremendously.*

*Mr. Slingsby: Thanks, awfully. But I may as well confess that I thoroughly enjoy carrying through little schemes of this kind. I love intrigue rubbing shoulders with fussy fogies and stolid officials on the backstairs, getting big things done by touching little screws and buttons, as it were. I sometimes think that money is to politics what electricity is to industry. It is that which makes the wheels go round. But what is the matter with you, Sir Horace? With all your good fortune, you can scarcely raise a smile. Why the devil won't you be happy?*

*Sir Horace: And why do you persist in worrying about me? Well, to be candid, I must confess to being a little uneasy. Supposing the truth were to leak out after all?*

*Mr. Slingsby: Nothing short of a miracle could cause that to happen.*

*Sir Horace: Unfortunately miracles do sometimes happen. And were one to happen on this occasion—where should we be?*

*Mr. Slingsby: What is it that is troubling you?*

*Sir Horace: The price that has been paid.*

*Mr. Slingsby: The price? Why, it has been done for an old song. Of course, you don't expect to pull things of this sort off for less than a few thousands.*

*Sir Horace: I wasn't thinking of the money. I was thinking of the lives!*

*Mr. Slingsby: Those seventy niggers?*

*Sir Horace: Not niggers, Slingsby, let me assure you; but human beings like you and me. Besides, there were some British.*

*Mr. Slingsby: Only seven.*

*Sir Horace: Still, seven! Seven human beings who, no doubt, were as fond of life as you or I.*

*Mr. Slingsby: Every venture has its risks. And considering what has been gained—a—a—besides the men joined the army voluntarily, I suppose?*

*Sir Horace: I suppose they did. But I don't think they joined it with the idea, of going out to appropriate property for our special benefit! And that is what they have been used for.*

*Mr. Slingsby: They have helped to bring that land into use.*

*Sir Horace: Our concern was dividends: Let us be frank. If the use of the oil wells was all we had been concerned about, we could easily have secured the co-operation of the natives for such an end.*

*Mr. Slingsby: But why rake up all these things after the event?*

*Sir Horace: I am very sorry to do so, but as you know, I have been uneasy from the first. I am afraid, I have been shaken a little, of late, at certain things that have happened. I can go a good way, but there is a point beyond which—*

*A knock. A servant enters.*

*Servant* : A lady here, sir. She wants you to sign a pensions paper.

*Sir Horace* : Is that all?

*Servant* : Yes, Sir.

*Sir Horace* : Then show her in. I'll do it here.

*Enter Mrs. Seldon.*

*Mrs. Seldon* : Good evening, sir ! I have a form here which must be signed by a magistrate. Will you be so good ?

*Sir Horace* : Certainly. Take a seat. (*He glances down the form*). Oh, I see; your son. He was in the army. What has happened, then? Not killed, I hope?

*Mrs. Seldon* : No murdered.

*Sir Horace* : Murdered? You don't mean to say? How did it happen? (*He reads further*.) Marrigoldland! He was out there? And he was murdered out there?

*Mrs. Seldon* : Yes.

*Slingsby pricks his ears.*

*Sir Horace* : By the natives?

*Mrs. Seldon* : No, by Britain. I understand he was helping to steal some land for an Oil Syndicate, here. It is they who have murdered him--they and their accomplices. He did not want to join the army, but unemployment drove him to it. They took my husband into the Great War: he did not return. Now they have taken my only son: he will never return. What is the result? Broken homes and broken hearts, desolation and despair. Modern wars are the crucifixion of the meek for the preservation of the mighty.

*Slingsby rises and steps back into the shade*

*Sir Horace* : It is certainly true what you say: that war is a horrible business. But somehow or other we do not seem able to get along without it. We must really find a way out.

*Mrs. Seldon* : The people have got their eye on one which promises to be effective.

*Sir Horace* : Indeed? What is that Mrs. Seldon?

*Mrs. Seldon* : Oh, just refusing to fight. It's the only way.

*Sir Horace* : But if we refuse to fight, I'm afraid we shall get badly sat on.

*Mrs. Seldon* : Don't you consider that I and people like me have been pretty badly sat on? And have we increased or diminished the chances of war by sending out soldiers to Marrigoldland, and killing seventy natives? Always, in peace or war, the common people of all lands suffer together. With whom am I most closely related, the wives and mothers of those seventy natives, or the Syndicate whose sole aim was to secure oil wells? The latter will reap their profits: the former have lost husbands and sons.

*Slingsby watches intently.*

*Sir Horace* : It is horrible! Horrible! We don't realise what we are doing. (*writes*.)

*Mrs. Seldon* (*Quietly, as if speaking to herself* : The poor man steals, and is put in prison; he murders another for gold, and is hung. The rich man steals, and is pronounced clever; he organises murder and is called a patriot; he profits by that murder and is raised to nobility! To what depths, O England, hast thou sunk? (*A slight pause. Then, louder, looking beyond, forgetful, as in a dream.*) But a new England shall arise. Out of the bowels of the unspoiled poor shall it come--as a city built in a night. Truth shall enlighten it, honour ennoble it, love sweeten it, service glorify it. Purged be this land of all its fashionable filth--this sordid greed of gold, this devilish warfare, this brutal bartering in human flesh! Our bones are dried up. A new deal and a new hope shall enliven them. Breathe upon them, ye four winds of heaven, that they again may live! And let this valley of dry bones be a kingdom of men mighty in its freedom, noble in its service, and beloved of the nations because it first dares to love;

*Stands with outstretched arms*  
*Curtain.*

## PRAYER AND POLITICS

By G. RAMCHANDRAN

IT was nearing eight in the evening. On the terrace, almost lost among the folds of blankets lay Mahatma Gandhi on a low cot. It was the 19th day of his fast. His was a very frail, tiny form. Only his face was seen as his head rested on a couple of snow-white khaddar pillows. It was a wonderful face. It was so bright, so full of peace, that none looking at its freshness would dream that he had been fasting for nearly three weeks. It was the triumphant

soul, pure and divine, that shone out through that face. A crescent moon hung low in the sky and bathed the terrace in its silver showers. Softly there gathered round the bed a little crowd of Hindus and Muslims, Christians and Parsees and Sikhs--many of them India's great leaders. All sat down and the prayers began. Verses from the Upanishads and the Gita were chanted in a low, intense way and then to the accompaniment of a tambourine came a wonderful Guzerati hymn. As I sat in

that little crowd I felt the press of the divine feet in my heart as I never before had felt. The thought, that if anywhere in the world to-day the Spirit of God hovers close and near, it must be around that little bed in which lay the frail form of Gandhi, flooded me like ocean-waves. Coming as I did from Travancore I could not understand a good part of the prayers conducted in Guzerati. But my heart, as I sat there, went out on a pilgrimage. Unconsciously it sought the homes, the poor miserable homes, of "the poorest, the lowliest and the lost" and knocked with offerings of love. My heart stood at the doors of the Pulaya and Pariah huts of Kerala. I saw myself on my knees before them, shame written on my face, craving forgiveness and bowing my life's best help, to blot out of the dear land of Kerala its unutterable sin of untouchability and unapproachability. I saw myself going through life living with them, suffering with them. But the pilgrimage of my heart stirred by the nearness of Gandhi was not ended. I offered love in the silence of my heart to all humanity. My heart offered its love to England too. I had only to look up to see the venerable saintly face of C. F. Andrews sitting with bowed head, to realise that England too is great and good and true. England cannot perish in spite of its Dyers and Curzons as long as it gives birth to such selfless servants of humanity as Andrews and Pearson. All angers, all hatred vanished for the time at least. The prayers ended and softly and reluctantly the little crowd of worshippers dispersed.

The thought came to me that night that Mahatma Gandhi who is shaking the foundations of an empire, who is swiftly waking up a continent from the lethargic slumber of centuries, was no politician at all. I realised in a flash that if he had any politics at all it was the politics of eternity. He is a man of prayer. When the doctors entreated him to break his fast having discovered some alarming symptoms in the first week of the fast he smiled and asked: "Have you forgotten the power of prayer?" And all through these days he has been living upon his prayers alone. In this century of scepticism and despair, here is a man who dares to say that he will live by prayer. The doctors confess that here is a defiance of science by prayer. Verily "more things are done by prayer than this world dreams of."

But the wonder is that this man of prayer is also to-day the leader of India's

political struggle. How has this seeker of God come into the very forefront of politics! Because three hundred millions of people through political bondage are in suffering. Their cry he could not listen to without responding. His is the heart of compassion. As a servant of truth, of God, he does not fly from politics but standing firm in the spirits he accepts his political duty in the light of pure service and with the courage of a prophet he goes to find the salvation of his countrymen. Politics! It is but one of the manifold aspects of man's Dharma. Approach it from the standpoint of Dharma, of the spirit, and all the evils of diplomacy and deceit will vanish like mist before the sun. Unhappy will be the day for India when we divorce politics from religion,—religion not merely external and formal but the true religion of the Spirit. If ever such a day arrives it will certainly be the triumph of evil in our National outlook. Are countries like America and France free? It is very doubtful. Slaves of no foreign domination, they are the slaves of the subtler and more vicious masters, diplomacy, deceit and endless political suspicion and fear. The reason is not far to seek. In their politics there is no room for the considerations of the spirit. Rather the present political bondage than that subtler one of the Spirit.

Let us see how a man of the spirit, a seeker of God approaches a political problem. Hindus and Muslims whose unity is the first condition for India's freedom do not live in peace but are constantly breaking each other's heads. Mahatma Gandhi as the leader of both the Hindus and Muslims in spite of the most agonised efforts fails to bring real unity. He then comes to a swift and clear decision. Both the communities adore him. He knows it. He will suffer for them and do penance. He resolves to fast and pray for 21 days. He would have fasted for 40 days, but to spare the feelings of his dear and near friends, he accepts only the fast of 21 days. The Hindus and Muslims are touched to the quick. They know that he is still weak from the almost fatal operation that he underwent when in jail. Their sins come home to them. Misery enters their heart and penitence quickens them into action. They agree to meet together. They confess their mistakes and try their best to plan mutual goodwill and lasting amity. This is the politics of Mahatma Gandhi. Who will deny that it is the politics of the Spirit, of eternity!



The world must listen if it wants to live, to the words Christ uttered in the dim morning of History—"Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you." Let India seek first the kingdom of God and everything else, even political freedom, will follow.

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### China's Debt to India

The greater portion of Professor Liang Chi Chao's speech of welcome to Rabindranath Tagore has been printed in *The Visva-bharati Quarterly* in the form of an article with the caption "China's Debt to India." The Professor says :—

To say that the country of India is our brother is not a mere matter of courtesy to our guest. The fact has its foundation in history.

In ancient times China did not enjoy that facility of communication which was the privilege of the races bordering the Mediterranean Sea. On the other hand, we had the disadvantage of being shut up in one corner of eastern Asia without any means of communicating with other great races and cultures.

.....But across our south-western boundary, there was a great and cultured country, India. Both in character and geography, India and China are like twin brothers. Before most of the civilised races became active, we two brothers had already begun to study the great problems which concern the whole of mankind. We had already accomplished much in the interests of humanity. India was ahead of us and we, the little brother, followed behind.

But God had not been kind. He had placed between us a vast area of unfeeling desert and two great ranges of cruel snowy peaks, which separated us for thousands of years. It was not till two thousand years ago that we were given gradually to know that we had a very good elder brother on the earth.

.....During a period of 700 to 800 years, we lived like affectionate brothers, loving and respecting one another.

Referring to China's contact with the modern powerful nations of the earth, the Professor observes :—

And now we are told that, within recent years, we have at length come into contact with civilised (!) races. Why have they come to us? They have come coveting our land and our wealth; they have offered us as presents cannon balls dyed in fresh blood; their factories manufacture goods and machines which daily deprive our people of their crafts. But we two brothers were not like that in the days gone by. We were both devoted to the cause of the universal truth, we set out to fulfil the destiny of mankind, we felt the necessity for

co-operation. We Chinese specially felt the need for leadership and direction from our elder brothers the people of India. Neither of us were stained in the least by any motive of self-interest—of that we had none.

During the period when we were most close and affectionate to one another, it is a pity that this little brother had no special gift to offer to its elder brother; whilst our elder brother had given to us gifts of singular and precious worth, which we can never forget.

The Professor then asks, "what is it that we so received," and answers :—

1. India taught us to embrace the idea of absolute freedom,—that fundamental freedom of mind, which enables it to shake off all the fetters of past tradition and habit as well as the present customs of a particular age,—that spiritual freedom which casts off the enslaving forces of material existence. In short, it was not merely that negative aspect of freedom which consists in ridding ourselves of outward oppression and slavery, but that emancipation of the individual from his own self, through which men attain great liberation, great ease and great fearlessness.

2. India also taught us the idea of absolute love, that pure love towards all living beings which eliminates all obsessions of jealousy, anger, impatience, disgust and emulation which expresses itself in deep pity and sympathy for the foolish, the wicked and the sinful,—that absolute love, which recognises the inseparability between all beings. "The equality of friend and enemy." "The oneness of myself and all things." This great gift is contained in the Da Tsang Jen (Buddhist classics). The teachings in these seven thousand volumes can be summed up in one phrase : *To cultivate sympathy and intellect, in order to attain absolute freedom through wisdom and absolute love through pity.*

He goes on to add, "But our elder brother had still something more to give. He brought us invaluable assistance in the field of literature and art." He then describes in some detail what China learnt directly and indirectly in Music, Architecture, Painting, Sculpture, Drama, Poetry and Fiction, Astronomy and Calendar, Medicine, the Alphabet, Literary Style, Educational Method, and Social Organisation. Summing up the Professor observes :—

Indian thought has been entirely assimilated into our own world of experience and has become an inalienable part of our consciousness. It has helped us to develop our faculties and has enabled us to achieve notable results in the various fields of literary and artistic endeavour. Even if we confine our case to Buddhism itself, we find that we have made some worthy contributions to its many metaphysical systems, forming ever new schools of thought upon the foundation of the old, through the energy and application of men like Yüan Chiang; so that we may take just pride in saying that Buddhism has become as distinctly Chinese as it is Indian.

We have unfortunately been separated from one another now for at least one thousand years and have each pursued our respective lines of development. We have had calamities during these years of separation. What have we not experienced? We have been threatened, mocked, trampled upon and have suffered all possible mortifications, so much so indeed that not only have we been looked upon with contemptuous eyes, but we ourselves have begun to lose the sense of self-respect.

But we have faith in the imperishability of human endeavour and the seeds we have sown, in spite of the many vicissitudes and inclemencies which we are passing through, will eventually bring us harvest in the fulness of time.

Both the civilisations represented by India and China are hoary with ancient traditions and yet I feel that there is in them the vigour of eternal youth, which shows itself to-day in India in the two great personalities of Tagore and Gandhi.

After a thousand years of separation during which period, however, we two continued to cherish thoughts of love for one another, this elder brother of ours has once more come to us animated with fraternal sentiments. Both of us bear lines of sorrow on our face, our hair is grey with age, we stare with a blank and vacant look as if we are just awakened from a dream; but, as we gaze on each other, what recollections and fond memories of our early youth rise in our mind, of those days, when we shared our joys and sorrows together! Now that we have once more the happiness of embracing, we shall not allow ourselves to separate again.

It is because China has so much of originality and greatness of her own that the Chinese Professor could speak so fully and frankly of China's debt to India. This should teach us to acknowledge our debts also to other countries.

Of the words which have personal reference to the Indian Poet, we shall quote only a few sentences.

Mr. Tagore wishes to make it known that he is not a religious teacher or an educationist or a philosopher, he says that he is only a poet. This we fully acknowledge...

And yet, to be a great poet needs more than an exquisite sense of what is artistic,—one must also be inspired by serious and magnanimous thoughts. In the personality of Mr. Tagore, as well as in his poetry, we find that exemplification of those principles of absolute love and absolute freedom, which form the basis of Hindu culture and civilisation....

Mr. Tagore says also that he has nothing to offer as a gift from India, but he wishes to express the sentiments of love of the people of India from which he has come as a representative. I wish to say in reply that the sentiments of love are more worthy than all the gifts that he can possibly offer us. We are more than overjoyed to receive them and we wish that he would take back with him our love and sympathy, which are, I can assure him, even more intense than his own.

We trust that, on this occasion, the love between China and India will not terminate with the one or two months which Mr. Tagore is able to spend in this country. The responsibility that we bear to the whole of mankind is great indeed, and there should be, I think, a warm spirit of co-operation between India and China. The coming of India's Poet will, I hope, mark the beginning of an important epoch.

If we can avail of this occasion to renew the intimate relationship which we had with India and to establish a really constructive scheme of co-operation, then our welcome to Mr. Tagore will have real significance.

### City and Village

In his essay on "City and Village," published in *The Visva-bharati Quarterly*, Rabindranath Tagore says, in part:—

The reckless wastage of humanity which ambition produces, is best seen in the villages, where the light of life is being dimmed, the joy of existence dulled, the natural threads of social communion snapped every day. It should be our mission to restore the full circulation of life's blood into these maltreated limbs of society; to bring to the villages health and knowledge; wealth of space in which to live; wealth of time in which to work and to rest and to enjoy; respect which will give them dignity; sympathy which will make them realize their kinship with the world of men, and not merely their servient position.

Streams, lakes and oceans are there on this earth. They exist not for the hoarding of water exclusively within their own areas. They send up the vapour which forms into clouds and helps towards a wider distribution of water. Cities have their functions of maintaining wealth and knowledge in concentrated forms of opulence, but this also, should not be for their own sake; they should be centres of irrigation; they should gather in order to distribute; they should not magnify themselves but should enrich the entire commonwealth. They should be like, lamp-posts, and the light they support must transcend their own limits.

Such a relationship of mutual benefit between the city and the village can remain strong only so long as the spirit of co-operation and self-sacrifice is a living ideal in society. When some universal temptation overcomes this ideal, when some selfish passion gains ascendancy, then a gulf is formed and goes on widening between them; then the mutual relationship of city and village becomes that of exploiter and victim. This is a form of perversity whereby the body politic becomes its own enemy and whose termination is death.

We have started in India, in connection with our *Visva-bharati* work of village reconstruction, the

mission of which is to retard this process of race suicide...

Our object is to try to flood the choked bed of village life with the stream of happiness. For this the scholars, the poets, the musicians, the artists, have to collaborate, to offer their contributions. Otherwise they must live like parasites, sucking life from the people and giving nothing back to them. Such exploitation gradually exhausts the soil of life, which needs constant replenishing by the return to it of life, through the completion of the cycle of the receiving and giving back.

Most of us, who try to deal with the poverty problem, think of nothing but a greater intensive effort of production, forgetting that this only means a greater exhaustion of materials as well as of humanity. This only means giving exaggerated opportunity for profit to a few, at the cost of the many. It is food which nourishes, not money; it is fulness of life which makes one happy, not fulness of purse. Multiplying materials intensifies the inequality between those who have and those who have not, and this deals a fatal wound to the social system, through which the whole body is eventually bled to death.

### W. W. Pearson

Of the many things concerning the unique and lovable personality of W. W. Pearson which C. F. Andrews writes in *The Visva-bharati Quarterly*, we shall extract only a few.

I have thought long over the question as to what was his greatest gift, amid all this bewildering variety of talents...It was his genius for making and preserving friendships,—the infinite attraction of his whole personality for all who delighted to know him,—that made Willie Pearson unique. The mention of his name brought a gleam of light to the eyes in every circle wherein he moved. In India, where racial feelings have grown strong of late, no one ever thought of him as a foreigner or an intruder. He was made a welcome member of every family where he stayed; and it was always his greatest wish and happiness to dwell in Indian homes. In every possible way, he would conform to their manners and dress and customs; and he would always do his utmost, with infinite care, to put those who were entertaining him entirely at their ease.....

I have also been trying to pass on further to the one love which brought out all his gifts most perfectly,—his love of children. Here was his supreme happiness, if to be happy is to forget self entirely in others. A group of children, with him in their midst, became at once filled with extraordinary animation and excitement.

His classes were like the buzzing of bees round a hive. Each boy was eagerly wishing to get in his answer first. In our open air life at Santiniketan, this noise in class was possible. For he took his boys under a tree where there was ample space all round and no other class was near that might be disturbed. But in a school room, the clamour caused by the intense excitement would have been deafening. More full of joy to the boys, even than his classes, were the rambles which he took with them for 'nature study.' One further form of

teaching must be mentioned,—the acting of plays. He had a dramatic gift and a beautiful voice for recitation. In the last term of his teaching at the Asram, he had taught the boys to act in a play: and the pleasure that he gave to those young actors will not soon be forgotten.

...His was not at all one of those kindly, indulgent easy-going characters, that loves to be a friend of all the world by simple kindness and good nature. Willie Pearson had something of a volcano in him, which he found difficult beyond words to control. At times, it would break out and get beyond him. He spent his whole life in seeking to control it; and the long hours which he used to give daily to silence and quiet and meditation had often this end in view. In the presence of God, he had found peace; and wherever the irritation at some wrong became too great to bear, he would retire and compose himself before he came back into the outer world.

### Need of Separate University for Women

Prof. D. K. Karve, founder of the Indian Women's University in Maharashtra, writes in the *Progress of Education* :—

The establishment of a separate University for women was thought absolutely indispensable for the following reasons which never received due consideration from the University of Bombay :—

1. To restore Vernaculars to their natural position, first by making them the media of instruction and secondly by making the study of their literatures a prominent subject.

2. To include Domestic Science, Sanitation and Fine Arts in the courses of studies for the secondary education and Hygiene, Biology, Human Physiology and Study of Child Mind in the college course in order to suit the needs and requirements of the generality of women.

3. To curtail the period of study without lowering the standard, so as to bring the secondary and higher education within the reach of our women who are handicapped to some extent by our social limitations.

### Jaina Wealth and Jaina Cultural Needs

Rai Saheb Phulchand Rae, B.A., C.E., says in the *Jaina Gazette* :—

I would point out that the Jains are one of the wealthiest communities of India and if they wished they could endow any institution sufficiently to make it self-supporting. Look at their temples and Dharamshalas. The temple at Mount Abu, an unrivalled monument of Indian architecture, cost 17 crores when it was built. It would cost much more now. The outlay on temples and Dharamshalas of Palitana must also be counted in crores. The image of Gomatswami, 56 feet high cut out of a rock at Sravana Belgola in Mysore territory is an object of admiration to the Engineers and Architects of the world. It is difficult to estimate its cost even roughly. Yet we cannot get funds for the few necessities mentioned by the President. The difficulty is that our rich men belong to the old school of thought. To them building a temple and holding a procession is a far more sacred duty than the spreading of education, providing of schools



and colleges, enlarging a library or publishing a magazine.

If a tenth of the money that is spent every year in processions and in constructing temples could be saved for Halls, Libraries, Magazines and other educational purposes there will be enough money not only for providing these facilities at the seat of every University in India and England, but also for a Jaina college and even a Jaina University.

### "Beating with Shoes"

In a "brief review" of the Parsi Punchayet, published in the *Journal of the Iranian Association*, one is amused to read the following :—

It seems by the time, difficulties began to crop up for the Punchayet. Its authority began to be defied. And in the middle of 1778 we find the members of the Punchayet petition the Government to grant them the privilege of punishing the offenders by beating them with shoes. They assured the Government that "some low Parsis who were ignorant of the rules of their religion, were going to infringe the same, which they wanted to prevent." The strange device of beating with shoes was sought for not so much as a corporal punishment as an instrument of humiliating them in the public. Strange to say this wonderful petition was granted. The reply runs:—

TO THE PARSEES NOT OF THE PRIEST CASTE.

You are hereby empowered to meet and enquire into all matters that are committed by your Caste, contrary to what has been agreed to by the Majority of the Caste, and to punish the offender agreeably to the rules of your Caste, so far as not permitting them to come to your feasts or beat them with shoes, but no other Corporal punishment. (Signed) William Hornby,

Bombay, 5th July, 1778

From this ready compliance with the petition, it may be inferred that the Government were of opinion, that the Punchayet was always very careful to respect public opinion, and dealt with high and low, rich and poor, with absolute impartiality. It is quite evident that without the general support of the community at large this almost absurd privilege of beating with shoes could never have been granted much less put in practice. In his "Parsee Prakash", a veritable mine of authentic information, Khan Bahadur B. B. Patel says that this practice of beating with shoes was in full force till 1823.

### Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar

On the occasion of the appointment of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar to the chair of University Professor of Indian History at Madras for a fresh term, *The Educational Review* pays him a glowing tribute, which is prefaced by the following words :—

Without meaning any disparagement to the other great Universities of India that are to-day taking an ever-increasing share in the development of Indian culture, we may be permitted to remark

that the Madras University has always stood for a high standard of intellectual *acumen* and probity, and in the selection of the teachers of the University, its governing members have always exercised the greatest care and caution. That Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar should have been chosen by that body of keen critics to fill the Chair of Indian History for a third term, is a striking tribute to the splendid work that the Professor has been carrying on during the last ten years in the field of South Indian Historical Research.

Let that "great" University take the cap which fits it.

Of Professor Aiyangar himself it is said, in part :—

It will be remembered that it was in November 1914 that Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar was invited first to fill the Chair of Indian History. No one undertook to fill a similar office under more difficult and exceptional circumstances. The opening of a Research Department was a new experiment, just then launched by the Madras University; the lay public, by which we mean the vast body forming the *alumni* of the University, ignorant of the innumerable obstacles and difficulties that lay in the path of the Research Scholar, was prone to expect too much, within a short period, from the first occupant of the Indian History Chair; and many members of the Senate were frankly sceptical of the utility of the whole scheme. On his part, the Professor deliberately set himself, to start with, to the difficult task of elucidating that portion of South Indian History of which very little was known.

Lovers of Ancient Indian culture can, in the year 1924, afford to indulge in the luxury of Historical Research with perfect equanimity of mind. What with rare and settled texts, neatly printed and garnished with intelligent notes, inscriptions translated and carefully indexed, the way for them is smooth enough. Quite different was the lot of Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar at the commencement of his career as University Professor. The materials for the resuscitation of the early history of Peninsular India were not in a state of organized existence at all. Ill-arranged and ill-kept, they had to be dug out from the archives of the Madras Oriental Library, and when the various Tamil historical texts were thus brought to the light of day and subjected to his criticism, the fire and anger of the Pundits, who have conceived a prejudice to the critical methods of the modern scholar, had to be faced. Nor did Epigraphy help the Professor in the special field he had at first chosen for work. Important grants and inscriptions, throwing light, however feeble, on the ancient History of the Tamil land, had not yet been published by the Government Epigraphist. Indeed when we remember that for the first eight centuries of the Christian era inscriptions are not available for the history of the Tamil land and the few that have been discovered fail to reveal any intelligent account of our past, we can easily understand the stupendous nature of the work that confronted Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. Every step in the history of South India had to be won by strong power of reasoning and undaunted perseverance. Undismayed the Professor went to work patiently and methodically. A few years' close study of Tamil Texts at last yielded excellent results. The series of post-

graduate lectures under the caption "*The Beginnings of South Indian History*" rightly represents the fruits of the Professor's labours in the first term of his office.

### Calcutta University Examinations

*The Educational Review* of Madras, which has occasionally waxed indignant at our criticism of the Calcutta University and its late leader writes thus :—

#### *The Calcutta University.*

At the recent Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University, there were 18,347 candidates out of whom there were the following passes :—

First division. ...	7,978
Second division ...	5,023
Third division ...	1,145

It has been a loud complaint in recent years with regard to the University of Calcutta that the number of passes at the Matriculation Examination has been so large as to lead to an appreciable deterioration in standards of collegiate education. It is all right to talk of giving a fair opportunity to everybody, to take advantage of University education, but it is no use turning out herds of incompetent youths to sit in college classes, if they cannot benefit by the instruction imparted and they only serve the purpose of bringing down academic standards that instruction may reach even their understanding and unripe experience. It is not however of this aspect that we wish to write on this occasion, and the percentage of passes is probably after all not so large as to alarm educationists, however extravagant they may seem to those brought up in the narrow academic stiffness of the University of Madras. We however wish to refer to the ridiculous state of affairs which is apparently responsible for producing more than six times the number of passes of the third division in the first division and nearly five times the number of passes of the third division in the second division. It is certainly a piece of human experience everywhere in the world, that the people of distinguished ability are fewer in number than those of average ability and those of average ability are obviously less in number than those who are tolerable in point of intelligence and industry. In every one of the Universities of India, the number of those who pass in the first division is much less than those who pass in the second division and very much lesser still than those who pass in the third division. This is the verdict of History and the experience of all those concerned with University education in India. Does it not show an absurd state of affairs, if this piece of experience does not apply only to the University of Calcutta and is there any wisdom in clinging to such a ridiculous position? The Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University is a big joke in University circles at least in Northern India, where there is more knowledge of its affairs and working than in the South, but this is a record of figures startling in its absurdities. It is time the Senators of Calcutta woke up to a realisation of this and set the affairs of their house in order unless some of them argue that there is something in the atmosphere of Bengal justifying a violation of all admitted standards of experience elsewhere

and they wish to furnish some amusement to the educational world.

### Bihar and Orissa's Claim to Have a Research Society

*The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* has published the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's address on "Historical Research in Bihar and Orissa," in the course of which he observed :—

I emphatically repudiated what seemed to me a radically erroneous notion. I maintained—and my conviction has grown stronger with the lapse of years—that Bihar and Orissa had a special claim to organise a Research Society.

What student of history, on his first visit to the site of the once renowned city of Pataliputra, can restrain his memory and refuse to be carried away to the remote past associated with this hallowed ground. What Delhi was to India in the Muhammadan period, what Calcutta was to India till recent years under British rule, Pataliputra was to India in pre-moslem times, namely, the Imperial city of Bharatavarsha. Historians tell us that Pataliputra, though a small village in the days of Gautama Buddha, rapidly acquired strategic importance.

.....I have referred thus far to the eminence of Pataliputra in the political sphere in ancient India. But, as may be expected, political and intellectual supremacy went hand in hand, and Pataliputra occupied a unique and unrivalled position in the sphere of literature even in the days of remote antiquity. In India, as in other civilized countries, the prosperity and progress of *belles-lettres* have been dependent in a large measure upon royal patronage; and Pataliputra, the seat of imperial government became the nursery of poets and artists.....

Indian art also, if not actually created, was vigorously encouraged through the patronage of the paramount sovereigns of Pataliputra. The most conspicuous amongst them in this as in other fields was Asoka, who gave a lithic form to the architecture of India and thereby left on it the ineffaceable impress of his mighty intellect. Well may it be maintained that in the past, at any rate the genius of this place manifested itself in diverse forms of the activities of civilized man and that what was once a centre of political power, a centre of learning, a centre of art, is yet worthy to be a centre of research.

It must be obvious to the most superficial observer that a province which has thus witnessed the rise and fall of successive dynasties must abound in monuments of high antiquity, which serve as so many links in the chain of the history of civilization. You have the ancient sites of Vaisali (Besarh), the capital of the Lichchavis; (Rajgir), the old capital of Magadha; Nalanda, the seat of the celebrated University of Mediaeval India where Mahayana Buddhism was studied and expounded; Champā, the capital of ancient Anga; Mudgagiri (Monghyr), a capital of the Pala dominions; and above all, Gaya, where Gautama Buddha attained the supreme enlightenment in his quest for the Eternal Truth. The remains of ancient civilization, however, do not lie on the surface, and are only rich mines for excavations. Vaisali and Nalanda have already yielded up many of their treasures.

which are interesting as well from the historical as from the artistic standpoint. The work of excavation at Vaisali appears to have been abandoned, temporarily at least, on grounds not intelligible to laymen; while the site of Nalanda .... still continues to be exploited by the Archaeological Department...

### Script of Mithila and of Bengal

E. P. Jayaswal publishes in the same *Journal* the facsimile of a page of a manuscript of the Mahabharata, dated 327 Lakshmana Sena Era, which corresponds to 1447 A. D. The script is that which is used in Mithila and Bengal to-day. This, along with the fact that both Mithila and Bengal claim Vidyapati as their poet, is a proof of the antiquity of this script and an indirect proof of the former cultural unity of Mithila and Bengal.

### Economic Condition of India during Aurangzeb's Reign

Two passages are quoted below from Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's paper on Prince Azam Shah, son of the Emperor Aurangzeb, in the *B. & O. Research Society's Journal*. The first runs thus :—

"One day while the prince and Bidar Bakht were riding on post-horses, with no other escort than God, the Shahzada felt very thirsty. When they reached a well near a village, a water-carrier offered him a cup of water, for which the prince gave him two gold coins. The wretch, on seeing him, thought that he was a mace-bearer of the Court carrying a quantity of gold coins.....Then he shouted and barred the road and rushed up threatening violence to the prince, who was about to ride past him in disregard. The prince shot him through the heart with an arrow and rode away with his train. When one of his officers reached the place some time after, he recognized the arrow as his master's, cut off the villain's head and took the arrow away with himself.....After this incident the prince ordered some bits of uncoined gold and small gold coins as well as copper pice and *cowries* to be always kept in his pocket.....Nowhere was there time to cook a regular meal for him during his short halts, except one day at a qazi's house. He usually lived on dry bread and fruits and fried barley. One day the Shahzada expressed a desire for *khichri*. The attendants went to a serai, cooked it, and served it on an old used dish of wood. Both father and son were hungry, but the prince after looking at the dirty plate refused to taste it and passed it on to his son, who also rejected it. The prince consoled him by saying that, God willing, they would get food from the Emperor's own table in a few days." [M.A. 183-185.]

The second relates to Prince Azam Shah's illness.

The prince accompanied by two of his sons was

brought to his father's camp at Galgala on 22nd October. "As he had not fully recovered yet, the Emperor wished to be both physician and nurse to him. Azam Shah was lodged in a tent (specially) set up for him close to the Hall of Private Audience.....The Emperor daily visited the prince and partook of the sick-diet with him and Zinat-unnessa Begam. And that was the only food which the two took till the prince recovered.....On 23rd December, Muhammad Azam (on recovery) came to the Private Audience Chamber, sat down before the Emperor, and thus filled him with gladness." [M.A. 361—362.] After he had fully regained his health, there was much feasting and alms-giving. His chief officers spent much out of their own pockets in celebrating their beloved master's escape from death. His Begam sent Rs. 60,000 as a present to Najaf and Karbala. One lakh and twenty thousand rupees were distributed to the poor of Mecca, Medina and other holy places. The imperial physician was given a purse of 2,000 gold pieces and a promotion of one thousand in rank, besides many presents.

These passages afford some indirect evidence relating to the opulence of the Mughal Imperial family. And it is to be remembered that the purchasing power of the rupee was in that age much greater than now. Imperial wealth in those days can be explained either on the hypothesis that the people were well-off and therefore the rulers also could take much from them, or on the supposition that the rulers were very extortionate and left the people poor. On the latter supposition it has to be explained how there was enough left in the hands of the people to fructify, so that a long succession of rulers could rob them of enough wealth to lead a life of luxury and splendour.

### Death of Jani Bagum

Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's paper contains the following touching account of the death of Prince Muhammad Azam Shah's beloved wife :—

Early in 1705 a great sorrow fell on Azam and darkened the remainder of his life. His beloved wife Jahanzeb Banu Begam (popularly called Jani Begam) a daughter of Dara Shukoh and the nursing of the saintly Jahanara, died of an abscess in the right breast. The French doctor, Mons. Martin, had proposed that the patient should be examined by one of his female relatives then living in Delhi, (evidently an Indo-Portuguese Christian woman) who was skilled in surgery (*haxiqa*), so that he might prescribe medicines according to her report. But the Begam refused to be examined by a woman who drank wine, lest her body should be defiled by her touch! The disease lingered on for two years and then she died in great pain. Two lakhs of rupees were spent in furnishing the corpse, distributing alms, and despatching the coffin to Delhi for burial there in the cemetery of the saint Qutbuddin Bakhtiar. Her princely husband's mourning for her is only



paralleled in Mughal history by that of Shah Jahan for his Mumtaz Mahal, or of Dara for his Nadira Banu (the mother of this lady). Azam Shah was heart-broken at being left lonely of his life-long companion. He was now 52, and had only two years more to live. He gave up hearing music and attending dances, though he had been very fond of them from youth upwards. His wife's property reverted to him, but he would not touch it; he gave away her jewels to their son Bidar Bakht and the other effects to their daughter Najib-un-nissa. [M.A. 494, 495].

### Practical Education

Writing on practical education in the *Sind College Miscellany*, Principal G. N. Gokhale observes:—

It is true, that we have an Agricultural College, a few Industrial Schools, and a Technical Institute, but here again let us see if we have not begun at the wrong end. Agriculture is essentially a widely spread democratic art. In India at least it has not become a great industry, and even the land owned by big Zamindars is ultimately cultivated by the poor Hari or Kunbi. There are millions of these petty farmers and each one is a unit by himself. It is only by training each of these units that improvement can be effected. Not so in the case of industries. They are essentially aristocratic. The Tata concern is not managed by the votes of the shareholders, but by the Managers, in whom all power is concentrated,—indeed it cannot be otherwise. There the whole concern is one unit, and only a few men at the top can decide what is best for the concern, however large it may be. If the Tata Industries are not really national—as many think—it is because the Managers at the head,—even if very efficient—are not National in their outlook. In the case of Industries it is the Managers who must be tackled first, and in the case of Agriculture the reform must be started at the bottom—with each individual farmer. It will thus be seen that we have begun just at the wrong end. We have an Agricultural College and Industrial Schools. It is no use teaching students carpentry in industrial schools—the local carpenter can do it better, and it is equally futile to expect better produce from our land by starting an Agricultural College, which cannot reach the unit farmer. What we want are Agricultural Schools or rather an Agricultural bias to all rural schools and a very high-grade Technological Institute.

### Indian Agriculture

We read in *Industrial India*:—

Seventy-two per cent. of the population of India—some 230 millions of people—are dependent upon pasture and agriculture for their sustenance and livelihood. The number of males engaged in agriculture, stock-breeding and forestry amounts to well over seventy-one million. In the year 1922-23 India exported over 47 millions pounds worth of raw cotton, over 26 million pounds worth of jute manufactures, in addition to 15 millions of raw jute and nearly 29 millions of grain and flour. We see, then, that not only is agriculture the

mother of industry so far as India is concerned, but it is by far her greatest and most important industry. She is primarily and essentially an agricultural country.

Taking a broad view of what falls within a survey of her agricultural activities, it may be noted that her jute industry is unrivalled, that her cotton industry takes fifth place in importance in the world, and that she promises to become the greatest wheat-growing country of the Empire.

And yet, vast and important as is the Indian agricultural industry, it is probably the most backward and primitive—with certain exceptions—with regard to its equipment and methods, of any industry in the world. To the man who knows the whole situation, it may be summed up in the fact that from time immemorial the people of India have used cow-dung for fuel instead of for manure and have flushed their floors with it instead of fertilising their fields, and have thus consistently robbed the soil of its fertility, and, moreover, they have failed to give their land its necessary periods of rest. On top of this, the ryot is usually the smallest of small farmers, he is lacking in education, his methods of farming are of the most primitive character, his poverty usually prevents him from buying even the simplest modern implements, and his small holding is a mere patch of earth at which he is doomed to scratch for the barest pittance. He has no money to buy fertilisers or machinery and has even to borrow the money for purchasing seeds and to replenish his meagre stock. He is often the helpless victim of drought or disease, of superstition, and of the money-lender. To make any marked impression upon the agricultural methods of India is therefore a matter of education, of time, patience and whole-hearted co-operation. Improvements are coming, and are likely to come more rapidly in the near future, and as a potential market for agricultural machinery, equipment and appliances of all kinds, India is well worth studying, nursing, and encouraging. A system of co-operative credit is now in successful operation, and the opportunities furnished by the people's Banks have whetted the popular appetite for more productive methods of husbandry. Co-operative societies for productive and distributive purposes are going up and increasing in favour, and the rural credit societies also help their members to market their produce, to purchase agricultural machinery, to buy cattle, and so forth.

### Royal Favour and Religion

The following passage occurs in an article on Asoka in *The Young Citizen*:—

We may still behold that which marks the Buddha's birthplace; though it is now broken, the inscription still reads plain; and another which marks the place where the Buddha passed away. His Edicts represent to us one who had supreme confidence in himself, a man of simple commanding nature, almost grand-motherly in his scrupulous care for his people: a man who was conscious of his mission, yet so fanatic; sure that he would be obeyed, and that others would think as he thought. Of course, this could not be and this state of things could not last long in any case, when once the royal patronage was gone. Moreover, royal favour supplants any religion, and Buddhism may be said to have begun its decay as soon as the Master

accepted large domains and dwelling places on behalf of the Order.

### Some Popular Fallacies Exposed

William Tell did not shoot the apple off his son's head. Nor did he shoot Gessler, the Austrian Tyrant. These are inventions of a patriotic and imaginative historian.

Nero did not fiddle while Rome burned, because he was staying at his villa at Antium at the time fifty miles from Rome, and, moreover, the fiddle was not invented till the sixteenth century.

King John did not sign Magna Carta. The Great Seal was put on, probably in the Chancery. It is ever doubtful whether John could write.

Siraj-u-Dowlah did not imprison 140 English people in a small room in Calcutta. However much effect it may have had in England in inflaming the English against Indian, it is only a pious invention. What a pity people cannot control their tongues!

Sir Walter Raleigh did not introduce either the Potato or Tobacco from America into Europe. Tobacco was introduced by Sir John Hawkins, and the Potato by Sir Francis Drake.

The first English Prince of Wales was not born in Carnarvon Castle, nor was he displayed there to a crowd of admiring Welshmen. The Castle was barely begun by Edward the First, and was not finished until 33 years after the birth of his fourth son.

James Watt did not invent the steam engine, but only improved it. The steam engine was invented by Edward Somerset, Marquess of Worcester, in 1655.

Marconi did not invent the wireless telegraph, but developed and applied it. Hertz and Clerk Maxwell were the real inventors.

Monkeys rarely, if ever, have fleas. Moles are not blind, although their sight is not brilliant, and Ostriches do not bury their heads in the sand when pursued—*The Young Citizen*.

### Indian Athletes at the Olympic Games

We read in *The Young Men of India*.

On the passenger list of the Bibby steamer "Lancashire," which left Colombo on the 4th June last, were the names of Dalip Singh, a member of the Sikh community of Patiala and a graduate of the Punjab University; Hinge, an orthodox Mahratta Brahmin from the Bombay Presidency; Pitt and Hall, two Anglo-Indian printers from Calcutta; Pala Singh, a sepoy from the U. P., a product of the Army School of Physical Training; and Lakshmanan, a medical graduate from Madras. These six gentlemen, representing five different communities and as many widely-separated sections of the country, had won the right to be acclaimed the greatest track and field athletes in the Indian Empire, by defeating all other aspirants to the title in fair, open competition at Delhi last February.

The Indian team was in charge of an athletic coach, Mr. H. C. Buck, Principal of the National Y.M.C.A. Physical Training School at Madras. Mr. Buck is our colleague, and it is somewhat embarrassing, therefore, for us to give public expression

to the invaluable contribution made by him to the success of the team at Paris.

It was in the more subtle social aspect of Mr. Buck's leadership, the elements that promote *morale*, that he scored most effectively, and in this difficult task he was most ably assisted by his wife herself, an enthusiastic sportswoman. In a team, however small, in which individuals differ so radically in their educational and community status, one must reckon with potential race antagonism and temperamental difficulties. The Eighth Olympiad was, unfortunately, not altogether free from certain unfortunate incidences bred of race and national feeling. By contrast with these sporadic outbursts of poor sportsmanship, the irreproachable conduct and perfect discipline of the Indian team again added lustre. Even the newspapers commented, in terms of the highest praise, on this feature of India's participation. Naturally, Mr. and Mrs. Buck would be the first to share the credit for this exemplary conduct with the athletes themselves. Smoking, late hours, participation in the unwholesome "night-life" of Paris, individual differences, the limitations imposed by the strictest economy, in all these things the Indian athletes conducted themselves like men.

We use the word "success" as applied to India's part in the Olympic Games advisedly. It is true that no Indian athlete won a first, second or third place in any of the events. But they *did* beat every other athlete from Asia, with the single exception of a Japanese, who won a third place, and he was trained in America. We invite attention again to a statement published in the Delhi Programme: The Olympic organizers are under no illusions that an Indian athlete, at this stage, has more than a desperate chance of placing in a highly-specialized international competition. . . . We appeal to the people of India to give this team that full measure of moral support which will inspire them, win or lose, to put forth their maximum effort." Each Indian athlete *did* put forth his maximum effort to such good purpose, that in each case a new Indian record was put up. Take the quarter-mile for instance. Pitt, in his heat, was pitted against British, American and Finnish athletes, each of whom had vastly more experience and training, and yet he *won* his heat in better time by far than he had ever made in India! It was a proud moment when the loud speaker announced India as the winner and the Star of India was raised to the top of the flagstaff.

In the finals of the long jump, Dalip Singh jumped 23 feet, an unheard of record in India, which placed him seventh at the Olympic Games. This, in an event in which the world's record was smashed in sensational style. It means that of all the trained long jumpers in the world, our Dalip Singh stands *seventh*; we predict a brilliant athletic future for him.

Hinge, India's Marathon runner, finished twenty-sixth in an entry of 69 athletes. But let it be set down to Hinge's credit that he *finished*. Only 27 athletes of the 69 actually completed the race, and had Hinge weakly surrendered short of the finish line we should have felt disgraced. Twenty-six miles and more is a gruelling race, but Hinge had seen other athletes use up their reserve energy and by sheer indomitable will power postpone their collapse until they had finished; he was told to *keep on going* even if he broke a leg, and we feel satisfied.

The appetites of the men, now in the pink

of condition, were prodigious; all were popular with the English stewards, who took delight in smuggling to them astonishing amounts of ice cream. They all sat at the same table with the Bucks: for the time being race and caste distinctions were forgotten, though Hinge limited himself to vegetable curries, milk and fruit.

It is a fine thing, no doubt, to win: finer still to run a race against hopeless odds with an indomitable will to put forth not only your maximum effort, but a little more besides. And veteran trainers, watching the graceful performance of Lakshmanan in the hurdles, the natural spring of Dalip Singh in the long jump, or the potential, not yet fully developed, speed of Pitt in the quarter, realized that India may soon compete on more equal terms, when trained over a longer period, against the best in the world. It is only natural that the French newspapers should single out men like Dalip Singh and Pala Singh for special comment, with particular emphasis on the *chic* effect achieved by the elaborate coiffure of the Sikh, not only on the track but on the streets of Paris. It took no mean ability for the Bucks to convoy them through the admiring throngs!

The Eighth Olympiad is over. Speaking generally there is no disguising the fact that there have been unpleasant episodes that have militated, to some extent, against that perfect spirit of goodwill which the Olympic organizers hoped to promote. But such sporadic outbursts of temper and national prejudice have marred other Olympiads as well. It is only human to be tempted to brand the whole Olympic ideal as a failure because here and there there have been breaches of gentlemanly conduct. In some sections of the Press a pessimistic attitude has been taken up, and the question raised as to whether these games were, after all, worth while. Surely such an attitude betrays a lack of the sense of proportion. Can anyone doubt that to bring forty-five nations together in keen but friendly competition marks a great achievement that must ultimately help to break down racial and national barriers? The wonder is not that there have been occasional ugly incidents, but that there have not been more of them. One would hesitate to belittle the contribution football has made to the fine sporting traditions of the British, because an occasional match is marked by rowdism. A finely-trained athlete is often as temperamental as a prima donna, and where he temporarily allows the lust of conquest to blunt his finer sensibilities, he should be judged leniently. Almost invariably such men realize their fault later and tender sincere apologies.

The League of Nations unites the political representatives of the nations of the world with the avowed intention of promoting peace. Differences of opinion, even traces of aggressiveness or selfishness, occasionally introduce a disruptive element, yet we have faith to believe that these international conferences will ultimately advance the cause of universal brotherhood. The Olympic Games have the same objective, and in so far as an athletic field provides a less controversial atmosphere than the council chamber, we believe that, in spite of an occasional breakdown of *morale*, the ministry of play and healthy athletic rivalry will teach men to play the game with an even surer hope of success.

We rejoice that India's team was never guilty of the slightest trace of poor sportsmanship; that, on the contrary, their exemplary conduct won for them an enviable reputation. To maintain this

record will be increasingly difficult, as the number of Indian representatives grows larger, but a high precedent for sportsmanlike conduct has been set that augurs well for future success.

And what about the immediate future? Thanks to Mr. Buck's careful and economical management, a sum of almost 8,000 rupees lies on fixed deposit to the credit of the All-India Olympic Committee. This committee is now in process of being converted into a permanent Olympic Association, functioning through a carefully-selected working committee. In accordance with suggestions agreed to by all the members, India should look forward to participation in the next Far Eastern Championship Games, to be held in Manila in 1926. The expense of sending an Indian team to Manila will be much less than to send them to Europe. Their rivals will be more nearly in the same class. As stated before, India has, with one exception, won out, in actual records, over all other Far Eastern representatives. The athletes just returned from Paris are full of enthusiasm, eager to broadcast the need for more intensive and intelligent training among the masses. And this aspect of promoting a more vigorous play life among the masses is quite the most important feature of the Olympic programme, the only one in fact that justifies its existence. Seven thousand Indian athletes tried for a place on the team that went to Paris: is it too much to hope that not less than 10,000 youths will train for a place on the team selected to represent the Indian Empire at the Far Eastern Games?

The article from which these extracts have been made is from the pen of A. G. Noehren, M.D. In a previous number we wrote about the Far Eastern Olympic.

### Idealism in Hindu Politics

J. N. C. Ganguly writes in the same Review:

The most remarkable and important political contribution of Vedic times is the conception of the majesty of the assembly wielding corporate authority. The political consciousness of this period rose to a metaphysical height when the loving devotion to the assembly as the citadel of free national ideals called forth ardent popular prayers, and their two assemblies were personified as positive powers in the life of the community (Atharva Veda, 1, 13, 4: XIX, 55).

According to the Hindu theory of life, there cannot be an absolute separation and segregation of the various departments of life. E. B. Havell has remarked—"Indo-Aryan polity... was firmly based on the principle that right is might, or, as the Mahabharat puts it, that the heavens are concentrated in the ethics of the State" (*Aryan Rule in India*, p. xiv). Similarly, Dr. N. N. Law has explained the Hindu conception in connection with the religious ceremonies performed by the great and powerful kings of antiquity, which reveal at places wonderful height of thought besides social and political history. "The ideal of the State as set forth in the epics and later Sanskrit literature is the attainment of the *summum bonum*, i.e. moksha or salvation.....The State is the machinery for the collective attainment of salvation (moksha) by the people under its care, through the



fulfilment of their legitimate desires" (*Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 144).

### Sins of Social Attitude

Harry Emerson Fosdick says in the same monthly —

One of our leading sociologists has recently said, the greatest sins of this generation are connected with money-getting. As one watches our economic system in operation, he sees how easy it is for a powerful man, kindly in his attitude toward individuals whom he meets one by one, through a great organization to enforce hard practices that do more harm, hurt more families, create more miseries than all his individual kindness can make up for. Cavour, the statesman, at work upon the unification of Italy, and using every political device he could lay his mind to, said once to his confrère, "We should be great rogues if we did for ourselves what we are doing for Italy." And there are rogues, great and small who do for an organisation, political or economic, what they never would dream of doing for themselves.

### Choice of Careers

*The Mysore Economic Journal* prints an article by T. P. O'Connor in which he says:—

Of course, children are without experience or much judgment, and are whimsical and changeable. But admitting this difficulty, I still feel convinced that those parents are very unwise who do not pay great attention and respect to the inclinations of other children in helping them to choose their careers. Even when children seem to their parents to be making a wrong choice, I am not sure that it would not be a better plan, if there were the time and money to afford it, to let them have a try at the occupation of their own choice.

### Indians' Sojourn in Hill Stations

Regarding the effect of Indian gentlemen visiting hill stations, K. R. R. Sastry writes in *Everymans Review*:—

Indian gentlemen who dare not take their wives with them for a walk in the plains, do so here with great ease and familiarity. For once, I can find here orthodox ladies wearing shoes of European pattern and holding umbrellas without shyness. What remains inconceivable in the plains, has become a matter of course here. What more, a Brahman lady has taken very well to rowing in the lake alongside of her dear partner.

On a more decidedly advantageous nature is the serious desire of the Indian to keep his precincts neat amidst a lovely garden. After the construction of an excellent building in the hills, the owner of it is found to be scrupulously neat with regard to his house in the plains also. In a country where municipal administration is not too well known for its sanitation and efficient management of local affairs, this change in the angle of vision of Indians,

that every house should lie amidst a compound with ample provisions for gardening is a legacy of the early European settlers over here. The Hindu kitchen in the hills and in the plains will well serve a point of comparison for the sympathetic critic. While over the hills, the necessity has been felt to keep it as far as possible separate from the main block, such a wholesome idea has not yet found acceptance in the plains.

That this adjustment to a cool climate in the hottest part of the year when 107° in the shade is reported in the plains, has led to marked improvements in the mentality of the Indian is a factor to be reckoned with. A more punctilious taste to keep engagements, a more well-marked and systematic attempt at social intercourse and an honest craving to appear more polished—are other off-shoots of this adjustment.

### Industrial Growth Is Dependent on Growth in Agricultural Production

H. Calvert observes in course of a review of Dr. Mrs. A. C. Chatterjee's "Labour in Indian Industries" in the *Bombay Co-operative Quarterly*:—

With very few exceptions, the home market is the largest: in the case of India this must always be the case with manufactured goods, and the manufacture of goods within India must, therefore be limited to the purchasing power of the people. In England, the great agricultural improvements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries not only provided the food to maintain the rapidly increasing urban population, but they enabled the agricultural workers to raise their standard of living, and so to absorb the new goods which the mills turned out. In India, such an agricultural revolution is not yet in sight: the purchasing power of the rural masses outside the Punjab is not rising rapidly; Indian industries may supply the place now occupied by the imports from abroad but the per capita consumption of mill-made articles is not great, and unless the growth of industries is accompanied by a corresponding growth in agricultural production, there will soon come a limit beyond which industries cannot grow.

### Malaria

Dr. J. F. D'Mello tells the readers of *Prabuddha Bharata* how to fight Malaria. Says he by way of preface:—

Of all the diseases that destroy the human body malaria is the one that takes the highest toll in India. But such is not the case in European and other progressive countries. The reason of this is two-fold:—

1. The Government of those countries adopts stringent and radical measures for the eradication of preventible diseases in the light of the most recent scientific researches, and takes special pains to give free publicity to knowledge on public health matters, by means of Information Bureaus, public lectures, magic lantern demonstrations, and by establishing sections of Hygiene and Public Health

at the various public exhibitions held for the enlightenment of the people.

2. The people on their part imbibe those ideas, and assist the Government by doing their utmost in keeping their own premises in a sanitary condition.

What do we find in this country? A disproportionately large slice of the revenue of the country is taken by the military expenditure, another big slice goes in the shape of princely salaries, allowances, exchange compensations, and pensions to superior officers, and the people get the crumbs left after this surfeit, for their sanitation and education.

Dr. Bentley, the Malaria expert, and Director of Public Health of Bengal, said that forty Bengalees were dying every hour of Malaria epidemic, and the majority of those victims were young children; and, while dealing with the ways and means of prevention, he told the audience to have recourse to self-help and co-operation in the eradication of Malaria from the province of Bengal, and *not to depend upon the Government for this*. For, he said, the revenue of the Bengal Government which worked out to Re. 1-12 as. per head of the population per year was too inadequate to cope with the malaria epidemic, because *the Government could ear-mark only 1/3 of an anna per head per year for the preservation of public health*. So the Government of Bengal allots only 1-19 per cent. of its total revenue for public health! And the rest of the Provinces probably get about the same meagre share left for the preservation of their health.

What do the people on their part do for themselves? The inhabitants of the rural areas in which this disease generally abounds are so steeped in ignorance as regards the cause of the disease, that they do not know what to do. They look upon the disease either as a visitation from the Almighty, or as a calamity brought on by their own evil fate, or as a result of the *vir* having gone *bad* as supposed by the Italians of old, who gave the disease the name 'malaria' (from *mala*, bad, and *aria* air). And not knowing how to combat the disease, they submit to it meekly, and fall an easy prey.

### Agricultural Education

Doongersee Dharamsee observes in *Welfare* :—

It is a most deplorable fact that *agricultural education* in India is not adequate to meet the needs of Indian *farmers*. The Government of India expend too small an amount of money on agricultural education and that also not always so usefully as to promote the interests of agriculturists. The politicians in the legislative Assembly and Local Legislative Councils are too busy in politics and other subjects while the most essential and urgent subject, that of agricultural development, does not receive the consideration due to it.

### Observations Made in China

N. Chatterjee writes in *Mahabodhi* :—

I expressed my sorrow at the fratricidal warfare that is being carried on between the North and the South. Mr. Liu and his friends were confident that within 10 years the differences would

be composed and there would come about a brilliant change in the life of the nation. The republic will remain unmoved, and it will cluster unselfish, educated and patriotic men to infuse life and energy into the remotest part of the Empire.

The soldiers, recently recruited in the army with cheerful countenances lounge lazily on the grounds of the temples. They wear no ammunition boots. Felt shoes, with thin leather soles, do the service. Their accoutrements are shocking poor.

How could the Government supply them with military boots and equipment when it had no money to pay the salary of the army and civil functionaries; they have not been paid wages for months and months. Their rulers tell them that the finance of the country is in dilapidated condition. The rulers are fighting for their own selfish end and ambition tearing the country to pieces. The "foreigners" are insidiously usurping the land, squeezing the substance out of it and fomenting discord and dissension among the rulers of the country: but they, the poor soldiers and the officers of the State are expected to live on mother wit. They have to turn brigands and robbers to make a living. They said all this with a blush of shame. They were happy to see us, men from India, the country of their great Buddha. They expect better times when the white man leaves the country. China, at present, is no man's land. Its finance, industry, education, railway, in truth its very soul is delivered up to the foreigners.

The President and his ministers are mere figure-heads in the country and obedient slaves of the white man and dance like marionettes to the rhythmic pull of his strings. The people, in general, seem indifferent to the chaotic condition of the Government, but become bitter and ironical when they speak about covetousness and regard for personal advantage of the contending parties in the north and south; and speak of them as brigands and *apaches* driving the country headlong into financial ruin and enslavement. It is the "foreigners," they will tell you, who have driven the wedge between the north and the south, and will extend the cleavage and widen the division between the cold and stupid north and emotional and fiery south till the two are able to close up the rank. The nation has too long been kept in stygian darkness to bear the light of heaven, the new form of state-craft.

About Chinese villages and villagers, the writer says :—

The villages consisting of groups of huts with thatched roofs are wonderfully clean. There is no foul smell of animal and human dung. What the inside of the poor dwellings is like, I cannot say. These poor people keep the outside of their hamlets cleaner and tidier than the villages in India or the slums of Europe. There are no metalled roads, no water-supply, no schools, not even a medicine man. For centuries these people have been neglected and thrown upon their own resources. They live and die like flies. They dwell among the rude tombs of the dead. They do not acknowledge the victory of the grave nor feel the sting of death.

### A New Era in the Irish Free State

St. Nihal Singh discourses in the *Indian*

*Review* on a new era in the Irish Free State, telling us among other things that—

Martial law has been withdrawn from all parts of the country. The military have handed over the maintenance of law and order to the civil authority.

That authority has had the wisdom and courage to disband the militarised police force which constituted the backbone of the British regime. In its stead has been substituted the Civic Guard, which, as its name implies, consists of civilians without lethal weapons of any kind, whose uniform, much less methods, are in no way suggestive of military force.

The courage shown by the Government in sending out unarmed men to maintain law and order in places where only recently war had been raging produced a great moral effect upon the people. The few attacks which have been made upon the Civic Guards have served to win them the sympathy and even the active support of the population, they, unafraid of grave personal danger, are trying to serve.

The measures employed by General Eoin O'Duffy the head of the Civic Guard, and General W. R. E. Murphy, the head of the Dublin Metropolitan police, have proved so singularly effective that armed crime is becoming rarer and rarer. These officers, and Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, the Minister for Justice their immediate superior, are young men in the early thirties. They knew nothing about police work when they were appointed to their present posts; yet they have established a record which experienced administrators might well envy.

### Ancient Orissa

*The Bengal Nagpur Railway Magazine* for October has given a short history of Orissa, in course of which it is stated :

In the 2nd Century B. C. Asoka raided and conquered it, recognising, apart from the value of its jungle tracts, which throughout centuries have borne a reputation second to none for the breeding of war elephants : the remarkable standard of civilization and prosperity attained by the Kalingas, which surpassed by far that of the neighbouring States. The inhabitants were travellers and many of them sailors who reached the distant shores of Malaya. Their trade was to a large extent based upon the cloth produced locally in very large quantities and exported far afield. Diamonds were also found in quantities sufficient to draw attention to the richness of the deposits.

The conquest by Asoka was marked by extraordinary ferocity and bloodshed, which was subsequently deplored by the victor who by way of atonement caused edicts to be inscribed upon rocks at Dhauli near Puri and Jaganda (Jaugada ?) near Ganjam. These edicts record that during the campaign, 150,000 captives were taken, 100,000 were slain and many times this amount perished. The figures give one a fair idea as to the population of that time.

### The Future

In *Current Thought* C. F. Andrews states :—

All that I know is that the inevitable trend of

human history, as its tide is moving forward to-day, is towards unification. The scientific discoveries of the modern world are pointing to unification. The irresistible urge within man is towards unification. All the higher spiritual forces have their goal in unification. Every deed of love and sacrifice, of brotherhood and fellowship, leads to unification.

When mankind has achieved its goal, it may be that other forms of colour and beauty will reveal themselves, by which the Many will be realised anew, before becoming merged again in the One. But all that is beyond our present range of knowledge. For us, as we enter into our own great heritage of the future, the way is clear. We should give to our thoughts and ideas, our hopes and aims, no less wide a range than that of Humanity itself. There is ultimately one Race for us all,—the Human Race. There is ultimately one Brotherhood for us all,—the Brotherhood of Man.

### Tagore as a Revolutionary

In the same monthly is printed a paper read by Rabindranath Tagore at the theatre in Peking in which the poet stated in what sense he was a revolutionary. Said he :—

Revolution must come, and men must risk revilement and misunderstanding, especially from those who want to be comfortable, who believe that the soul is antiquated, and who put their faith in materialism and convention. These will be taken by surprise, these stunted children who belong truly to the dead past and not to modern times, the past that had its age in distant antiquity when physical flesh and size predominated, and not the mind of man.

Purely physical dominance is mechanical, and modern machines are merely exaggerating our bodies, lengthening and multiplying our limbs. The modern child delights in such enormous bodily bulk representing an inordinate material power, saying, "Let me have the big toy and no sentiment" which can disturb it." He does not realise that we are returning to that ante-diluvian age which revelled in its production of gigantic physical frames, leaving no room for the freedom of the inner spirit.

All great human movements in the world are related to some great ideal. Some of you say that such a doctrine of the spirit has been in its death-throes for over a century, and is now moribund, that we have nothing to rely upon but external forces and material foundations. But I say, on my part, that your doctrine was obsolete long ago. It was exploded in the Spring-time when mere size was swept off the face of the world, and was replaced by man, brought naked into the heart of creation, man with his helpless body, but with his indomitable mind and spirit.

The impertinence of material things is extremely old. The revelation of spirit in man is modern : I am on its side, for I am modern. I have explained how I was born into a family which rebelled, which had faith in its loyalty to an inner ideal. If you want to reject me, you are free to do so. But I have my right, as a revolutionary, to carry the flag of freedom of spirit into the shrine of your idols, —material power and accumulation..



### Satyagraha is Dharma-yuddha

The same journal contains an authorised translation from the Gujarati of Mahatma Gandhi's early history of Satyagraha, from which one learns that Satyagraha is *Dharma-yuddha*, and that

A Dharma-yuddha, in which there are no secrets to be guarded, no scope for cunning and no place for untruth, comes unsought; and the religious man is ever ready for it. A struggle which has to be previously planned is not a righteous struggle. In a righteous struggle God Himself plans campaigns and conducts battles. A Dharma-yuddha can be waged only in the name of God, and it is only when the Satyagrahi becomes quite feeble, is apparently on his last legs and finds utter darkness all around him, that God comes to the rescue. God helps when one feels oneself meaner than the very dust under one's feet. Only to the weak and helpless is divine succour vouchsafed.

### G. B. Shaw and Upton Sinclair on Non-Violence

An Austrian gentleman has sent to the same journal the opinions of G. B. Shaw and Upton Sinclair on Non-Violence as a means of liberation. Shaw declares:—

For myself, can only say that I do not believe in the efficacy of any purely negative policy except for stupidly conservative purposes.

The objection to military coercion is not that it is ineffective: it is, on the contrary, terribly effective but its effects are incalculable. They are as often as not precisely the reverse of those contemplated; and in all cases they go far beyond the intentions of those who resort to it. The late Tsar of Russia began the war of 1914 with object of preventing Austria from subjugating Serbia. The British Empire went into it with the object of keeping Belgium in its condition of a power greatly inferior in military strength on the shores of the North Sea, and of preventing any of the major powers from establishing a military hegemony in Europe. The Tsar achieved his object most effectively; but the forces he set in motion, instead of stopping there, went on to exterminate himself and his family and set up a Communist Republic in Russia. The British Empire did not even achieve its object. It gave France a military hegemony, and consolidated Belgium and France into a single military unit. If this was the reward of the victors, that of the vanquished can be imagined.

India has been subjugated by violence and held down by violence. India can be freed by violence, just as Ireland has been freed by violence. It is idle in the face of history to deny these facts; it might as well be said that tigers have never been able to live by violence, and that non-resistance will convert tigers to a diet of rice. But the illogical end of it will be that England will never be safe whilst there is an Indian left alive on earth, nor India ever safe whilst an Englishman breathes. The moment violence begins, men demand security at all costs; and, as security can never be obtained, and the endless path of it lies through blood, violence means finally the extermination of the human

race. That is why the conscience of mankind feels it to be wicked and finally destructive of everything it professes to conserve. Christ and Buddha and Shelley, Tolstoy and Gandhi, were the mouthpieces of this conscience; but, though they did not revenge evil, it can hardly be said that they did not resist it. The confusion between revenge and resistance, between the attempt to balance one evil by creating another and the determination to eradicate evil and disarm or even destroy its agents, must be cleared up before men will enter on the path of peace, or on any path which they are asked to pursue without weapons, and without responsibility. As you yourself call non-resistance 'a method of combat,' it is plain that you are no more really a non-resister than a wife is when she discovers that she must find some other way of overcoming her husband than by her fists.

This is followed by Upton Sinclair's views:

I am a person who has never used violence myself, that is, in a personal way—and if it could be proven that humanity could solve all its problems by the method of Gandhi, no one would rejoice more than I. The spectacle which men have presented in the effort to solve their problems by violence during the last nine years very strongly indicates the need of some other method; but I cannot say that, at present, I am convinced that the method now being tried by Gandhi is one which will succeed in the Western world. I speak as one who has been brought up in a Republic and is accustomed to settle public controversies by the method of the ballot. That is, of course, a method of violence thinly disguised. When I vote, I seek to apply the powers of the State against those who oppose my views, and my voting would have no meaning without the power of the State behind it; up to the present time at any rate, my voting would have no effect, except the powers of the State were used to enforce it. Every time I vote, therefore, I give my sanction to the existence of the State and the use of the State to carry out the will of the majority.

My present opinion is that people who have obtained the ballot should use it and solve their problems in that way. In the case of peoples who have not obtained the ballot, and who cannot control their States, I again find in my own mind a division of opinion, which is not logical, but purely a rough practical judgement. My own forefathers got their political freedom by violence; that is to say, they overthrew the British Crown and made themselves a free Republic. Also, by violence, they put an end to the enslavement of the black race on this continent. Quite recently, I have seen the people of Austria, Germany and Russia overthrow their despotic governments and establish governments which are more completely representation of their will. I cannot deny the sympathy which I feel for these oppressed peoples. I fear it will sound very cynical, but I must confess that my feeling is that expressed by an old labour leader of this country who said to me: "Never use violence, Upton—never use violence, not until you get enough of it." In other words, if there is any chance of the people getting free by violence I should justify the use of it. At the same time, I recognized that a man like Gandhi may quite possibly put me to shame as an adviser to oppressed races. If it should turn out that the peoples, who, by their entirely helpless

position, are forced to employ non-violence, should teach us a higher ideal and a better way of life, why, I would be numbered among those who are willing to learn.

### Causes of Wars

Bernard Houghton gives it as his opinion in the same review that

Wars are not, as the histories and newspapers pre-entend, made from some sudden quarrel between statesmen or from breach of a treaty. They result from the clash of economic interests. Britain's entry into the recent war had as much to do with the German invasion of Belgium as with a solar eclipse. Nor did the Czar's Government order a general mobilization on July 30th, 1914, thereby giving the signal for war because of the wrongs of little Serbia. It began the world slaughter in order to seize Constantinople, the way to which the secret council in Petrograd in February had accurately stated to be through Berlin. The immediate cause which brought in Britain was the secret understanding of Mr. Asquith's inner cabinet with the French Government, the ultimate cause the rivalry between the British and German ironmasters and exploiters of tropical peoples. The war was the conflict of rival Imperialisms for the exploitation of the world.

### Dayanand Centenary Celebrations

We read in the *Vedic Magazine* that in connection with the Dayanand Centenary Celebrations,

A Conference of Religions is to be convened, where representatives of Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Sikhism, Puranism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, and the Vedic Dharma will read papers in which they will elucidate the following points from the point of view of their respective religions :

- (1) God and Soul.
- (2) The Origin of the Universe.
- (3) The Origin of Knowledge.
- (4) Salvation and the Way to it.
- (5) The Problem of Happiness and Misery.

Papers on Arya tenets will be read by Arya Sandits in a separate sammelanam.

Huge yajnas will be performed. Elevating sermons and lectures will be arranged. There will be an exhibition of healthy children, where boys and girls that carry the palm in physical strength and welfare will be awarded prizes. Matches in wrestling and athletics will also take place. In these, players other than professional athletes will take part.

The Utsava will in short be so planned as to give a mighty push to the progress of the community in spheres social, spiritual, and physical.

### The First Indian Woman Member of a Legislature

*Stri-Dharma* writes :—

A step of great human and historical importance

was taken on the 23rd September by the entrance for the first time into a Legislative Council in India of a woman as Member of the Council. The great honor of being appointed Darbar (State) Physician has been conferred on Mrs. Lukhose Poonen, the Doctor in charge of the Women's and Children's Hospital in Trivandrum, the capital of Travancore State. The appointment carries with it



Mrs. Poonen Lukhose who has been appointed acting Durbar Physician and nominated a member of the Legislative Council of the Travancore State

a nominated seat in the Legislative Council as Mrs. Lukhose is now in charge of one of the major departments of the State. On taking the oath as a new member she received a hearty ovation. Later on making her maiden speech when she had to ask for the grant in the budget for the Medical services she was congratulated by the non-official members who said they were proud of their Government for so impartially ushering such a worthy lady into the Council and into high and responsible office. In reply Mrs. Lukhose said she would aim at serving the best interests of the people. A wave of proud pleasure has gone over the womanhood of India at these new honors and opportunities for one of their sex. Coming spontaneously from an Indian State makes it doubly propitious.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### G. B. Shaw on a Labour Government

In contributing to *The Century Magazine* some portraits in pencil and pen, Walter Tittle lets the reader know incidentally the political opinions of his sitters. Thus we read of George Bernard Shaw:—

Some one asked what he thought the result of the current general election would be. He replied "that he hardly felt in a position to prophesy, but that labour would at least make a considerable gain. Did he think a labor government would be a good thing for Great Britain?"

"Why not?" he asked smilingly "Perhaps they would make some mistakes. Other forms of government have been busily blundering for centuries, why not give labor a chance to blunder a bit? They will certainly do no worse than has been done."

Miss May Sinclair said that the present political tangle was so confusing to her that she had not voted at all.

"I did," was his response. "I could not miss a chance to give the Conservatives the scare of one more labor ballot."

### "Peril" Yellow or White?

Lincoln Steffens had a conversation with a Chinese philosopher, who was his friend, on the Yellow Peril, which is reported in the *October Century*, from which we extract only the white man's question and the yellow man's final words in reply. The white man asked:—

"The things we Westerners do," I said, "are often ignoble, bad, but the things we say—and mean are good. The Japanese, who came among us to learn and choose, studied our deeds and ignored our good intentions. Why? They took our battle-ships and left our churches. They passed over our democracy and our liberties, to copy our constitutions and, of them all, they adopted the German worst! We taught them how we believed in loving our neighbors, in respecting the rights of other peoples and, especially, in protecting the weak. They saw only our empires, and they copied the corruption and the conquest of expansion. We are manufacturers and merchants, true; we make goods, make them well and, having made, we sell them. Yes, business is business. But the Japanese went home and made things only to sell—bad goods. We cheat, too, and we lie; we steal, defraud, we betray. We know that, but we hate lies and theft and fraud. We preach and we really prefer the doctrine of honesty, efficiency, and love in service, and we explained that to the Japanese. We offered them our ideals; we made clear the distinction we recognize between theory and practice; art and—success; religion and the market; and we recommended to them our better—principles. They listened; they are very polite, as you know.

They seemed to understand; we were sure that they understood. They told us in fact, they said in so many words that they did understand. But when they got back home, they did not do what we said; they did what we did. And so, you see, Japan now is a peril to us and to you a very present trouble. Why? How did this come to pass?"

The Chinese philosopher replied —

"I will add out of my humble Chinese pride and with all my heathen courtesy, I will admit that maybe they did understand you, if not what you said. But what they did was to look over your shoulder while you talked, observe what you did and, assuming, politely, that you said and did the same things, they came home and they did what they thought you must have said that you did."

He gave me his hand, and I held it.

"Then," I concluded doubtfully, "the yellow peril is a white peril?"

"The yellow peril is a pale peril," he smiled. "unless the Japanese lead and you bribe us to follow your practices instead of your preachings, as we now, perhaps erroneously, prefer."

### A Reform to End Reforms

Dr. Glenn Frank tells the public in the same journal:—

The ten commandments must be reinterpreted to each generation in the specific terms of that generation's ways of thinking and living and working. The sociologists have been hammering away at this point for many years. I have often summarized in these columns their contentions on this point, but they will bear another repetition.

Once men killed their fellows only at close range with clubs; now they may kill them at long range with unguarded machinery. Once men killed their fellows quickly with deadly poisons; now they may kill them slowly by selling them adulterated food or fake patent medicines.

Once men stole from their fellows only by the personal method of carrying away their tangible property; now they may steal from them by the impersonal method of manipulating prices without regard for quality of goods or services.

Once slavery meant owning men directly, now slavery may mean simply controlling men indirectly.

Once men burned heretics, men who differed from the majority opinion of their time; now they simply discredit them and prevent them from getting paying jobs.

Men may now sin by syndicate, as Professor Ross phrased it, without feeling the insistent sense of personal moral responsibility they might feel if they sinned by the well-known personal methods.

As there are styles in sin, so there are fashions in goodness. It is no longer thought that a good set of personal habits alone makes a good man. The modern good man must have political and business and professional morals as well.



Further, he holds :—

Minding one's own business is almost a lost art, as L. P. Jacks points out in a recent essay. The "model citizen" of the twentieth century is the man who minds other people's business. This is the age of the uplifter. An uplifter is frequently a man who has misread the golden rule, a man who has interpreted the golden rule as a roving commission to busybodies, as a personal command to him to regulate the life of his neighbor and of his nation. But the golden rule is not a roving commission to busybodies ; it is the supreme command for us to mind our own business.

Minding one's own business is in itself the supreme social service. In fact, if every man minded his own business, social service would be unnecessary, and the army of reformers would have to demobilize.

Why are business reforms ever necessary? Because some business men have not minded their own business as they should. Why are religious reforms ever necessary? Because some preachers have not minded their own business as they should. Why are political reforms ever necessary? Because some politicians have not minded their own business as they should. Because somebody some-where has given less than his best to his profession or to his business.

The life of the world is moved and molded mainly by the way the work of the world is done. The private businesses of the world are, therefore, better instruments of social service than the public movements of the world. We can be pretty sure that, at any given moment, the real issue we need to face is inside our own job. It is not always the uplifters who uplift the world ; it is mainly the men and women who are minding their own business in a creative and consistent way.

We have had a "war to end war," I suggest that in politics, in religion, and in social service, we have a "reform to end reforms."

### A Threat to India

Time and again, Indians have been reminded that no Party in Britain "will be cowed by threats or force or by a policy of bringing Government to a standstill." But though Britishers will not brook threats, they think it quite right for themselves to use threats. Surveying "India as a Field for Investors" in *The Financial Review of Reviews*, John Marlow, B.A., expresses the opinion "that a new spirit is arising in India which is not calculated to increase the security or the amount of dividends to be derived from Indian investments." He goes on to add :—

The above is the dark side of the picture, but, fortunately, there is another side. A characteristic defect of the average Indian is his distrust of banks or investments. If he saves a little money, instead of investing it, he either converts it into jewellery which his wife wears or else hides it in a crock in the floor of his hut.

It is a very foolish custom, for it encourages

thieves, and often results in his losing his life's savings. In any case he thereby deprives himself of interest. This factor is one which is continually embarrassing the Government Mint. The more prosperous the country, the larger the amount of silver which goes out of circulation and has to be replaced at considerable expense.

From the British investor's standpoint, however, it means that for many years to come, if India wants to borrow, she cannot get all she wants from her own people and will have to come to us, and, *by simply refusing to subscribe we can bring the people of India to their senses*. All the same, a good deal of damage all round would be inflicted before this lesson were learned.

The threat is conveyed in the words we have italicised. Our reply is that if India wins self-rule, she will have confidence in her own National Government ; and if during the last big war she could make a "free" (!) gift of millions to Britain in addition to subscribing millions to war loans, she would be able to finance her own ventures. Moreover, a self-ruling India would be free, in case of need, to borrow from all wealthy countries, which is practically not the case now. In any case, development of the resources of the country can wait longer than the attainment of political freedom.

### New Openings in India for Britons

The writer of an article in the *Round Table* on "The Economic and Social Aspirations of the Indian Nationalists" thinks :—

Whether for good or ill, the day of the British officials in India is passing ; that was decided when the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were instituted. Progress toward Dominion self-government is inevitable. The highest authorities feel that the Indian Legislatures have assumed functions which were never contemplated. There will be, however, a career for British youth, with greater possibilities of profit, if less agreeable, in the agricultural and industrial development of India, as it will be more than a generation before Indians in sufficient numbers can be trained for the purpose. Caste prejudices still oppose formidable barriers. The Britisher of the new type will have to be carefully trained to secure the confidence of his Indian employer. British managers and foremen in Indian mills rarely have cause to complain of their treatment. The technical expert, however, will be forced to work nearly the same hours as his plant, and have few hours in the day for sport or social life.

But we are overcoming caste barriers very fast ; and Britishers are not the best industrialists and agriculturists of the day.

### The English of English Public Men

We, writers of Babu English, are much beholden to some British public men whose

English is held up to admiration by *The Review of Reviews* in the following extract:—

Sir Herbert Stephen is much distressed by a bad example of the English of some of our public men. Four ex-Ministers and ten gentlemen standing in the front rank of men of letters—including Mr. Thomas Hardy, Mr. Kipling and Mr. Edmund Gosse—sent a joint letter to *The Times* recommending that a tablet in memory of Byron should be placed in Westminster Abbey. Under the crushing title of "Collective Illiteracy" in the *London Mercury*, Sir Herbert exposes, with all the damning clarity of parallel columns, the looseness of their diction. We append a few examples although only the complete analysis would suffice to show the zest with which his indictment is written:

#### Letter.

Byron, like other sensitive temperaments.

His star was for a while eclipsed, but it rose again in his maturer years,

When he became a trumpet voice.

His ardent protest against every despotism.

...have lifted the Byron of the latter years on to a higher plane.

#### Comment.

A man may be a poet, and or a peer, but he cannot be a temperament.

Stars do not "rise" after being "eclipsed" they; become visible by reason of the movement of the moon, or whatever eclipsed them.

He has been a temperament, and now he is a voice. Does a trumpet voice mean the voice of a trumpet? And what trumpet?

This is nonsense. There were many despotisms against which he never thought of protesting, including Lord Byron's despotism over his own household.

"Latter" here should be "later." No former years have been mentioned. And "on" is redundant.

### "Famine, Floods and Folly"

China, like India, is a country of "famine, floods and folly." Arthur De C. Sowerby writes in *The China Journal of Science and Arts*, of which he is one of the two editors:—

Floods, droughts and famines are the result of the lack of vegetation throughout North China, and unless the Chinese people wake up to the situation, and commence a vigorous policy of afforestation, they may expect greater miseries and more abiding poverty in their northern marches than they are subject to even now.

In another article in the same journal he asks:—

What, indeed, is the matter with North China? Why these floods? Why these droughts?

The answer is a very simple one, and theremely ready at hand, though expensive, and calling for a considerable amount of organization, determination, and, possibly, even sacrifice on the part of those in authority.

Floods and famine are, of course, directly attributable to unfavourable climatic and physiographical conditions, nor until one looked into the matter would one be inclined to blame the government or people of a country suffering from such ills. Rather would one pity them.

But scientific investigation has led us to a knowledge of the reasons why certain kinds of climate are to be met with in certain countries, as well as the agencies at work to produce the physiographical features of those countries, and when we look into these in connection with the present conditions in North China, we realize that the Chinese have no one but themselves to blame for their present sufferings.

Our readers will remember the leading article in our July issue, which dealt with the forests, or lack of them, in China. It was pointed out there that the whole of North China was at one time more or less heavily forested, but that now the mountains, except for a few isolated and rapidly diminishing areas, are barren, often lacking even the scantiest kind of vegetable covering.

The results are manifold. In the first place, the lack of heavy vegetation in mountainous areas affects the climate. Forests induce precipitation. That is to say, wherever there are heavy forests, the moisture contained in the air is induced to precipitate, with the result that rain is frequent. A more or less steady rainfall occurs. Where there are no forests on the mountains, precipitation does not take place so readily, and moisture accumulates in the atmosphere. A marked fall in the temperature of the atmosphere, or some other factor, causes a sudden precipitation, and down come the accumulations of moisture in the form of torrential rains. This in itself is undesirable, but when such rains fall upon mountains that are barren of vegetation, the result is disastrous. Vast quantities of silt are carried down, and, when the plains are reached, are deposited in the beds of the rivers. These are steadily built up. The next time a torrential rain occurs, the river channels are not able to carry off the excess water, with the result that the latter overflows the banks and floods the surrounding country.

And this is exactly what has happened throughout North China. The people have, during the past centuries, steadily cut away the forests that once existed. Not content with this, they, have also cut away the underbrush. They even rake up the grass by the roots for fuel. The Government, which should be the father and mother of the people, has permitted this folly, and now we have a truly distressing state of affairs. Long periods of drought, interspersed with periods of torrential rains, vast stretches of crop-covered plains-land flooded, villages swept away, people drowned in hundreds, cities inundated, millions of dollars worth of property destroyed!

Let us consider for a moment what would be the difference if the mountains of North China were covered with an adequate vegetation. It could not be other than extremely favourable, as evidenced by the conditions in the few well-forested areas that exist. Besides causing a more constant and steady rainfall, a more or less heavy vegetation

on hills and mountains acts as a sponge. Not only does it prevent silt from being carried down to the plains, but by holding the water, it regulates the flow, so that the latter is more or less steady instead of torrential.

In North China this would be an inestimable boon, for, instead of the heavy rainstorms and resultant torrents of water rushing down from the hills, the rainfall would be less intense and more evenly distributed. The water would be held almost as in a reservoir and would find its way on to the plains in clear, steady streams, instead of intermittent, silt-laden freshets.

There is, of course, only one effective remedy for the prevailing conditions in North China, namely the reforestation of the mountainous areas. Much may be done to prevent flooding by deepening the channels of the rivers and keeping them well scoured. Dykes may also be of use, as well as other conservancy work, but none of these remedies is really effectual or lasting. At best they can only be considered as supplementary aids. It is to the source of the trouble that we must go if permanent relief is to be secured.

Afforestation must come first, whatever the cost, and whatever the difficulties to be overcome.

It is not impossible that China's experience may point a moral to India.

### Changes in native Feeling in Africa

In the course of "A Ten Years' Survey of Africa" in the *International Review of Missions*, it is stated:—

M. Allegret tells us that after the war the minds of the people were perturbed, intoxicated, unbalanced by the return of thousands of troops, who for the most part came back with feelings other than those of respect for the European and the white woman.

In South Africa we are told that while the Natives have for generations remained quiet, docile, even supine in their trust in the essential goodness of Englishmen, now a remarkable change has come over things . . . . The black man, under the guidance of an ambitious younger generation, has developed intelligence and some feeling of independence that has made him less easy of management. The unrest which is fostered by economic causes has led to riots at a number of centres. The war has awakened the dormant race consciousness of the Bantu, which is manifesting itself in a development of organization on trade union lines, the spread of separatist religious movements, an increasing demand for education, and the growth of a new self-assertive attitude. The old confidence in British justice and impartiality is disappearing, and a sense of deep contempt for, and resentment against, the white man is unfortunately becoming more and more widespread.

There are of course wide areas into which the new ideas have as yet scarcely penetrated. No generalization applies to all parts of the continent. But the tendencies to which attention has been called are tendencies that must inevitably spread. They represent the insurgent and irrepressible forces of life. A French writer goes to the heart of the matter when in commenting on the Pan-

African Congress held at Brussels in 1921, which gave expression to African aspirations, he says that it must not be regarded as 'an exceptional manifestation due to a few denationalized Africans or to external influences: the desire to be admitted into the human family without reserves or compromises, without outbursts of indignation or smiles of derision, will to-morrow fill the heart of the whole of Africa.'

### European Land-grabbing in Africa

We read in *The International Review of Missions*:—

The present distribution, in round figures, of territory and population in the African continent is shown in the following table:

France	...	4,200,000	30,000,000
British Empire	...	4,015,000	37,000,000
Belgium	...	930,000	8,500,000
Portugal	...	800,000	7,750,000
Italy	...	650,000	1,500,000
Abyssinia	...	350,000	11,500,000
Egypt	...	350,000	12,750,000
Spain	...	140,000	750,000
Liberia	...	40,000	1,700,000

### Japanese Tax on Foreign Articles of Luxury

*The Japan Magazine* records that

"The Luxury Tariff Bill having passed both houses of the Diet, became a law in July, to be effective at once. A uniform 100 per cent. *ad valorem* rate of duty is applicable to all articles included in the Luxury Tariff, of which a complete table is subjoined."

As the table covers six double-column pages of the *Japan Magazine*, for which we have no space, we mention below merely the names of the *classes* of goods to show how Japan protects herself.

Vegetables, fruits and nuts, preserved with sugar, molasses, syrup or honey, including receptacles. Fresh fruits, Tea, Mate and other tea substitutes. Cocoa (nut sugared), Honey, including receptacles. Confectionery and cakes, Jams, fruit, jellies and the like, including receptacles. Biscuits (not sugared), including receptacles. Fruit juices and syrups, (including receptacles), Cheese, Mineral waters, soda water and similar beverages, not containing sugar or alcohol. Chinese liquors, fermented, Beer ale, porter and stout, Alcoholic liquors, not otherwise provided for, Beverages and foods not otherwise provided for: 1. Sugared, Skins 1. Of sheep and goats, 2. other, For manufactures not otherwise provided for, Leather, 1. Of bulls, oxen, cows, Buffaloes, horses, sheep and goats. A. Lacquered, japanned or enameled 2. Of chamois, including imitation chamois leather. 4. alligators and crocodiles. Leather manufactures, not otherwise provided for, Combined with precious metals, metals coated with precious stones, semi-precious stones, pearls, coral, ivory or tortoise shell, Feather and down, Manufactures of feathers or birds' skins with



feathers not otherwise provided for, Manufactures of animal tusks not otherwise provided for, Manufactures of tortoise shell not otherwise provided for, Coral, Manufactures of coral not otherwise provided for, Pearls, Manufactures of skin, hair, bone, horn, teeth, tusk, shell, etc., not otherwise provided for, Vegetable volatile oils, Soaps, Oils, fats and waxes, perfumed; and preparations of oil, fat or wax, perfumed, including receptacles and inner packing, Toilet waters including receptacles and inner packing, Musk, Artificial musk, Nard or spikenard, Cloves, Sandalwood, Borneo camphor, artificial Borneo camphor, Vanillin, coumarin, heliotropin and similar chemicals, not otherwise provided for, Tooth-powders, tooth washes, toilet powders and other prepared toilet articles not otherwise provided for, Joss sticks, Artificial spices and essences, Fireworks, Yarns not otherwise provided for, Fabrics of wool and mixed fabrics of wool and cotton, of wool and silk, or of wool, cotton and silk, Silk fabrics and silk mixed fabrics not otherwise provided for, Velvets, plushes and other pile fabrics with piles cut or uncut, Stockinet and similar knitted fabrics napped or not, Lace fabrics and netted fabrics, Embroidered fabrics, Waterproof fabrics, Elastic webbing and elastic cords, elastic braids or the like, Handkerchiefs, Travelling Rugs, rugs and carpets, Table cloths, Curtains and window shade, Trimmings, Air cushions, Bed quilts and cushions, Manufactures of fabrics not otherwise provided for, Raincoats, Shirts, shirt fronts, collars and cuffs, Undershirts and drawers, Gloves, Stockings and socks, Shawls, comforters and mufflers, Neckties, Suspenders, Belts, Sleeve holders, garters and the like, Boots, slippers, Sandal clogs and the like, Shoe laces, Jewelry for personal adornment, Clothing and accessories or parts thereof not otherwise provided for, Imitation parchment, paraffin paper, waxed paper, Paper, not otherwise provided for, Paper laces and paper holders, Albums, playing cards, Photographs, Caligraphies and pictures, Card calendars and block calendars, Picture post cards, Christmas cards and the like, Precious stones, Semi-precious stones and manufactures thereof not otherwise provided for, Stones and manufactures thereof, not otherwise provided for, Amber and manufactures thereof not otherwise provided for, Meerschaum or artificial meerschaum and manufactures thereof, Manufactures of gypsum, Human or animal images, Pottery not otherwise provided for except glass, Spectacles and eyeglasses, Looking glasses or mirrors, Glass manufactures not otherwise provided for, Gilt or silvered metals, Chains, not otherwise provided for, Chains for watches, spectacles, eyeglasses, or other personal adornment, Hinges, hat hooks, and metal fittings for doors, windows, furniture, Locks and keys, Cutlery, not otherwise provided for, Table forks or spoons, Manufactures of precious metals and metal manufactures combined or coated with precious metals, not otherwise provided for, Watches, Parts of watches, Standing clocks, Opera and field glasses, binocular and monocular, combined with precious metals, or metals coated with precious metals, precious stones, semi-precious stones, pearls, coral, ivory, or tortoise shell, photographic instruments, Parts of photographic instruments, Phonographs, gramophones, and other talking machines, Parts and accessories of phonographs and other talking machines, Firearms and parts thereof, Wood, simply cut, sawed or split, Umbrella sticks, walking sticks, whips and handles therefor, Umbrellas

and parasols, Wood manufacture, not otherwise provided for, Brushes and brooms, Photographic films, excepting moving picture films, Artificial flowers, including imitation leaves, imitation fruits etc., and parts thereof, Toilet cases, Articles for billiards, cricket, chess and other games and accessories thereof, excluding those for tennis, baseball and foot-ball, Toys, Articles not otherwise provided for.

### "What's that to us"?

It is common knowledge that the common people fight the battles of "their" country, and are wounded, maimed, disabled, or killed, but the advantages gained go mainly to the rulers and the capitalists. That the proletariat is beginning to be in a rebellious mood would appear from the following lines by Oskar Kanehl, printed in the *Liberator*:

#### THE FATHERLAND IS IN DANGER

(Tenth Anniversary of the World War)

The patriot-mob howls and protests!  
The fires shriek aloud a new hate.  
The Nationalist rabble seeks a new war.  
The Fatherland is in danger!  
What's that to us?  
The corpses of your war still stink.  
The cripples of your war still beg.  
The hunger of your war still strangles us.  
The Fatherland is in danger?  
What's that to us?  
Shall we go again to die for you?  
Shall we fire again on our class-brothers?  
And swell the profits in your coffers?  
The Fatherland is in danger?  
What's that to us?

#### Automobiles and National Character

The latest attempt to read character from externals is the one made by Rumirol De Maetzu in *El Sol*, a Madrid Liberal daily. He judges national character by the kinds of automobiles used. Says he:—

An open automobile is pantheistic and mystic, or mysticopantheist; in a closed car a man cuts himself off from nature. The open car stands for immanence, the closed car for transcendence; the open car is Pagan, the closed car Semitic. To a man in an open car nature is friendly, sympathetic, tonic; to a man in a closed car she is dist-repugnant. He who travels in an open car forgets himself; he who travels in a closed car wants either to get somewhere or to display his rank and wealth. Thus the automobile proves a symbol of profound racial differences. Two civilizations diverge from this point.

#### The Case for Philippine Independence

Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippine Senate, puts "the case for immediate

"Philippine Independence" very effectively in *Current History*. We have space only for the following extracts:—

Here is the preamble of the Jones law, passed by Congress in that year:

Whereas it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipency of the war with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement; and

Whereas it is as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein; and

Whereas for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without, in the meantime, impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States, in order that, by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence.

#### WILSON'S DECLARATION

The existence of a stable government under the terms of that law has been certified to by the President of the United States. President Wilson, in his message to Congress on Dec. 2, 1920, said:

Allow me to call your attention to the fact that the people of the Philippine Islands have succeeded in maintaining a stable government since the last action of the Congress in their behalf, and have thus fulfilled the condition set by the Congress as precedent to a consideration of granting independence to the islands.

I respectfully submit that, this condition precedent having been fulfilled, it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to the people of those islands by granting them the independence which they so honorably covet.

The Filipino people cannot believe that the pledge made by Congress is but a scrap of paper. The Filipinos have performed their share of the obligation; it now behooves the American people to discharge their part of the agreement.

The objection that the Philippines, if granted independence, would become a prey to some great and ambitious power should not commend itself to serious attention. If independence should be deferred till the Filipino people are strong enough to repel an invasion by any first-class power, then it might as well be declared now that there is no intention of ever setting the Philippines free. If ability to frustrate external aggression were made one of the essential conditions of independence, how many nations today would have a right to be free? It is a fact that there are many small countries whose independence has been maintained for centuries, though they have no military strength to speak of. Whether the Philippines become independent now or a hundred years from now, the question of national defense will have to be faced by the Filipino people. Each nation must solve this problem for itself, and the Filipinos are conscious that they would not be worthy of freedom if they were not willing to assume the risks of independent existence. Furthermore, the Filipino people are confident that with the changing ideals of world with respect to international

relations, and by just treatment to foreigners, their independence will be reasonably secure.

The experience of mankind offers the lesson that each nation, to be able to unfold its best, must express itself in its own way. American institutions are admirable indeed, and the Filipinos have learned a vast deal from them. But no one will seriously contend that the type of progress of the Filipinos should be American before they can stand alone in the world. For one thing, such a development cannot come about, and it would be sheer folly for the Filipinos to strive for it.

#### World News About Women

The following items of news are taken from *The Woman Citizen*:—

*The Sheppard-Towner Act.* A report published by the Children's Bureau says that between March 20, 1922, and June 30, 1923, \$1,688,047.12 has been expended by Federal and state governments to promote the welfare of mothers and babies under the Federal Maternity and Infancy Act. Federal grants during this period amount to \$1,046,523.56 and state appropriations to \$641,523.56.

*In Louisiana.* The Louisiana legislature passed a law on August 1 that all male persons applying for a marriage license must, within fifteen days prior to application, have undergone a physical examination.

*First Lady (Doctor) of the Land.* Madame Chikako Kuroda has recently opened a medical practice in Tokio. She is the first Japanese woman to receive a medical degree and to the Tokio Higher Normal School goes the honour of conferring it.

*A Lady Shipbuilder.* Lady Pirrie is, we believe, the latest and possibly the biggest of big business women. Following the recent death of her husband, Lord Pirrie, she became president of Harland and Wolff, said to be the largest firm of ship-builders in the world.

*World University Women.* University women from eighteen different countries met for conference in Christiania, Norway, from July 28 to August 1. Miss Mina Kerr, executive secretary of the American Association of University Women, in writing of this, the third biennial conference of the International Federation of University Women, says: "Should the Federation accomplish no more than to make influential university women of twenty nations know and understand one another it would have justified its existence."

But reports from the conference show that the Federation has done much more than this already. Club houses in Paris and Washington, one soon to be opened in London, plans laid for others in Athens and Rome, the endorsement of a plan for a \$1,000,000 foundation for international fellowships, the admission of two new federations, the Swiss and the Irish, and a total membership of 28,000 women, representing twenty countries—all this is significant of the growth of the organization.

Discussion and lectures related to the place of university women in world affairs and the special work of the International Federation filled the formal program. Especial interest was attached to the address by Professor Fridtjof Nansen emphasizing "the power of intellectual co-operation in making for international peace," and to that of

Viscountess Rhondda on "The Control of Industries."

### *Negro Women's Work*

Here is another comparatively young organization which has done things—the National Association of Colored Women. At their convention in Chicago in August, chief interest was shown in scholarship funds and in homes for working girls. Eight thousand dollars is already in hand for the proposed \$50,000 scholarship fund, and there are new homes for Negro working girls to the credit of the Kansas, Indiana and Iowa clubs. Richmond, Virginia, reported \$10,000 raised for such a home.

### Children's Discipline of Children

In the Santiniketan School and some other schools, children are judges of their own conduct. In *The World To-morrow* for September, Alexis C. Ferm discourses on the subject of children's discipline of children. Among other things he says:—

The question is raised as to whether the discipline of a child's own contemporaries leads to a tyranny of the group which subjects him prematurely to the rule of a mob mind. The children of a group may have decided opinions, but I doubt whether these can be imposed on any normal child. Listen to the arguments and disputes among children left to themselves; there is little imposition of thought there. Discussions usually take place over supposed facts which one child may try to pass over to another or to a group. The boastful child likes to show how much he knows of the facts of the world, and the other who has had but a limited experience may take some of it unquestioningly. But if he does, it at least implies some faith in the individual. Usually some one boy or girl in a group will have the reputation of having a fund of information, but the acceptance of the information will not affect the power to think independently, and each child will drop any erroneous information as he gathers his facts for himself.

It is no easy matter for a boy to become a leader in a group. Qualities of leadership have to stand out in his personality before he is accepted. The egotism that he has developed while reigning as the High Mogul of the family will have to be drawn in or rubbed off when he comes to take his part with his equals and he must do something to show his mettle.

When one child crosses another's path he must be free to treat the crossing in his own way and then to get the natural reaction from what he has done, since in this he has followed his own judgment. When two or more children are playing together and happen to fall into an unpleasant dispute, there is always the tendency for adults to call it quarrelling and to interfere. Then the children learn nothing from their own acts. The adult feels that he has done his part by giving a lecture on the subject of "Love one another," but that does not interest the children when the question that caused the dispute is uppermost. The experience is postponed, and the settling of the dispute is held in abeyance. Even a larger boy gets a better lesson from fighting a smaller boy, if the smaller boy shows any tenacity, than any

lecture of "shame to fight a smaller boy" can give him.

But in shifting the responsibility from the adults to the children themselves, it is a mistake to suppose that the adult is eliminated. The educator stands for the social life of which the child as yet knows nothing. The association of children with each other and with the educator calls out many concrete questions in regard to social living. And the lessons that the children learn in social living are plain to them, provided the activities are self-initiated. Questions of justice in the actions of one child toward another or toward the group are repeatedly arising and, if seriously disputed, are usually referred to the educator.

The writer adds:—

Possibly this whole matter of education will resolve itself into the problem of whether children can be educated towards a social betterment while held at home in the cities, where they see nothing of the genesis of things and have no opportunities for real social contact with one another. We may have to come to the conclusion that the only way for children to have full development will be for them to go out from their city homes to educational centers in the country where as much as possible of the work of the necessities of life is carried on; where they will know animal life and have gardening, weaving, woodwork, iron work, painting, drawing and clay work in simple forms which they can understand. They should know at first hand the foundations of living. Such a simple country life also gives them their social experiences with one another, along with their experiences through self-expression and initiative.

### The Dawes Plan

*The New Republic* thinks:—

The Dawes plan itself does not contain the essentials of lasting peace. It does not remedy the essential defects of the Treaty of Versailles and restore to the German people the opportunity of living with the degree of independence, security, happiness and self-respect which every people has a right to demand. It is only a temporary expedient designed to save Germany, France, and Europe from the disastrous consequences of the occupation of the Ruhr. Whether it will amount to anything more than a *modus vivendi* for a few years will depend on the willingness of France and her associates to make far more drastic future concessions to Germany.

M. Herriot says, "The United States has agreed to cooperate in the control to be exercised over Germany. Germany is *not required* to undergo this control passively, but to accept it freely... She has entered into engagements with the whole world, with the United States as well as France. Should she fail to meet the engagements thus contracted the honor of all the nations who entered into these engagements with her would compel them to rise against her." Moreover, in the event of German default, France retains the right, which she established by the occupation of the Ruhr, to war on her own responsibility against the Germans without violating international law. "The Dawes scheme," he declares,



does not eliminate sanctions in case of bad faith. Quite the contrary, it leaves to the governments the care of determining their procedure should sanctions become necessary." France, that is, retains the right to act as she pleases, if a default takes place, and as sooner or later a default is inevitable it is obvious that the London conference has not brought the war to an end.

The American paper continues :—

Americans will be interested to observe that M. Herriot claims practically one hundred per cent American participation in the achievements and the obligations of the Conference. If Germany has entered into obligations with the United States, obviously the United States has entered into obligations with France and Great Britain to compel Germany to meet her obligations. President Coolidge himself admits this interpretation by implication when he claims, as he did in his speech of acceptance, the adoption of the Dawes report as one of the triumphs of his administration. If this is true, the American government is more deeply involved in European economic and political controversies than she would have been if it had joined the League of Nations. According to M. Herriot, the "honor" of the United States will compel them to "rise" against Germany if Germany defaults under the Dawes schedules. Yet we are informed on good authority that none of the British and American experts who contributed to the Dawes report believe that Germany can live up to the schedules. The American nation, that is, is in honor bound to "rise" against Germany for failing to meet impossible demands.

In another issue the paper reverts to the subject thus :—

The Dawes plan in its present form is unworkable, an estimate which we believe is shared by some of the experts responsible for its terms. It requires a degree of effort and economy for which there is no precedent, and an increase in Germany's export trade which the Allied nationals will be the first to protest and combat. Most of all, it continues the virtual enslavement of the whole German nation for a term of years on the theory that she was alone responsible for causing the War. Even if this theory were to be accepted as regards the German government, it would ignore that distinction between the Kaiser's government and the common people on which President Wilson insisted; but in point of fact the Germans recognize it neither for the former government nor for the nation as a whole. They have just made an official and emphatic denial of this theory. True, they signed the Treaty of Versailles; but they did so with a pistol at their heads; and an admission of guilt obtained under such duress has and should have no standing in court.

The Paris *Matin* rebukes the Germans for raising this question again. "There is a possibility," it says, "that an understanding could be reached between the two nations, but that is possible only on one condition—that we talk business, talk realities, talk about the future, not that we talk past history." To Germany, who has already made payments in cash and kind to the amount of more than \$5,000,000,000 and sees herself under an obligation to pay at least \$5,000,000,000 more, the question of that moral responsibility which after all is the sole basis for these payments, for the

loss of all her colonies, the abolition of her armies and for all the spiritual and physical suffering to which her population has been subjected, is far from being mere "past history." To her, the statement of the *Matin* will seem to say: "We have beaten you and are taking from you everything you possess that we can get our hands on. Kindly do not now raise the academic question as to whether this is just."

## The Opium Policy of "British" India

The same journal observes with regard to the opium policy of the Government of India :—

The policy of British India has been for several years a stumbling block which has helped to prevent the League of Nations from adopting the American plan for suppressing the opium traffic. It has been argued that the government of India did not dare concur in the plan to limit the world production of opium to medicinal and scientific needs because the habit of using the drug is so firmly entrenched among the native population that existing discontent would be hugely enhanced. An interesting side-light is thrown on this question by a recent action of the All-India Congress Committee. At a session at Ahmedabad it passed a resolution condemning the opium policy of the government of India as being "altogether contrary to the welfare of the people of India." It is further of the opinion that the people "would welcome the total abolition of the opium traffic for the purpose of revenue"; and it authorized a special inquiry into the habits of the natives of Assam in regard to the drug. While resolutions of committees are not to be taken too seriously, there is good reason to believe that in this case the action really does represent the best judgment of the enlightened native leaders. They quite properly regard the opium traffic as an unmitigated evil and one of the strong forces which help to keep India in chains.

## "Free-lance" Journalism

In *Chambers's Journal* a journalist who has been a free-lance for twenty years observes :—

Incomes of contributors are amazingly exaggerated in Fleet Street and in the public imagination. Twenty years ago, after coming to London from an editorship in the provinces and commencing business as a free-lance, the writer happened to meet a contributor previously known, who boasted that he could earn £900 a year. I communicated this encouraging statement subsequently to an old hand in Fleet Street, who was pessimistic and hinted seriously the danger of a leap from Waterloo Bridge. As to my friend's £900 a year, this old hand dryly remarked, "Divide it by three!"

There are some popular writers, who have acquired a book-stall reputation, who can command special fees for their work, and enjoy incomes sometimes mounting into four figures. They are few, and could be counted on the fingers of both hands. As a rule, they have earlier won their spurs as novelists, or in some branch of literature. They

may never have been working journalists, never inside a newspaper office. After twenty years of this work, I should say that the contributor who cannot sell his name at a big price, but must accept the fees sent to him, may count himself happy if he can earn, on the average, £300 a year in normal times. The boast of huge incomes from contributions is not made to the Inland Revenue. In truth, the bit of brag in itself casts doubt upon the figures.

The free-lance must cultivate versatility. For him a little learning is not a dangerous thing. He must endeavour to acquire a reputation as an authority on the subjects which he selects for his articles. Nor can he afford, as a rule, to devote his gifts exclusively to a single isolated branch of newspaper enterprise. The more nimble his pen is in running, like the squirrel among the boughs of the tree, from one subject to a contrasted topic, the more likely he will be to keep himself employed

all the year round. A solitary and isolated subject will be insufficient for his economic wants.

It is not impracticable for the same general writer to acquire a reputation of a sort for special knowledge of many subjects—arts, the contemporary drama, literature, as dealt with in newspaper notices and reviews, Imperial politics, the statesmen and politicians of the time at home and in the Dominions, foreign affairs from Moscow to Washington, and even the various breeds of pedigreed cattle to be seen at the annual show of the Smithfield Club, and the breeding of blood-stock for flat-racing and the popular steeplechase. Out of the host of subjects so apparently incongruous, as each becomes topical in its turn, the versatile free-lance may earn a comfortable income.

T. P. O'Connor, who is himself a famous journalist, has recently stated that in England journalism is not a very paying profession.

## THE PHARISEES\*

(A REVIEW)

By MAHESHCHANDRA GHOSH

AT last justice has been done to the Pharisees—a class much maligned and more sinned against than sinning.

Our author is a great Hebrew scholar and has made a special study of Pharisaism. But his special qualification is that he has written the book without any theological bias.

Those who take an interest in the Bible and Pharisaism, should make a thorough study of the book. There is no other reliable book in English dealing with the same subject.

There are nine chapters in the book under the following headings—(i) Introduction (ii) Historical Account of Pharisaism (iii) Torah and Tradition (IV) The Pharisees and the Synagogue (V) and (VI) The Teaching of the Pharisees (VII) Pharisaism and the Apocryphal literature (VIII) Pharisaism in the New Testament (IX) Conclusion; and also four indexes.

In this review, it is not possible to discuss all the subjects dealt with in the book. We shall discuss only the most important points.

### TORAH AND TRADITION

"Torah is a common Hebrew word and denotes teaching—any kind of teaching given by one person to another. But long before the time of Ezra the word acquired also a religious meaning and denoted teaching given by or on behalf of Yahveh, the communication of his will or whatever else he would make known to his people." (54). "Whatever part Ezra may have taken in publishing the collected Torah, he was certainly not the author of

it. What he did was to proclaim in the hearing of the people the full and complete Torah, the teaching which Yahveh had given through Moses for the guidance and instruction of Israel.....After the time of Ezra, the association of Torah with Moses was a matter of course and the name was applied to the five books forming the Pentateuch.....Ezra of course, knew nothing of the modern theory which unfolds the gradual growth of the Pentateuch but if he had known how it was the outcome of the labours of many generations of prophets and priests, embodying ancient traditions and later ordinances, he would only have said that all these did but develop the original teaching which Moses had given" (55).

### PHARISEES AND SADDUCEES

The Torah was interpreted by two schools of thought holding widely divergent views. The Pharisees explained the written Torah according to tradition which they called the unwritten Torah. They held that "there had been handed down along with the written Torah an unwritten explanation of it. ...The holders of this view therefore introduced the conception of the unwritten Torah alongside of and supplementary to the written Torah. Or rather they enlarged the whole conception of Torah so as to include both the written and the unwritten, the Text and the tradition. The Sadducees adhered to the written text alone and rejected the unwritten, traditional Torah. ...This is the real point of cleavage between the Sadducees and the Pharisees" (63-64).

"For the Pharisaic view, their enlarged conception of Torah, was of the utmost importance and had the most powerful influence upon the subsequent development of Judaism. In a single

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sentence, the effect was this, *To break the fetters which were cramping the religious life of the people and to set its spirit free to receive fresh inspiration from God.* ...The old Sadducean view tended to make the Torah an archaic relic, a sacred text venerable indeed from its age but whose teaching had an ever-decreasing relation to the religious needs of the time and even whose very meaning became, with every generation, less intelligible. If this process had gone on unchecked, the Jewish religion would have become a mere ceremonial performance, a dead ritual with no breath of divine life in it, nothing to help the worshipper to realise his communion with the living God or even to suppose that such a communion was still possible. It was from this danger that the religious life of the Jewish people was saved; and it was saved by the exaltation of the Torah from being a closed revelation to an open one, from a dead letter to a letter made alive again, from a text long ago set and hardened, whose meaning could never change and which could say nothing new, to a text whose meaning was plastic because freshly interpreted in the light of the growing moral discernment of religious teachers, age after age. This is the real significance of the unwritten Torah, and of its introduction beside the written text." (65-66)

"This theory of interpretation began with the Pharisees and it has continued down to the present day" (69). "The Judaism which has come down through the centuries is essentially Pharisaism" (52).

#### MIDRASH AND MISHNAH

"In the beginning, the interpretation of the Torah was a simple matter. It was called Midrash Torah. ...In common usage it is shortened to Midrash, to denote the homiletic exposition either of the scripture in general or Torah in particular. ...The text to be interpreted is given along with the interpretation, the teaching derived from it or based upon it or associated with it. This is known as the Midrash form to distinguish it from the Mishna form in which the result of interpretation is given without the text to which it refers" (70).

#### HALACHAH, HAGGADAH

"When interpretation dealt with the preceptive portion of the Torah, the result deduced was called Halachah; when it dealt with the non-preceptive portion, for the purpose of edification, the result was called Haggadah." (70-71).

"The essence of the Halachah was the doing of an action in the appointed way, because that was what God commanded" (76). "The task of defining the Halachah was one of extreme importance. ....It was always defined after consultation amongst the accredited teachers at any period of history, the supreme religious legislative body whatever it might be. ....The decision was based on a most careful and thorough study of the Torah, both written and unwritten and the result was finally determined by a vote of a majority" (73-74). "No single teacher was competent to pronounce a binding decision by his own authority, however eminent he might be" (108). "No teacher, however eminent, could impose his opinion on the rest by sheer weight of authority. Even one so great as R. Eliezer b. Horkenos had to fight for his opinion by argument with his colleagues and in the end he was outvoted and even excommunicated because he would not conform. And of R. Meir, somewhat later, it is

declared that although there was no one like him in his generation yet the Halachah was not fixed in accordance with his opinion." (109).

"A halachah so defined was henceforth binding on all Jews, at least on all who followed the Pharisees; and it could not be repealed or annulled except by the majority vote of another Assembly which excelled the earlier one in wisdom and number" (73-74).

"The term Haggadah denotes the interpretation of Scripture in general and of the Torah in particular for edification and not directly for the regulation of conduct. ....The subject-matter of the Haggadah included. ....all that in other religions is covered by the term Doctrinal Theology, it also included what would be assigned to ethics, psychology and metaphysics" (78-79).

"Paul, who as a former Jew did not know what else was in Torah besides Halachah, has inflicted upon the Jews an injury without excuse by steadily ignoring that other element, in order to build upon that omission his argument for the superiority of the Gospel over the Law" (78).

"Haggadah was the field where Thought found free outlet; for whereas the Halachah was only defined and settled by the vote of a majority after careful deliberation, the Haggadah was under no such restriction" (80).

Thus we see that the Judaism of the Pharisees was "progressive" (p. 111) "always open to revision and amendment, always subject to fresh consideration" (113). It was never a cast-iron system.

#### THE SYNAGOGUE

The Synagogue, the prototype of the Christian Church, was in great vigour at the beginning of the Christian era. It was "an institution of laymen. Priests were not, of course, excluded and no doubt many of the Pharisees were priests. But no priest as such had any controlling power in the management of the synagogue. The sole qualification there was piety, knowledge of the Torah and ability to communicate that knowledge" (98). "The Pharisees were marked out by their spiritual ancestry and their own principles as the natural leaders of the synagogue. It gave them their opportunity of bringing religion home to the people in the form in which it was most clear to themselves. ....The Sadducees. ....were not at all keen on spreading the knowledge of the Torah amongst the people. It was sufficient that the knowledge should be, as of old, reserved for the priests. The Pharisees were the only ones who brought the Torah to the people and helped them to realise the blessing of it. This is not to say that all the people became Pharisees, for we know from Josephus (Ant. xvii. 2, 4) that the Pharisees in his time numbered only some few thousands [about 6000] among the whole population. But it explains very well how it was that the great majority of the people sided with the Pharisees, followed their lead and held them in honour and reverence" (97-98).

"There was a synagogue in every village and probably many in each of the larger towns. It was the natural centre for the religion of the people living near it, not merely through the services on the Sabbath, but through its teaching and its charities. Its influence would be felt all through the week and more or less by all the inhabitants of the place, even though not all were equally zealous or zealous at all for religion" (97).



"It was the only institution which ministered to the religion of the people in their daily and weekly life and without making any extravagant claims on its behalf, we may say with certainty that it did fulfil its primary function with a considerable measure of success" (100). Our author concludes the chapter on "the Pharisees and the Synagogue" by saying:—

"Of the Synagogue as it was in the time of Jesus and the first Christians, the House of Meeting, the place of worship, the school where all the lessons of the Torah were taught, by men who believed in it to all who could be helped to share in its blessing and learned by those who found that blessing—*of the Synagogue thus living and ministering to the higher life of the Jewish people, the Pharisees were the devoted friends and theirs the animating spirit*" (p. 103). (Italics ours.)

Now let us see what the attitude of Jesus was towards these Pharisees.

#### JESUS AND THE PHARISEES

Jesus compared the Pharisees to "the whited sepulchre which is outwardly fair and inwardly loathsome." "The whole answer," says our author, "for good many people still, is summed up in the single phrase: 'Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites;' and the question is dismissed as admitting of no other answer, considering who it was who uttered that deadly gibe. To those readers who may be more open-minded, I offer," continues our author, "some considerations which may put the matter in a different light and a truer perspective."

"First of all, it is to be observed that the criticism of the Pharisees proceeds from men who were not Pharisees themselves and except at the beginning, were not Jews. Outside the new Testament it proceeds entirely from non-Jewish writers. Inside the New Testament while Jesus and his immediate followers were certainly Jews, equally certainly they were not Pharisees. Paul had been a Pharisee, but all his recorded utterances date from a time after he had broken with Pharisaism; and it is common knowledge that a convert from one form of religious belief to another is not a reliable witness in regard to the system which he has left. The whole of the New Testament rests upon premisses, summed up in the supremacy of Christ, which render impossible an impartial conclusion from those premisses upon the merits and demerits of Pharisaism." (115)

"Moreover, whatever weight may be attached to the evidence of the New Testament, it is evidence collected from a period of time very short in comparison with the two thousand years during which Pharisaism, in its own name and under its later name of Rabbinism has lasted. Most people think of the Pharisees, so far as they think of them at all, as the opponents of Jesus, in his ministry and as authors of his death; and they very naturally deem no condemnations too severe for the men who thwarted that ministry and helped to bring about that death. But, in the long history of Pharisaism, the public career and death of Jesus were hardly more than a passing incident since the Pharisees naturally did not and could not estimate its importance from the Christian point of view.....whatever, then, may be the truth in regard to the charge of hypocrisy, the charge, so far as it rests on the New Testament, is brought by hostile witnesses, in this sense that they applied to Pharisaism a standard widely different from its

own and were seldom able, or apparently inclined, to make any effort really to understand it.....There was sharp antagonism between the one side and the other; and a calm, dispassionate, and accurate Judgment of the one by the other is as little to be expected and as seldom found as a calm, dispassionate and accurate Judgment of the Roman Catholic Church by a Belfast Orangeman." (Pp. 115-116.)

In another place the author writes:—

"The New Testament as a whole is the product of a religious movement when, *ex hypothesi*, was not Jewish and its general attitude towards Judaism, apart from individual Jews, is now more friendly and often hostile. The Christian Movement which produced the New Testament, and the church which adopted it, stood in a relation to the Judaism from which it had come forth, which was that of opposition towards a rival, a discredited rival who could be a dangerous enemy. There was certainly never any question of mutual friendship between Christianity and Judaism in or since the century which saw the rise of the former. Therefore, the evidence of the New Testament upon the subject of Pharisaism is at best only the evidence of outsiders who could see its effects but had not the means of knowing from within what produced those effects; and who, for want of that knowledge, were not in a position to judge rightly what they did see. It is, moreover, the evidence of partisan witnesses, honestly partisan no doubt intensely convinced that they were in the right but none the less partisan, even when not definitely hostile; it is not to say that they were on that account false witnesses; it is to say that their evidence is only of secondary value for deciding the question of the real meaning of Pharisaism and cannot be admitted till that of the Pharisees themselves has been heard." (p. 198-199).

#### MISREPRESENTATION

Pharisaism has been grossly misrepresented by the writers of the Gospel, and St. Paul.

Once the Pharisees and the scribes asked Jesus "Why walk not thy disciples according to the tradition of the elders?" (Mk. vii. 5). "The challenge was met by a repudiation of the tradition of the elders, pointed by a quotation from Isaiah and addressed to 'you hypocrites'. He accused them of rejecting the commandment of God that they might keep their tradition, and he gave as an example the practice of evading the commandment 'Honour thy father and mother' by the plea of 'Corban' (p. 205)."

"Corban" is a Hebrew word meaning 'sacrifice', a gift to God. When a man says 'Corban to me is wine', he means that he takes a vow to abstain from wine.

With reference to this 'Corban' passage, our author says "This incident, if indeed it be correctly reported in the Gospel, is very instructive in regard to the attitude of Jesus to the Pharisees. In the first place it is the attitude of an opponent. He flashed out a sharp retort to a quite natural question.....If he really gave the practice of Corban as an example and if this be not due to the manipulation of the Gospel material, then the inference is legitimate that Jesus had no close acquaintance with the tradition which he denounced. The tradition of the elders is of course the Mishnah. The alleged practice of evading the fifth commandment is nowhere known in the recorded Halachah

(see especially M. Nedar, IX.1, and the commentaries on the passage) and is, besides, entirely at variance with the Pharisaic practice of laying the greatest stress upon honour to parents. If Jesus had had any inside knowledge of Pharisaism on its Halachic side, he would never have given an example so entirely beside the mark. But it is quite in accordance with what we know of the circumstances of his life that he should have had no inside knowledge of Pharisaism in general or of Halachah in particular. His sympathies and his affinities were with the multitude who were outside the Pharisaic circle, the Am-ha-aretz class, if that term may be taken in a very wide sense. And, so far as he was outside the Pharisaic circle he himself was an Am-ha-aretz. The Pharisees could only teach the Halachah to those who were willing to learn it, and they could not enforce it upon any one." (pp. 205-206)

Mr. Montifiore also questions the correctness of the assertion of Jesus. (The Synoptic Gospels, I. 164 ff.) He says that (i) the rule which Jesus here attributes to tradition is in flat contradiction to the law as laid down in the Mishnah and as commented on by the Talmud" and (ii) the assertion that the Pharisees violated the Law of God.....in maintaining their own rules, is not proved by the instance quoted. On the contrary, the instance fails just at the crucial point."

According to Friedlander also the statement of Jesus is inaccurate (Jewish Sources of the S. on Mt., p. 99)

In the Sermon on the Mount, we find the following saying of Jesus:—

"When therefore thou doest alms, sound not a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men" (Matt. vi. 2).

Commenting on this passage Mr. Friedlander writes:—

"Jesus says that the Pharisees display their ostentation and hypocrisy by sounding a trumpet before themselves in the synagogues and in the streets when distributing their alms. Is it a fact? We cannot do better than quote Lightfoot (*in loc.*), whose *Hora Hebraica et Talmudica* are invaluable even in these later days of critical research. He says:—"I have not found, although I have sought for it much and seriously, even the least mention of a trumpet in connection with Almsgiving." This opinion is also shared by the learned Hebraist, Schottgen and many modern scholars who find themselves in a quandary. They cannot explain the phrase literally; because as a matter of fact, there is no reference in early Jewish literature to people giving alms in the synagogues or streets and at the same time parading their bounty to the accompaniment of the trumpet" (Jewish Sources of the S. on the Mt. p. 95).

The accusation is false. The majority of the commentators have therefore been compelled to explain the passage metaphorically. (*Vide* Myer's Matt., Schmidt and Holzendorff's Protestant commentary, Morison's Matt., Plumptre's Matt., Allen's Matt., Plummer's Matt., Micklem's Matt., Dummelow's Matt., and Sadler's Matt. *in loco.*) But the meaning of the passage is clear: it must be interpreted literally, and not figuratively as the commentators have done. It is evident that the passage was introduced by the editor of the first Gospel for vilifying the Pharisees.

The following passage also is found in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. 43).

"Ye have heard that it was said, thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy."

Mr. Friedlander says "This is a fine example of deliberate invention. The first half of the quotation is true (Lev. xix. 18), the second half false. In no part of the Law or Prophets, or Writings, or any book of the Rabbis do we find the law "hate thine enemy." (Jewish Sources, p. 69-70).

Here also the commentators have found themselves in a quandary. They have not been able to produce a single sentence from the vast Jewish literature to substantiate the allegation. They have satisfied themselves simply by saying that it was (i) an invention of the Rabbis (Morison) (ii) an inference (Allen, McNeile) (iii) true, for the spirit 'might seem' in the O. T. (Plummer) (iv) a fair general description (Dummelow) (v) deduced from the Jewish Separatism (Micklem) (vi) a gloss of the Scribes (Sadler, Schmidt and Holzendorff) (vii) "Some Current Scribal Interpretation" (Box and Slater), (viii) Rabbinic addition (Meyer) (ix)—Semitic method of emphasising a distinction (Bacon). (x) "a most vile gloss" (B. G. V: Bengel's Gnomon) etc., etc.

These interpretations show how difficult it is to be open-minded (or honest and straightforward) in theological discussions.

The most significant fact here is that in the very act of preaching the Law of Love, Jesus was carried away by his hatred to the Pharisees. His Law of Love was based on the Love of Hatred.

Here is another passage:—

"Ye have heard that it was said, an eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you..." (Matt. v. 38).

Mr. Abrahams says:—

"Eye for eye" was never applied in practical Jewish law. Taken over theoretically from the Code of Hammurabi, the *lex talionis* was not acted on in Israel. *No single instance of its application is on record.*.....In fact the very objection to the *lex talionis* as literally conceived was used to support the need of traditional interpretation; the law as written cannot be understood without the Pharisaic mitigations (see the quotations from Saadiah in Ibn Ezra's elaborate note on Exodus xxi. 24)." (Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, 1st Series, p. 154).

Our author says—"It is quite unjust to charge against the Pharisees, or the Rabbis or the modern Jews that their religion still maintains the old *lex talionis*. That law has no more place in their religion than it has in Christianity and it was discarded before ever Christianity appeared" (112).

In a footnote, the author writes—"There is no evidence that the law "an eye for an eye," etc., was ever literally enforced. If it was, then that could only have been done by the Sadducees who adhered to the literal sense of the Torah and rejected the Pharisaic interpretation. If the Sadducees still enforced the *lex talionis* in its literal sense, the Pharisees certainly did not; and if even the Sadducees had abandoned the literal sense, the Pharisees would certainly not retain it. Now the Sadducean Judicial Code was abrogated in the reign of Queen Alexandra (78-69 B. C. E.) and the event is noted in Meg. Taanith, 14 Tammuz. It is therefore clear that even if the *lex talionis* had been literally enforced up till that time, it then

ceased thus fully a century before the time of Jesus. It may have ceased long before and it may never have been operative at all" (112).

So it is clear that the allegation of Jesus or the writer of that Gospel is false.

The Pharisees have been accused of being "lovers of money" (Lk. xvi. 14).

This is quite false; the Pharisees led a very simple life. Even Dr. Hastings's Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, says—"The Pharisees were not characterised by luxurious living" (i. 467).

Friedlander quotes the following passage from Josephus, who is, in point of time, earlier than Luke:—

"Now, for the Pharisees, they live meanly and despise delicacies of diet and they follow the government of reason" (Ant. XVIII. 1). (The Jewish Sources, p. 202).

He then writes:—"The poverty and misery of the Pharisees are referred to in the *Psalms of Solomon* (iv. and v), in *The Assumption of Moses* (c. vii) and also in the Talmud (for references see especially the fine article on "Kleidernot" by Dr. Krauss in his *Talmudische Archaeologie* I. 134, 135). .....Hillel's poverty and Nahum of Gemzo's lack of every luxury (Joma 35 b; Taanith, 21a) were not the exception but rather the general rule. Rabbi Chanina ben Dosa was so poor that he and his family had to subsist for an entire week on a measure (Kab) of carobs (Berachoth, 17b). He did not even possess anything to dedicate to the Temple (*Ecclesiastes Rabba*, i. 1). His rejection of the title of prophet (Berachoth 34b, cf. *ibid* Mishna, v. 5) in spite of the miracles performed by him, is a characteristic of the Pharisaic teachers. What could be clearer than Josephus' statement?—"The Sadducees are able to persuade none but the rich...but the Pharisees have the multitude on their side" (*Ibid* xiii. x. 6). The poor cried for relief (*Psalms of Solomon*, (iv) and the Rabbis tried to help them in distress" (The Jewish Sources of the S. on the Mt., 203-204).

"Political office was avoided by the Pharisees, who concentrated all their efforts on the religious side of Israel's mission in the world" (*Ibid* 206).

Such was the class that was accused of being "lovers of money."

#### PERSONALITY OF JESUS

Our author says:—

"Pharisaism and Christianity faced each other in an opposition which was fundamentally irreconcilable and the disturbing cause which created the opposition was Jesus (p. 201). "The effect of his coming into the world has been greater than that made by anyone else in history; and since it was the effect produced by one who, at the outset, was entirely unknown and unexpected, it can only be understood as due to the impression made by a personality of tremendous force and intensity" (202): "Those who saw and heard him appear to have instinctively felt that there was some dominating power in him" (203).

#### CLAIMS

"We may safely suppose that people were more impressed and overawed by him than by any definite message which he proclaimed" (205). "He taught as one having authority and not as the scribes." He did "neither seek nor recognise any human authority for what he said or thought or believed in regard to religion" (203). "I say unto

you," "I say unto thee," "ye have heard that....but I say unto you" and similar expressions would often prelude his discourse. The Pharisees naturally thought that Jesus thereby abrogated the authority of the Torah and established, in its place, his own authority. He would forgive sins and the Pharisees considered it to be a blasphemy (Mk. ii). He glorified himself and usurped the power of God. On this point, Mr. Friedlander writes as follows:

"The Gospel makes Jesus invite the weary to find rest under his new yoke so much easier to bear than the old Torah given to Moses, the chief of the Prophets. 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest' (Matt. xi. 28). The Psalmist had long ago urged the weary to cast their burden on God who is ever with the broken-hearted and the humble in spirit. Jesus displaces God. He constitutes himself the only way that leads to the God of all. In the famous verse. 'All things have been delivered unto me of my Father (i.e. God); and no one knoweth the son (i.e. Jesus) save the Father, neither doth any know the Father save the son, and he to whomsoever the son willet to reveal him' (*ibid* XI. 27)." Jesus limits man's power to know God. Jesus.....is held forth as the only son of God who....."is coming on the clouds" to judge the world. He is to usher in the kingdom of God on earth and as a direct result of his own teaching, he was acclaimed the Messiah of Israel" (The Jewish Sources of the Sermon on the Mount p. 5).

In another place he writes: "No Jew could possibly admit these claims which involve (1) his right to abrogate the Divine Law, (2) his power to forgive sins, (3) the efficacy of his vicarious atonement and (4) his ability to reveal God the Father of Man to whomsoever he will. Underlying these stupendous claims is the belief in the divinity of Jesus and his unique divine sonship.....Then, as now, the Jew has refused to admit the validity of these claims" (265).

#### COLLISION

We cannot say that the Pharisees did not try to understand his position. Once they "asked him: 'why walk not thy disciples according to the tradition of the elders?'.....He flashed out a sharp retort to a quite natural question.....He made no attempt to reason with them and show them where, as he thought, they were in error. He denounced them as hypocrites". (p. 205-206).

Jesus asked the people to follow him and to accept him as their Messiah. It was but natural that they should ask him to substantiate his claim. Once, certain of the Scribes and of Pharisees said to him,

"Master, we would see a sign from thee."

But he answered and said unto them,

"An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign". (Matt. xii 38,39).

Many other encounters are recorded in the Gospels. "Being recorded in the Gospels," says our author, "the victory is always assigned to Jesus. But in truth there was no victory for one party or the other. Various questions were raised and each side approached them from a standpoint totally different from that of the opponent" (209). Our author has not dealt with them all seriatim. "But" says he, "something must be said of the great denunciation in Matthew xxiii (cp. Luke xi. 42-54) which, whatever may be thought of it, certainly forms an essential part of the representation of Pharisaism in the New Testament. Whether that



famous passage contains the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus, or represents the mind and utters the voice of the early church, does not greatly matter so far as the Pharisees are concerned. Nothing can soften the hostility expressed in it; and, whatever its origin, it sums up and focusses in burning indignation the antagonism between the Pharisees and Jesus as felt on his side. I find no difficulty in believing that Jesus himself said what is there recorded, because it is quite intelligible that a man, driven to bay by his opponents should turn and rend them. His attitude at the end is only the natural outcome of his attitude all through. The various 'woes' hurled at the Pharisees exceed in their cumulative force all that he had said previously; but in detail they do not add anything to the knowledge of the real nature of the controversy. Neither do they throw any fresh light, or any light at all upon the true character of Pharisaism. As far as that goes, the Pharisees would have had an answer from their point of view to all the charges hurled at them, an answer which would have been as powerless to persuade as the attack was. But there is nothing to be learned from the attack as to the real nature and meaning of the system attacked, though there is much to be learned as to the state of mind and point of view of the assailant. From his point of view, shared of course by his followers ever since, what he expressed was righteous indignation, denunciation of a system which he believed to be false and corrupt. If Pharisaism had been, in its true intent and real effect, anything like what he supposed, then of course his denunciation would have been well deserved. But he only saw its outward appearance, he did not know it from within, nor apparently ever try to understand it. That there were hypocritical Pharisees is admitted by all, and by none more explicitly than by the Pharisees themselves, but whatever features of Pharisaism might tend to provoke attack, they would not be withdrawn or modified as the result of attack. In other words, the constant denunciation of their system would not tend to conciliate the Pharisees, but would arouse in them the lower passions of hatred and malice and calumny from which human nature is not exempt, either in Pharisees or Christians. That the Pharisees were roused to such feelings against Jesus cannot be denied. That they had great provocation cannot also be denied, except by those who know only one side of the case. And even they, believing that Jesus justly regarded the Pharisees as his enemies, might sometimes wonder what had become of the earlier precept (Matt. v. 44): "Love your enemies and pray for them that persecute you." If the Pharisees were as he supposed, were they not in ever greater need of healing than sinners and cut-castes? If they were blind, deaf and spiritually dead, had he no mission to heal them, no pity and no sympathy for those lost souls? The more the alleged spiritual depravity of the Pharisees be emphasised, the more striking is the absence of any slightest attempt to lead them into a better way on the part of one who "came to seek and save that which is lost" (Luke xix, 10). The note throughout the Gospel record is (apart from individual cases) that of hostility, denunciation and defiance on the part of Jesus towards the Pharisees, and of growing anger, fear, and hatred on their part towards him. That he was put to death was primarily the work of the Sadducees, they being the party of the chief priests, with whom the

Pharisees had little to do. But the Pharisees could not but see in his fate the overthrow of a dangerous enemy and they would know of no reason why they should express any disapproval" (pp. 209-11).

Our author continues:

"Pharisaism was 'no organised hypocrisy', no dead corpse of a once living religion. It was very much alive and is alive still. These two great spiritual powers the greatest that were then in the world, might even have learned something from each other in that service of God to which each was consecrated. Instead, a fierce controversy, ended for the moment by the death of one opponent, and leaving behind it a legacy of mutual hostility to the adherents of both. So far as Jesus was concerned, the Pharisees went their way and thought but little more of him. Their own literature contains only a few references to him and those merely contemptuous or scurrilous, showing no recognition of the greatness of their opponent, Pharisaism, to all appearance, remained unchanged by the denunciation of Jesus. Its own adherents upheld it with undiminished zeal; and its opponents, the followers of Jesus, gradually becoming the Christian Church, condemned it with increasing severity. The presentation of the Pharisees in the rest of the New Testament differs in some important respects from that of the synoptic Gospels but not in the direction of greater mildness or greater fairness." (211-212)

"The author of the Fourth Gospel made Jesus say to the Jews, 'Ye are of your father the devil' (John viii 44).

"Denunciation of this kind was of course, not based on a careful and critical study of the views of those who were denounced. It was rather the expression of a side already chosen, a view already held; or, if such phrases be thought too weak, it expressed the detestation on the part of men who felt that they had been won to a glorious and sacred cause towards those who tried to defeat that cause, who refused to own its leader, who had indeed rejected and killed him. Such denunciation gained its significance from the magnitude of the forces arrayed against each other. Its form, the terms of abuse, it derived from human nature which was quite as strong in the Christian as in the Jew. The N. T. shows the controversy from one side only, as indeed is but natural; and nothing can be learned from its pages which directly throws fresh light upon the essential meaning of Judaism" pp. 213-214.

#### TWO TYPES

"The conflict between the Pharisees and Jesus had been, in its essence, a conflict between two types of religion, each valid on its own premises and each having a right to exist, but such that neither could be assimilated to the other" (214).

#### IDEA AND PERSON

"The religion of the Pharisees was expressed in terms of Torah; its central feature was an Idea, an intellectual as well as moral conception, by means of which it defined and represented the relation of the human soul to God" (214).

But the religion of Jesus "was definitely centred in a Person, not in an Idea, and he was that person." (214)

"The religion which the church set out to teach was then necessarily a religion founded on Christ;



he was its revealer and teacher. But he was much more than this. He was the Saviour and Redeemer. ....The Christian watch-word from a very early period, perhaps from the beginning, was "believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved." (Acts xvi. 31 and cp. ii. 38) p. 215.

"This was the religion which Paul went forth to preach." "The premisses on which Paul based his whole theory were, of course, the supremacy of Christ, as the heaven-sent instrument, or agent of God and the consequent recognition of him as Lord and Master." (p. 218.)

#### FAITH AND HOLINESS

Our author has further developed the differentia of Christianity and Judaism. He says:—

"Christianity is a religion based upon faith in a Person and the main theme of its message is the offer of salvation through faith in Christ. It placed and places faith before everything else. This is shown, if it needs to be shown, by the fact that the condition of membership in the Church was a confession of faith, which at a very early period took the form of a series of articles of belief, in short a Creed. It is, of course perfectly true that the Church taught a pure morality, a holy life. But she did not insist on this with the same vigour with which she insisted on right belief. No one was ever burnt at the stake for being an evil liver. In other words, the doing of the will of God took the second place and not the first amongst the objects to which the Church directed her efforts," p. (231).

"Now Judaism in general, and Pharisaism in particular, was a religion which put the doing of God's will in the first place and faith in the second place; faith, moreover, not in a Person but in God Himself. Faith, therefore in Judaism kept its original meaning and never became such that any creed could express it. Judaism has never had a creed, though Maimonides tried to devise one. But Judaism, since the Pharisees came on the scene, has had the Halachah, which was the definition of the will of God. The Halachah is the analogue of the Creed. Whether its authors succeeded in fully defining the divine will is not now the question. The point is that for them the doing of the divine will was the first and foremost essential of religion, whatever else might come after it. Pharisaism and Rabbinism accordingly took on a form peculiar to itself and widely different from that assumed by Christianity. ...It was a different religion and not capable of being harmonised with Christianity but it was in every way just as valid, had just as good a right to exist, as in fact it has existed and does still exist." (pp. 231-232).

#### NOT ACCEPTABLE

The Jews could not accept Jesus as master and Lord or the Saviour. "If he were owned as the final revealer of God, then the Torah was dethroned. The Jew could not accept Christ without disowning the Torah. But why should the Jew abandon the Torah? He could not do so until he had felt that it was insufficient; and this he did not feel, nor ever as felt down to the present day, individual cases of conversion apart" (218).

"Christianity whether, preached by Paul or the Church since his day, had not, and has not, anything to offer to Judaism of which Judaism stands in vital need. That each would be vastly the better by learning to appreciate the good in the other is

true; but they can never be reconciled, except as equals, and the age-long attempt of Christians to convert the Jews only shows that Christians have not the slightest understanding of the real nature of the case" (221-222).

"Judaism has continued to exist from the days of Paul to the present time as a religion by which Jews have lived and for which they have died. It has been to them as true, real and effective a means of expressing their relation with God as Christianity has been to Christians. It has afforded them all that a living religion could afford. It has done this by its own intrinsic power, felt and owned in Jewish hearts steadfastly maintained there in spite of all the temptations to apostasy presented by persecution and the varied ill-treatment dealt out by an unfriendly world. Christians had their experience of persecution under Decius and Diocletian and very bitter they found it. Yet all that is a trifle in comparison with what they inflicted on Jews. The Christian Church lived through the fiery trial under Diocletian and found safety under Constantine. The Jews have had centuries of Diocletian and have not as yet, except here and there, found their Constantine (235).

"Judaism was long anterior to Christianity; and Pharisaism with which we are at present concerned had been in existence, in principle, if not in name, for several centuries before Christianity arose. In the course of those centuries Judaism under the influence of the Pharisees, was being moulded into the form which would make it best able to discharge the function assigned to it in the divine plan. It was developed into religion which would be able to maintain its vitality and individual character when it should be called on to meet the difficulties and dangers of co-existence with Christianity. Pharisaism, therefore, developed to the fullest extent the principle of faithfulness to the divine will, and took the Torah as its supreme revelation. The Pharisees were the forerunners of the Rabbis and it was the Rabbis as contemporaries with Christians through the centuries, who had to meet the difficulties and dangers of the co-presence of the two religions. Theirs was the supremely hard task of keeping Judaism a living religion true to its own vision of divine reality, in spite of all the efforts of a scornful or hostile world and a persecuting Church.

"Their defence against being borne down in the struggle was partly the fact itself that their religion was of a fundamentally different type from Christianity. The younger religion had nothing to offer them better or truer than what their own religion already possessed. From a worldly point of view they had everything to gain from accepting Christianity; from the spiritual point of view they had nothing to gain. It was so even in the earliest days of the Church; and, as the centuries passed by, and the Church went further and further along the path of being "all things to all men", she had less and less that could induce a Jew to prefer her religion to his own" (236-237).

This is the verdict of one who was born and brought up in a Christian community and is still a Christian and who has made a special study of Pharisaism and Rabbinism and is regarded as an authority on the subject. To the unbiassed non-Christians also, his conclusions are perfectly legitimate. In no way is the religion of Jesus superior to Pharisaism.



Pharisaism is monotheism, whereas Christianity is Tri-theism.

Pharisaism is Theo-centric, whereas Christianity is Christo-centric. The centre of Judaism is God, while that of Christianity is a man.

Jesus preached the Fatherhood of God, but that was not new to the Jews. Dalman has thoroughly discussed the subject in "The Words of Jesus" (pp. 184-189). He says—"A greater readiness to apply the name of father to God on the part of the Jews is a historical fact; and Jesus adopted this term for God from the popular usage of His time." (188). (Italics ours.)

Dalman has cited many instances to show the incorrectness of the idea that the relation of God to the individual was not set forth until the New Testament revelations. Of course, the individual Israelite was aware that it was only as a member of his people that he possessed the claim to and prospect of God's help and patronage. But the Old Testament shows abundant traces of the connection that God's providence is directed not only to the people as a whole, but also to every single member of the nation. It was therefore nothing

novel when the fatherly relation of God was also applied within the Jewish community to the individual" (p 189)

Christian morality reaches its highest level in the Sermon on the Mount. But in that, there is not a single prominent idea that has not been borrowed from or is not found in the ante-Christian and contemporary Jewish literature. The Gospel morality is mercantile and is therefore selfish. It is based upon reward and punishment. "The Rabbis undoubtedly speak of a heavenly reward, but they also insist on the duty of acting for the sake of virtue. This is expressed by the term "Lishmoh"—"for its own sake" (Friedlander: Jewish Sources of the S. on Mt. p. 95).

In morality also, the Jews have nothing to learn from the N. T.

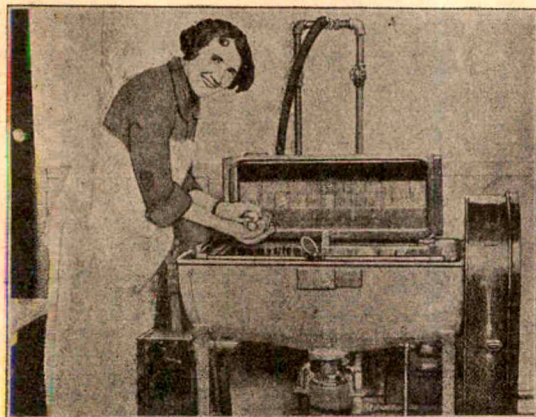
Why should they then forsake their theo-centric Monotheism and accept Christo-centric Tri-theism?

Our author rightly says :—"How many millions of Jews have been afflicted by Christian hands and afflicted by Christian rulers, and yet the Jews remain unconquered and unconquerable" (p. 224).

## GLEANINGS

### Money Cleansed by a Washing Machine

The term "filthy lucre" has been banned from the English language as far as a certain Los Angeles hotel is concerned, by the installation of a coin-washing machine in which all money received by the hostelry is cleansed before being returned to the guests in the form of change.



Machine to Clean Used Coins

A rule is in effect in this particular hotel that no money that has not been washed and made sanitary and new in appearance is to be given out

by cashiers, waiters, and other employees to the hotel guests.

### Giant Lobsters Brought off the Jersey Coast.

Two of the largest lobsters ever caught were taken recently from their deep sea haunts and placed



Giant Lobsters of the Sea

on exhibition in the New York Museum of Natural History.



The largest specimen, weighed 34 pounds, was nearly three feet long, and was estimated to be 50 years old. It carried many scars on its body from fierce marine combats. The smaller one weighed 28 pounds.

The haunts of these two submarine marauders were off the Highlands of New Jersey, where their enormous strength and size enabled them to destroy and rob traps that were too small to catch them.

### Bathing-Cap with Goggles Designed for Divers

For use by swimmers who wear glasses, and to permit a diver to see under water and still keep the water from his eyes, ears, and nose, an elastic rubber bathing-cup with goggles and coverings for the nose and ears, has been invented by A. G. Johnson, of Washington, D. C.

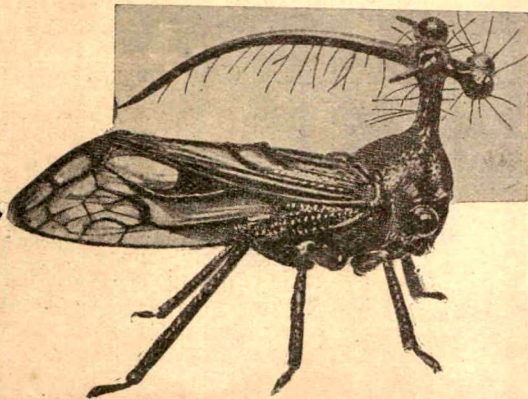


A Novel Bathing-Cap

The cap is so constructed that it prevents the entrance of water, yet allows the wearer to breathe freely through the mouth and talk without removing the headpiece.

### Insect Hobgoblins of the Tropics

This insect, (right) from India, suggests a Turkey glancing backward. It has an anvil-shaped hump



A Brazilian Insect with Sword-like Horn curving over the back

on its back. Underneath are the wings. Entomologists have not been able to tell why these specimens need horns that seem to be only in the way. These hoppers are the greatest change artists on nature's stage. They possess the amazingly useful power of altering their shape and size from day to day.



An Indian Insect possessing an amazing power of altering its shape and size from day to day

Tree-hoppers of India and South America are the newest insect wonders presented to the public by science. They are tiny and gorgeously colored, and probably the most grotesque creatures that ever came under the microscope. The pictures on this page are from greatly enlarged wax models prepared at the American Museum of Natural History. Note the intricate, sword-like horn curving over the back of the Brazilian specimen, (left picture).

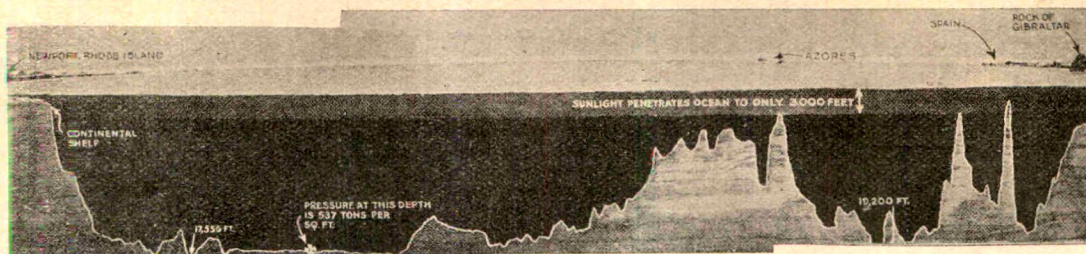
### Wonderlands Where the Sun Never Shines

Picture a place of inky darkness and intense cold, a region to which the rays of the sun never have penetrated; a barren waste seemingly unending, bereft of vegetation and air, with oozy slopes inhabited by queer, crawling creatures: a place where no man could exist for an instant, where no work of man could be placed without being crushed to shapeless uselessness under a weight greater than all the mountains of the earth.

Most of our globe is like that, for that is the bottom of the sea, as pictured by modern science.

Of course, this represents the sea in its most fearsome aspect. There is a much more pleasant side to the sea; many of them, in fact. In the





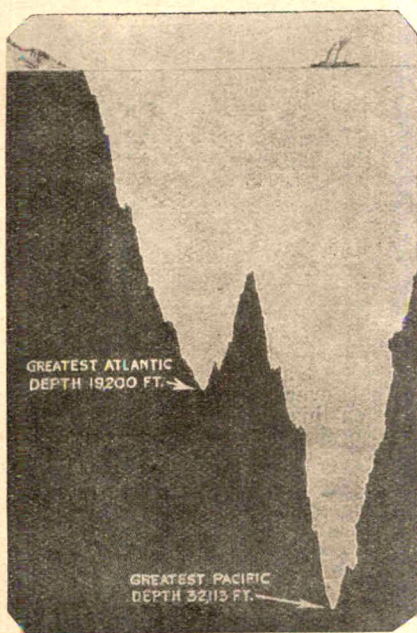
Cross-section diagram of the Atlantic Ocean from Newport, R. I., to the Rock of Gibraltar showing mountain-peaks, valleys, and ravines of the ocean floor

myriads of forms of animal life that inhabit its depths, in its abundant vegetation, in the sublime dignity and grandeur of its wide expanses, the sea is fascinating, beautiful, and inspiring. Let us observe both sides of the picture.

No doubt you remember from your schooldays that a little less than three-quarters of the earth is covered by water. In round numbers, the earth's surface consists of 57,000,000 square miles of land, and 140,000,000 square miles of water. Those figures, however, give but a vague idea of the real immensity of the vast, mysterious sea.

four miles in depth, and here and there in its basin are great caverns called "deeps" into which Mount Everest, tallest mountain on earth, might be pitched and swallowed up. In fact, if Mount Everest were dropped into one of these great ocean pits, its summit,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles high, would be submerged more than half a mile.

More surprising still, if some sort of giant scoop were to level off all the land flush with the sea and dump all the debris into the water, the end of the task would find the sea scarcely changed at all. There would still be an ocean a mile and three-quarters deep!



Measurement of the depths of the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans

Any one who has seen any of the great mountains of the earth has been thrilled and awed by their majestic height. Yet the average depth of the sea is more than five times greater than the average height of land above sea-level over the whole earth. Including our greatest mountains, the mean rise of the land above the sea is less than half a mile. The depth of the sea averages  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles. Moreover, more than half of the sea is between  $2\frac{1}{2}$  and almost



The Queer Sea-Horse (*Hippocampus*)

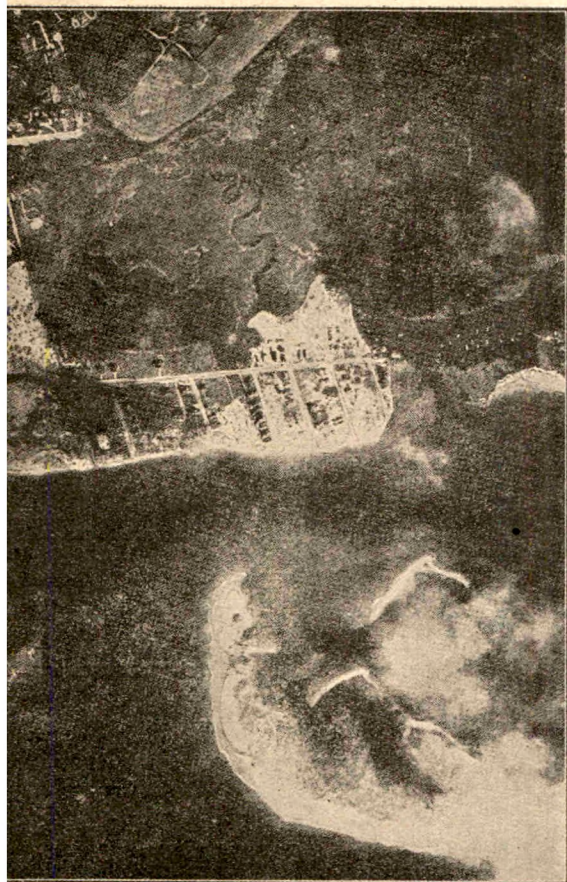
No man, of course, ever has visited the depths of the sea, and science says that no man ever will, because no submarine and no diving apparatus could be devised that would not be crushed by the tremendous pressure of the water at even the lesser ocean depths. Through the instruments of one of the newest sciences, oceanography—however, man has carried on considerable exploration beneath the surface of the huge mass of water that composes so large a part of the earth's surface.

The deeps are not gradually sloping valleys, but long, narrow fissures, believed to have been caused by earthquakes, since they are found in places where submarine earthquakes are frequent. There are also numerous mountains quite as many relatively as on land.



You know, of course, that most of the sea is a beautiful transparent blue. Just why this is so, science cannot say. The reflection of the colour of the sky probably has something to do with it. Likewise the varying depths: for the deepest blue is found far from land, while shallow waters, especially in the tropics, are always green. The Arctic Ocean, too, is green. Submarine vegetation here and there affects the colour of the sea. Thus the Red Sea gets its colour and its name from the reddish algae, or seaweed, that float near its surface. Elsewhere soil and mineral deposits from the land tint the waters near the shores.

Also, the purity of the water has some bearing on its colour. A tank of the purest distilled water is blue, and virtually matches in colour a specimen of



An Airplane photograph of the waters of East Rockaway Inlet, L. I., taken from a height of 10000 feet

water taken from the sea. However, the sea is transparent and translucent only near its surface. Below 500 fathoms (3000 feet) the light of the sun does not penetrate. Hence, all the vegetation of the sea is above that level, for plant life requires the light of the sun to reduce the carbonic acid needed for its existence.

Below 250 fathoms, or about 1500 feet, the heat

rays of the sun cannot penetrate, and their effect is weakened considerably above that depth. The result is that there is a thin layer of warmish water on top of the sea, below which the water is cold. At 50 fathoms science has found that the temperature of the water varies little more than a degree a year. At 100 fathoms there is no change in temperature at all. All the water under 500 fathoms, which means about 90 per cent. of the ocean, is colder than 40 degrees, while at the bottom the temperature is 32 degrees, or less just above the freezing point for salt water, which is 28½ degrees.

Where the heat of the sun cause much evaporation as in the Red Sea a large percentage of salt is in the water. Throughout the whole ocean there are about 35 pounds of salt to each 1000 pounds of sea water, about 5,000,000 cubic miles in all.

We speak generally of the "salt" of the ocean: actually we should say "salts," for in addition to sodium chloride the salt we use with our food, the sea contains the salts of many other metals.

Thirty-two of the 92 elements known to exist have been found in sea-water.

Every year 500,000,000 tons of salts are carried to the sea by the American rivers alone.

The water of the ocean is in constant circulation: it has its rivers, its lakes, its seas. These are due to the action of the sun, which brings changes in temperature, in wind, and in the density of the water.

The real wonders of the sea are far beneath its depths, for the sea contains much more life, both animal and vegetable, than is present elsewhere on the globe. These specimens of marine dwellers are of exotic forms and colourings and of weird physical characteristics such as are possessed by no animal or plant of the land and no bird of the air.

Divers have descended 200 feet and more into the sea. That they cannot descend further is due to the enormous pressure of the water, caused by its weight. If you have ever tried to "fetch bottom" when diving into a lake or river, you undoubtedly have experienced the effect of that pressure in a slight degree. Your ears have rung; there has seemed to be a crushing weight pressing on your head and chest.

Now, the painful, crushing pressure that would be felt 20 feet or so beneath the surface of a shallow inland stream of course is multiplied immensely at the bottom of the sea. Science has calculated the average pressure at the ocean basin to be about 2½ tons to the square inch. In the deeps it is five tons or more to the inch.

If you were to take an empty bottle, cork it, affix a weight to it and let it down into the sea depths on a line, what do you think would happen to the bottle? When you pulled it up again, you would find the cork driven in by the ocean pressure and the bottle filled with water. If you were to repeat the experiment with a hollow glass ball, this would be crushed, or the pressure of the sea would force water into the globe through imperceptible imperfections in the glass.

Many of the deep-sea animals resemble plants in their structure: they are exquisitely formed, and delicately coloured. Their bodies consist of slim, graceful "stems" surmounted by objects that seem to be full-blooming flowers. But these forms of life are not plants, but animals: for there is no vegetation at all in the depths of the sea.



## AN APPRECIATION OF MAHATMA GANDHI\*

By ROMAIN ROLLAND

THE essays that we offer to the public have been selected from the immense bulk of political writings Mahatma Gandhi published between 1919 and 1922.

Going through them we need not search for art and beauty of expression. Gandhi by no means denies the value of art, but his purpose was not art, at least in the restricted sense we usually assign to the word. What we have to deal with is action, action of the most powerful and of the newest type. If directing one's action with a firm hand, like the helmsman does the ship, towards the most difficult and the most glorious of goals be an art, then we can say that these writings belong to the highest art.

It is of the greatest importance to picture to oneself under what circumstances they appeared. The author has assumed the crushing responsibility of leading a people of three hundred million men of different races, religions, languages, mostly illiterate, almost always highly emotional, and ready to react violently at the slightest cause of excitement. He is to unify them, to train them, and to direct them; he has launched these masses into a movement unprecedented in history, which runs counter to the whole 'status quo' of political contemporary thought, and at a time when the slightest mistake in shunting can bring about frightful catastrophes. The frail-bodied but steel-willed Mahatma must have everything in his hand. He has to survey, watch, command. This is, therefore, no opportunity for polishing a literary work of art. That Gandhi never dreamt of publishing these articles in book-form is obvious. The Indian editors collected them during his imprisonment. It is not a book that we have before us but a heroic exploit in which the glaring sword of the last of the knights occasionally flashes.†

\* Introduction to "La Jeune Inde", (i.e., 'Young India', translated into French by Melle H. Hart, and published by 'Librairie Stock', Paris) by Romain Rolland. From No. 20 of 'La Revue Européenne', 1st October 1924.

† I do not apologize for the word 'sword' which I use in connection with the Indian Christ. As we shall see he himself claims for it all along his self-sacrificing crusade.

He writes, speaks, acts ceaselessly, indefatigably. Some of his listeners have told me the following:—The Mahatma speaks before audiences of thousands of men. He never raises his tone. He makes no gestures. He uses no oratorical expedient. He spares nothing. He begins his speeches without exordium, ends them without peroration. When he has said all he has to say—be it little or much—he stops and goes. The crowd then applaud him in roaring acclamations. Nobody can make himself heard as long as the tumult lasts. As for Gandhi, puckering his brows,—he hates applause and whatever creates sensation—he is found sitting in a corner, indifferent to the thundering jubilation around him. He does not hear. He has already started writing the article which will appear in the next issue of his weekly 'Young India'.

Let us listen, we the readers of beyond the seas. We shall overhear from afar, in the words that have cooled down, the Indian people a-roaring.

\* \* \*

Gandhi's thought seems so clear and so explicit, it has such a dislike for veils or reticences, for the 'half-said', for all that which far and nigh looks like compromise, that it would seem better to leave the public freely to enter into immediate contact with it. "I have always evolved the boldest of my plans in broad daylight," he writes. "I hate secrecy as a crime. I feel thankful to God that four years past I have come to regard secrecy as a sin, more especially in politics... Away with mental restriction...!"

I should all the more withdraw to the background, because I have recently expounded at full length the Mahatma's mission and the characteristics of his genius in a small volume which was translated into all the languages of Europe—and even three of the Indian vernaculars—and enjoyed a wide circulation. I mention this without conceit: The radiation of the 'Great Soul' behind which I was effacing myself, accounts for the universal diffusion of my pamphlet. And to-day again I ought to efface myself. But I have had occasion since the booklet

appeared to revise its contents by numerous talks and a regular correspondence with Indians of all parties, with European witnesses of India, even with the Mahatma himself, who has been released from jail. Reading over his articles in this translation, I have come to see some of his ideas in a new light; I have discerned their complexity, and often too, their different, superposed planes. The tragic character is still more accentuated. Be it well understood that all I write in this introduction can in no way replace the fuller study I have given elsewhere. I, therefore, refer the reader desirous of knowing the life of the Mahatma to my volume on Mahatma Gandhi.

These articles start on the New Year's day of the Gujarati calendar (October 1919), with an appeal to the highest moral energies of a nation. After a life-long succession of hard experience and passionate meditation—he is about fifty now—Gandhi decides to tell India his Gospel, to unfold to her the teaching of religious action which will open to his people the blood-besprinkled and glorious way, the '*Satyagraha*'. Whoever takes the trouble to understand what the Mahatma exactly means will see that he actually requires no less than the rising of a Christ-nation ready to sacrifice itself for its own salvation and that of mankind. Are we then in presence of a prophet bringing a new *Credo*?

Let us consider things a little more closely. We know with what aversion Gandhi rejects all supernatural titles; *they should be*, he says, *struck off from to-day's life-roll*. He is neither prophet nor saint. He is no Superman and does not want to be one. As far as he is concerned personally he may have his own credo and actually has one. But, "*humble servant of India and not aspiring to anything else*," he does not force any revealed truth upon her. He is searching and *experimenting* as to what, within the field of direct observation, might save her.

This word '*experimenting*' which constantly re-occurs in this book\* must be clearly explained. Its sense has not been grasped either by his followers or his adversaries because it was on both sides addressed to passionate men. And I myself have not laid enough emphasis upon it.

\* *Like a scientist I am experimenting on certain eternal truths of life... I have been experimenting since 1894 on myself and my friends... The region of India where this experiment (civil disobedience) is taking place... Am I not engaged in a useless experiment?...etc.*

Although India remains his main love, Gandhi's horizon extends far beyond the limits of his country. Through his European education and the twenty-three years he spent outside India, he has acquired a complete vision of the world of the present day, and like so many of us entertains a keen anxiety as to the future of mankind. Mankind, he thinks, is engaged in a most dangerous crisis, and nothing can tell us whether the most precious of its possessions will not perish in the process. This thought leaves him no rest, and while addressing India he is thinking of all men, whom India is to save. His very love for her, his pride in being an Indian, makes him assign to his own fatherland this fearful duty.

Now, the only means of salvation he has come to admit is '*Non-Violence*'. It is not the only one he ever conceived. As far as he is concerned he shall of course use no other. But he does not condemn violence in itself as applied to mankind of the present time, which is still so backward. We can even say that he formerly within a certain scope accepted to join in it, since he recruited troops for England. At any rate he allowed the attempt to be made. The only thing he requires from those who still resort to it, is that they should do so in good faith and without hypocrisy. Nevertheless his long experience has convinced him that this attempt is ruinous and leads humanity to disasters. Violence is a highway which unavoidably opens on an abyss. The only road left open to those who want to escape is Non-Violence.

Let us be plain. Gandhi does not say that it shall save mankind now. He does not even know whether to-day's mankind will be saved or not.\* If it is to be saved at all that can only be through *Non-Violence*. It is again an experiment, the last one. And it would be a desperate one if the alternative of coming back to the hands of the '*Divine Potter*' were not left to the Indian ascetic, always prone to seeking his refuge in the Infinite, so much more real to him than our world of struggles.†

\* \* \*

Let us come back to these points. The

\* *Non-Cooperation is perhaps in advance of our time. In this case India and the whole world will have to wait... But this does not affect its value.*

† *"My intense desire of losing myself in the Eternal and becoming a mere piece of clay in the hands of the Divine Potter so that my service being no longer hampered by my lower self may become more certain..."*



very texts of the Mahatma show their tragic intensity.

"I have no other pretension," he declares, at the outset of his campaign, (12 May 1920), "but to search for truth. I am a man who knows what is lacking in him who errs, and never hesitates to acknowledge it. I frankly confess that like the scientist, I am experimenting on certain truths of life, but I cannot pretend I am a scientist because I cannot give any evident proof of the scientific accuracy of my methods, nor of the tangible results of my experiments." \*

We have therefore not to deal with a Revelation, but rather with a social hypothesis, a law seen confusedly and not yet discovered, or rather recovered from the ancient Rishis, and which he compares with electricity.†

It is the Law of the force of *Satyagraha*.

On what fundaments does it rest? On numerous observations accumulated by Gandhi in the course of twenty-five years, on a surprising experiment performed in South-Africa, when an oppressed population extorted the rights that were its due, from the hands of mastery resolute to refuse them, and disposing of all the material forces such as the army, the courts, and a public opinion excited by the press. This experiment timidly started by a handful of sacrificers, ended in the formidable rush of forty thousand men and women courting arrest. And the victory was won without bloodshed, solely by a discipline of self-suffering.

What is then this new weapon which breaks tanks and cannons? *The sword of self-sacrifice*. (15 Dec. 1921).

Notice that word *sword*. Gandhi himself underlines it and refers to it over and over

\* And further, "I cannot see but indistinctly, as in a mirror... These are slow and painstaking methods which cannot always succeed..." (17 Nov. 1921).

† Read the extraordinary article of June 20, 1919. "Much time will pass till the Law of Love be acknowledged in international affairs... Till the day when a new energy is captured and directed, the managers of the former energies will call it idealistic and utopic... The electric engineer was called a maniac and madman in all places where steam locomotion prevailed, till the day came when labour was performed by means of the electric wires. It will require a long time till the wires of international Love are installed; but if we consider the recent events of Europe and Eastern Asia in their essentials, we see that the world gradually understands that the nations are subject to the same laws as the individuals, that mere strength is unable to solve problems, and that the economical sanction of Non-Cooperation is more efficient than armies and navies.

again. He opposes it to the *steel sword*, blade against blade. Who was it who spoke of crossed arms, of bleating acceptance?

Gandhi rests profoundly assured that England will not admit of the claims of India until the sword forces her. And this invincible sword is a nation offering herself to death.

What a mistake is it not therefore to connect this paroxysm of action with the ovine race of the passive pacifists! There is not a grain of passivity in the being of a Gandhi. All is *direct action*. *Nothing has ever been achieved on this earth without direct action*. Action is not only necessary for the triumph of a cause or an idea, it is even a benefit for him who resorts to it, an hygiene of the soul. It gives it its balance, the consciousness of its strength, and preserves it from bitter and fruitless rancour.\*

The remedy is indeed a heroic one. Still it is not anti-natural. Gandhi having first, as a sort of mystical scientist, detected in nature the law of suffering, prescribes it. "*Life comes from death. The seed must perish if wheat is to grow... The law of suffering is inherent in our being*." . . . All we can do is to take it upon us, and spare our enemies from it." *Progress depends upon the sun of suffering endured. The purer the suffering is, the greater the progress*". We must "*learn how to suffer voluntarily and find joy in it. Freedom can only be acquired at that price*."

We see now whether the Mahatma is a weakener of energies or not. On the contrary, he submits energy to the hardest disciplines that were imposed upon a people. But at the same time he breathes into that people the power to accept them with jubilation. He exalts it. He strains human energy to the extreme limit where the bow-string seems near breaking. But where shall not the arrow reach when the string is strained in that way!

We understand that such an archer of Non-Violence, the sword-bearer of self-sacrifice, should feel no contempt for those who sincerely advocate violence, while still condemning their error. I have quoted in my pamphlet

\* "By training the weak in using direct action... I give him the feeling that he is strong and able to defy physical force. He feels enlivened by the struggle, he recovers his self-consciousness, and knowing that he will find the remedy in himself, he ceases nourishing the spirit of vengeance in his bosom." Cf. The letter to the Viceroy. "Non-cooperation is," he says, "a form of direct action," and the only derivative to violence."



the striking passages where he advises *violence in preference to cowardice*. He goes further and thinks that *"those who believe in violence should learn how to handle arms."* For this is another experiment to which the world has got used since centuries. If you accept it do your best to carry it on carefully and exhaustively; then only would it be a reasonable, true and frank method. We are not mistaken; 'reasonable' is the word applied to violence by this Rishi of 'Non-Violence'! Which amounts to saying that if he comes to reject it, it will never be through weak-heartedness, fear of the means it uses, but rather through the logical certitude that it does not reach, is incapable of reaching the assigned goal, i. e., the thundering results obtained by *Non-violence under its dynamic conditions when the whole soul resists the tyrant's will. A single individual acting up to this fundamental law could defy the entire power of an unjust empire...and finally bring about the fall of that empire or its repentance.*

Let us add to this that while blowing this trumpet of Jericho Gandhi simply resumes an experiment of the Rishis who *having used arms, realized their uselessness and, greater geniuses than Newton, greater warriors than Wellington, discovered and taught to the world the Law of Non-Violence.*

\* \* \*

Non-Violence is therefore a battle. And as in all battles—however great the leader may be—the issue remains doubtful. The experiment Gandhi is about to risk is terrible, terribly dangerous. And he knows it, he who fears the wrath of the Indian masses more than the tyranny of the English. *"The essence of experimenting is daring."* Gandhi has learnt energy from the West and wants to inoculate India with it. *"No general worthy of the name gives up the battle for fear of defeat or errors."* He collects himself, meditates, prepares, and dares. Gandhi dares. His daring goes very far. In August 1920 he refuses to wait for a votation of the Congress which represents the Nation, and lets loose the experimental action of Non-Cooperation. *"When you have faith in a certain action, waiting for the Congress to decide would be sheer folly. One should on the contrary act and demonstrate the efficacy of one's action so as to make the nation decide to adopt it. The best way to serve the nation"* is sometimes to act contrary to its opinion.

And if he errs? Well, let everything fall back on him! He may be crushed. Well understood, if he acts without the assent of

the Congress, it will not be in the name of the Congress but at his own risk. He shall bear the whole responsibility of his defeat.

*"I would deem myself unworthy of taking a cause in hand if I feared not to be able to lead it to success... But the same doctrine which induces one to work in a detached spirit implies indefatigable search for truth, the retracing of one's steps when one has erred, and voluntary withdrawal as soon as one discovers one's own unworthiness."*

It is with no light heart that he contemplates this emergency.

*"Suppose", he writes, "that in spite of my hopes none of my expectations is fulfilled, shall I not feel that I am no longer fit to lead the battle? Shall I not then humbly kneel at the feet of my Maker and beg him to release me from my useless body, to make of me an instrument fit for better service?"*

We can imagine his secret perplexity, his excruciating anguish. The public confession which followed the outburst of Chattri-Chaura unveils before us an hour of utter agony. Still he recovers. He never yields. He knows but too well that he cannot. The ship about to sink cannot do without its pilot. He is the pilot. He has to stay at his post. He must go on daring. Not for India alone is his redoubtable experiment valuable, but for all human races. He borrows from an unknown Rishi of yore the beautiful phrase:

*Yatha pinde tatha brahman-ite.*

(As it is with the ball of clay, so it is with the whole world.)

He experiments on the ball of clay. And indeed he is not blind as to the limits of his own power. But let him do his utmost!...

So he holds out his hand to the whole world for mutual help. To the English. To the Christians. To his very enemies. Enemies? He has none. *"To every European living in India,"* he writes, *"Dear friend."* He appeals to Europeans. He exchanges affectionate letters with Christians. He does not fight against them. He works for them, for Christianity even which Europe is betraying.

\* \* \*

I have endeavoured to bring to light the character of the battle fought and the importance of the stake. By studying the book one will get a clearer notion of the genius with which this *"practical idealist,"* as he likes to term himself, is realizing his great scheme. He possesses that gift so rare among passionate believers, of reading in the thoughts

of others. He is endowed with the 'poly-psychological' faculty, i.e., the art of addressing everyone in his own tongue; and by his correct intelligence of the different natures of men, he can appeal to the better self of each one in his very circle of understanding and action. This is the reason why this man, who embraces in his heart all mankind, can speak with the Sikhs the language of patriotism, and teach those who want to take up arms how to use them for their country's sake.\*

His task, as he remarks in a letter to Tagore, consists in *changing the sense of the old phrases nationalism and patriotism by widening them.*

Therefore he does not even try to realize *absolute, perfect Non-violence*, which is his personal creed; he limits himself to Non-violence under the *restricted form, the only form possible in our times, the form of political Non-violent Non-co-operation*, a coherent method of peaceful and progressive revolution which must lead to *Swaraj*, i.e., to the *Home-Rule* of India.†

Each of his articles is like an order in a battle, the sense of which he explains either to his lieutenants, or to the main body of his army, or even to his enemies, for he does not think it useless to appeal to the common

\*Read the curious article '*My Inconsistency*', (23 Feb. 1921), in which he explains his recruiting campaign of 1914. His faith in '*Ahimsa*' (Non-violence) is, he says, absolute. But most men do not believe in *Ahimsa*; they believe in violence. And still they refuse to fulfil their duty according to the spirit of violence, their national and patriotic duty. "*I explained it to them*," Gandhi writes. "*I also put before them the doctrine of Ahimsa and left them the choice. And they did choose. I am not sorry for it. Even under Swaraj, (i.e., an Independent India) I would not hesitate in advising those who want to take up arms to fight for their country.* Therefore when he cannot impart his faith to others he helps them to clear their own faith, which purifies (comparatively speaking) their passionate instincts.

† Likewise with respect to his well-known book on '*Hind Swaraj*' (*Home-Rule of India*), *I would warn the reader against thinking that I am to-day aiming at the Swaraj described therein. I know that India is not ripe for it.....I am individually working for the self-rule pictured therein. But to-day my corporate activity is undoubtedly devoted to the attainment of Parliamentary Swaraj in accordance with the wishes of the people of India.*" Here again this idea evolving on several planes, this subtle sense of duties of different natures unequally distributed on this earth. This is certainly in agreement with his Hindoo conception of castes and distinct '*dharmas*'.

sense and the honesty of those with whom he is at war.\*

And nothing is so admirable as the propriety with which he allies in his controversies moderation of manners, collectedness and perfect courtesy of expression, with absolute frankness and implacable assurance.†

This mild and polite man exercises on his armies a dictatorial authority. Never before has a leader of masses, idolized by them, spoken of them with more contempt. There are such of his expressions as the Coriolanus of Shakespeare would not have disavowed. "*I am sick of the adoration of the multitude. I would feel surer that I am in the right if they spat at me.... It is better to be called an autocrat than to seem to yield to the influence of the multitude so as to win its approval. It is not sufficient to protest against general opinion. When important issues are at stake chiefs have to act contrarily to the opinion of the mass, if this opinion does not recommend itself to their reason.*"

But this heroic disdain betrays more true love of the people than the interested flatteries of the demagogues. Gandhi believes that a strong will can transform a nation provided it does not shrink from forcing upon her the hardest sacrifices. And he imposes the most vigorous moral discipline upon her—that same discipline whose relaxation causes nowadays the weakness of all revolutionary forces.—and was at its best the strength of those of the past. Cromwell's soldiers must have heard such orders of the day as those of the Mahatma enjoining, e.g. the *necessity of humility*, bodily and moral cleanliness, respect of womanhood, or forbidding drink, stigmatizing the '*sin of secrecy*', even less speaking the half-truth. And the genial Protector of the English Republic knew no less than Gandhi the mystical resources of man. He appeals to them, and it is partly to them that he owes his victories.

\* \* \*

I may be blamed for insisting in this introduction to Gandhi's articles on their combative character.

I wanted to clear a misunderstanding which tends to include Gandhi within the ranks of enervated pacifists. If Christ was the prince of peace, Gandhi is not unworthy

\* "*To every Englishman living in India. I feel almost inclined to propose to you to join with me in destroying a system which has caused you to sink so low, you and us.....*" (13th July 1921).

† See specially '*The Ethics of Destruction*,' 1st Sept. 1921.

of this beautiful name. But the peace that either of them is bringing to men is not the peace of passive acceptance, but the peace of active love and self-sacrifice. I made bold to prove that there is less difference between the Non-Violence of the Mahatma and the Violence of the Revolutionaries on the one hand, than between the heroic Non-Acceptation and the servile Paralysis of the eternal Accepting ones—this cement of all conservatisms, 'concrete' of all tyrannies—on the other.

Only a few weeks hence, after a long debate in the French Chamber, the public powers, poorly checked by an opposition mediocre in number and mediocre in thought, refused to include the Conscientious Objectors in the remission of penalties inflicted on the military delinquents, and set as a limit of their amnesty, that it was to be applied only to men who had fought.

Politicians wear blinkers. They do not suspect that in our world there are many ways of fighting, and the bravest man is no longer the one who offers himself at the

front of national armies. They are pleased in their ignorance. Just let them see before them what future is being prepared: revolutionary struggles, class struggles, race struggles! And the highest of all, the struggles of the souls, the war of the Soul!

We offer them the sight of that other fight which, from the shores of India will spread by and by over all the earth. Let them disparage it if they like, dishonour it if they can! Rome tried that game with the first Christians. But a day came when she had to compose with them. "*In hoc signo vinces* . . ."—True also that later on she bought them off.

But this is not our point. As a professional historian used to watching the flux and re-flux of the great tides of the Spirit, I have pictured the one which is arising from the heart of the East. And this tide shall not recede before it has washed over the shores of Europe.

July, 1924.

(Translated from the French) by Fernand Beniot for *The Modern Review*.

## THE OLD OLD STORY

By SANTA CHATTERJEE

(20)

KARUNA had nothing at all in the way of dealings with the Post Office since her arrival at Rajgunge. She had shaken off her relations with the outside world for a few days and had gone in for a soul festival at the end of which she had not found any opportunities to pick up the old bonds anew. But when it was the outer world which broke into her dreams, how could she help taking notice of it?

Since Karuna's arrival, no letters had come to the school house. Only Ronu was fond of correspondence and he went to the Post Office for his letters. When Suprakash went away Karuna thought that the post peon might chance be ignorant of the existence of people at the school house. Naturally he would not know what to do with such letters might come for them. As a result of this thing, Ronu was sent the very next day to

the Post Office to enquire after letters that might be awaiting a solution to their ownership. The whole thing was done with an air of doing a good turn to the Post Office.

Days followed days but no letters came. Karuna began to fret for nothing. What is known as "Reason" could hardly be the motive of anybody writing to her. At least she was not aware of anyone having any reason for writing to her. Still she remained restless from morning till night. Every day the post-man would pass their house turning her hopes into nothing; but Karuna would not give up hoping; "Maybe the postman would come back when he discovered the letter he had left undelivered due to oversight." She would go to the door, time without number, so that if the letter came, no one else would get it before her. No one had given her any hopes nor made any promises but the hope never ceased to dominate her whole being.



Her eyes filled up with tears at nightfall because her unreasonable expectations remained unfulfilled. So far she had been very particular as to analysing her rights and obligations minutely ; she made thorough investigations every time. She thought she was over-stepping the limits of one thing or another ; but now she was going headlong into womanly tears and had thrown down all reason and principle. She wept the more because the person for whom she wept had not even given her the right to weep for him.

They had that afternoon off. The village tank was almost deserted. One or two widows were hurrying home after taking a second bath on account of something unknown. A couple of children were holding a competition for underwater swimming in order to get through the dull hours of the day. Their childish faces would be seen one moment floating on the water like lotus buds, the next moment they would vanish under water. Karuna could not concentrate in her work, so she was standing near the window gazing absently at the playful children. Aruna came up to her evidently to display her *toilette* to her sister and said, "Must women bear the burden of all guilt because they have to be proved guilty. People say that girls are sloppy. Good gracious me ! If you are looking for slop, go to a man ! Are not men just the limit ! What posers ! When Suprakash babu was here, wasn't he great in his display of sentiment ? He was nearly blinded by its storms. And now that he is in Calcutta, he cannot even drop us a line to say 'how do'."

Aruna had fondly expected that her *Didi* would agree with her and say something to that effect ; but unfortunately Karuna only smiled faintly and said nothing. Aruna said, "Funny ! Have all of them joined the same stable ? Abinash babu was ere now kicking himself sore on account of you ; he also seems to have gone out of the civilised world. You are also to blame. Ever since you came to Rajgunge, you have not written to any one. You have not written even to Satalaldi, have you ? I have not got an army of admirers, or I would choke the Post Office with letters."

Karuna said, "Well, wait a little, let me put everything to right at the school, then I shall do the letter writing. Other people are hardly to blame ; they do not even know my address ; so how can you expect them to write to me."

Eonu entered the room with a letter in

his hand. He had overheard the last portion of Karuna's speech, and said, "Surely there is at least one who knows your address, See here is a letter for you."

Karuna blushed deep at the sight of the letter ; but all her blood seemed to ebb away from her face, leaving it a deathly white when she saw the handwriting. She took the envelope but did not open it.

Aruna got restless and said, "Let us see ; who has written it ?"

Karuna restrained herself with an effort and said, "Oh, this is an important letter, you need not see it." So saying Karuna went to the next room. Aruna made a face in order to show her indifference and dispersed.

That the letter was not from him whose letter she had been expecting for such a long time was quite clear to Karuna as soon as she looked at it. But so far she had been able to pass her days somehow without his letters. Why then did she now feel a storm rising in her hope-stricken heart ? She had been no doubt swayed by mixed feelings of joy and sorrow, but she never knew how much of it was sorrow and how much joy. What was happening to her now ? She could not open the letter, fearing that the fire of furious indignation which it contained would enter the sorrowful quiet of her heart and create havoc in it. She was trying to avoid its fury by keeping the letter unopened just as children shut their eyes in the face of impending danger. But such methods do not succeed as a matter of fact. So, Karuna opened the letter and commenced to read it. Why, it was not clear ; but the tone of the letter did not do justice to the rudeness of Abinash. Had she seen this letter under different circumstances, it would have brought smiles to her face ; for the incongruity was great, but now, it only brought tears to her eyes. Abinash had written :

"Would not Karuna show any more *karuna* \* to a wretched man ? I do not know the nature of the crime I have committed for which I have to hear about you from others. Have I not won even the right of getting firsthand information about you, after all my striving ? You left me without giving me the slightest ideas as to your whereabouts, that I might find my way to you. How long would you keep me suspended between heaven and earth like

\* Karuna means compassion.

*Trisanku* ? \* What more can I tell you ? You know I have not the power of rendering my thoughts into beautiful lyrics, but I have expressed my thoughts to you through my deeds so far. Give me an answer, I entreat you, to my question. If you will not, say it in so many words, say it in one. That will suffice for me."

Karuna's eyes welled up with tears as she read this pathetic letter. Oh Lord, what a letter ! Abinash, the rude and rough Abinash, was much better than this. Why didn't he roar at her for her secrecy, why didn't he scatter her all by right of his loan to her ? Karuna had seen the light of hope in him, when she was groping in the murky shadow of death that night. She has been ungrateful and he had a right to thunder at her and strike her down with vengeance. Why didn't he do so, instead of becoming a beggar after remaining a giver for such a long time ? Karuna's tears knew no bounds. All her sorrows, the sorrows of losing and finding what she desired and what she did not, became one and streamed out in tears.

But what answer could she give to this letter ? The days passed. In the day, she would defend herself with a thousand duties and keep the webs of sorrows away from herself, but at night, in the lonely darkness, her sorrows would return stronger than ever and smother her in their merciless folds. Even her dreams were strange medleys. Sleeping or awake, she shed tears the whole night long. Even the joy which she had been used to feeling in desiring things without the hope of getting them was denied her. She would feel in her joy a strange mixture of fear.

About a week passed. The letter for which she had made expectancy the chief item in her days work had lost its place because of the fearful agitation that an unexpected letter had stirred up in her life. She was trying to shove what she wanted away from her for fear of what she did not want at all. Whenever her soul would yearn for the desire of her heart, she would pray fervently, "Let it not come ! Let it not come !" Yet Karuna knew in her heart that she was aiming at the impossible. Fortune had not given her what she wanted for a time long enough. She could not keep up her consistency much longer.

\* Indian Mythology. *Trisanku* had to live midway between heaven and earth owing to peculiar circumstances.

She was returning after the school hours, when she saw the postman in the courtyard. She was strangely thrilled. She could not move up and take the letter. She stood where she was. The village postman was very much astonished at this indifference and he went away after almost thrusting the letter into her hand.

She did not require to open the letter to discover the writer. She stood motionless awhile, then put it in her bosom and went back to the lonely school room. She dared not go to her own room. She took up a red ruled ledger book and began to read the letter. The woman's eyes saw easily that the letter had a message in it which was not clearly written out. How could she ever miss the meaning ? Had she been fretting so long to learn the mystery of confessions without words ? Her heart filled with intense joy, but the hidden sorrow which was embedded in it like a thorn, caused it to bleed again and her tears began to flow. Her wounded vanity woke up at the touch of this long delayed success. Where was he so long during all the time that Karuna was passing in tears, if he wanted so much to make others think of him ? Had she got this when she was praying endlessly for a few lines from him, she would have had a taste of unmixed pleasure ; but cruel man ; he would not give her that !

After she had gone through the letter about four or five times, she noticed the date. It was written ten or twelve days ago. Karuna was astonished. She thought out that it was written at least four days before Abinash wrote his letter to her. She then realised that there was after all such a thing as fate. She read the letter over several times, wept and finally came home late in the evening.

Aruna came and said, "Didi, what have you been doing there till this hour ? See how flushed you have become in the stuffy heat ! You are not ill, are you ?"

"Yes, I have got a terrible headache," saying this Karuna went upstairs.

"Is that why you doctored yourself by sitting in a stuffy room for hours ?" Aruna felt disgusted and went to the kitchen to do all the work alone.

Karuna thought much but she could not answer Suprakash's letter. At last she thought something and sent off a letter to Satadal. That she had too much work to do and could hardly find time even to breathe, let alone write letters to people, was the

main idea which she tried to convey to Satadal in her letter. She also asked for news of all the relatives, friends and acquaintances of Satadal.

The answer came in time. What news she had expected from a hermit like Satadal is difficult to say, but that she had written to her in order to be able to see even a faint ray of light in the darkness that surrounded her is more or less a certainty. But when she opened the letter she found something which she could never even dream of. Satadal had written, "You are a friend, so I am telling you a thing which you must not divulge on any account. Do you remember Murala Dutta, the pretty girl who talks and behaves like a *Feringhi* \*. The one who came to our first party with you in a green Benares silk saree. Do you remember her? She also sings, not badly. Do you know, there is a rumour of her marriage with *Chhotamama* (Suprakash)? Don't you think it funny? You have seen *Chhotamama*; do you think such a westernised woman could be a good match for him? Are there no other women in this world! I wouldn't mind if she married *Baramama* (Abinash) but this is ridiculous. Of course, *Chhotamama* is a rare type of man and if the girl is possessed of a good heart she will try to change her ways to suit his taste. I often think of asking him about this marriage, but I do not know why for several days he has been frightfully morose. Let alone laughing and merrymaking, he would not even encourage conversation. He spends the whole day outside and when he comes home, any attempt on my part to talk to him at once gets an, "Oh, I have got a headache" from him and he goes off again. I do not know what is wrong with him. Far from displaying gladness at the prospect of marriage, as he should, he behaves just the other way. I cannot even mention the thing to him. Maybe he does not like the girl. Well, in that case he ought to say so. Nobody will commit suicide if he did not marry her. *Baramama* has grown worse in his temper; I dare not speak a word to him. This much he has told me himself, so I know of it. The wife, whose mere name brings such an atmosphere into the house, must be something awful when she would come in person. Anyhow, please do not tell anyone about this. I have blurted out all my secrets".

It is difficult to say exactly how she felt after reading the above. Her heart suddenly seemed to stop beating. She could not quite realise the nature of the wound, that this unexpected letter inflicted on her heart, like an arrow shot by the illusive Meghanada \* from behind the clouds. She was doubting if the earth was the same earth as before. Her senses were becoming deadened. But she could not remain like this for long. She got up, as if to see for herself what part she had been assigned in the drama of life. Even in this sorrow she felt like smiling as she thought, "Oh thou eternal Joker, what fresh joke is this?" She remembered the days when the sorrows of her thirsty youth came into her life night after night and day after day like the results obtained by the Divine Mathematician as he worked out a sum in recurring decimal. Had variety come into her colourless life after all and in this peculiar garb! Let it! All dramas have an end, and this could not be an exception.

(21)

The day after they had been to the Dattas. Abinash suddenly asked Suprakash while they were having their lunch, "Well, you have not said anything about how you liked the people you have met last night."

That the two brothers did not as a rule indulge in conversation of this nature need hardly be pointed out. For the last few days Suprakash has been finding enough food to feed his astonishment upon, in the strange behaviour of his brother, so he did not answer his question but kept silent after acknowledging it with a smile.

Abinash said, "How did that girl Murala sing?" Suprakash was for ever a champion of music so he said, "Beautiful, effortless and sweet as bird-song."

Abinash seemed to like the answer and followed it up; "Oh yes, the singer herself is as innocent and sweet-natured as a bird; don't you think so?"

Suprakash felt a bit shy and said, "It is not possible to know a person in one day."

When Abinash left the place Suprakash asked Satadal, "I say, what's up? Whose bride is it that we are in search of?"

Satadal said, "Yours probably." Aren't you a poet!" Suprakash cried, "Good heavens!" and went away laughing. When he

\* European or Eurasian. A term used generally to express contempt.

\* Meghanada was a demon warrior who fought against the divine Ramchandra. He had a knack of fighting from behind the clouds.



was alone in his room he laughed the more he thought of it. He remembered the depth and sincerity of Karuna's eyes. Murala's voice silently acknowledged defeat to those eyes. He felt ashamed of his stupid thoughts and went and stood by the window, maybe in order to shake off these thoughts. He started humming a tune to himself as he gazed presently at the moss-covered roof of a distant and dilapidated building. It was something which Murala had sung. He smiled again but not for long. When the tune and the roof of the ruins did not please him any more he picked up a railway time-table and threw himself upon his bed. The glaring rays of the sun came through the window and fell on his face, but he felt too lazy to get up and shut the window. He went on turning over the leaves of the time-table. Even those leaves seemed to contain the germs of smile. The sun was on the wane, when a thinnish and fair young man burst into the room most unceremoniously. He had a black broadcloth coat on. He snatched away the time-table from Suprakash's hand and cried, "Holy Mahabharat! \* What is wrong with you? Lying in your bed and seeing dreams of joy in the pages of a time-table! My dear lad, we are medical students and can diagnose diseases from their symptoms. It is no use trying to kid us. Come now, tell me the ditch you have gone head over heels into!" Suprakash sat up and said, "What a repetition of the historical tale of the fox that had lost its tail! Just because you have taken to ditches, others have got to follow your noble example! Who else is so brainy except our beloved Mani!"

The young man slapped Suprakash hard on his back and said, "Oh yes thou chief of saints! I have met a few saintly cats who don't take milk or meat before you. Just stop your lecturing. Abinashda† was an ideal bachelor, wasn't he? Now what is all this we hear about his old-age idealism? It is quite easy to let off torrents of fine words when others are concerned; as to yourselves you may commit seven murders and go scot free!"

Suprakash did not understand the innuendo about Abinashda's old-age idealism, but he could not very well ask an outsider about his own brother, it seemed so mean to him. He had been out for a time quite long enough to give his misogynist brother sufficient

time to change his views; but he did not know anything about whatever his brother might have done. Suprakash did not say anything in answer. He only said, "Oh, why do you lose your temper? Aren't you an expert at discovering all sorts of things which do not exist? Then why do you get annoyed and use your lung capacity to win your case? Come along, put some ice on your head and let us go out."

Manindra\* went out with him, but inwardly grew restless for gossip. They strolled about in the Maidan† for a while and got hoarse and tired through shrieking at a football match. Manindra dragged Suprakash under a tree, sat down and said, "Let us sit down and wait till the crowd dispersed. Now that you have come back after emancipating sorrow-stricken humanity for such a long time, let us talk about homely things for a while. That would not reduce your burden of piety."

Suprakash lay flat on the grass and said, "All right, here I am, sprawling like any other homely soul. Now fire away. Night duty, curtain lectures, society scandal and all the rest of your blood-curdling tales and delicious sketches; serve me with them recklessly and like one who feels a wave of genuine abandon creeping over his heart - shall swallow everything without amendment."

Manindra enlarged for a time upon his own frankness and Suprakash's hypocrisy, then went into the main item on the programme. He said, "You see, an overdose is bad in everything. Abinashda had developed a taste before which even princesses trembled. Let it be a princess, a premier's daughter, a Padmini § or a Nurjehan † the learned doctor waived everyone aside. At last, Oh irony of fate, he had to fall in the trap laid by a clever old clerk! Don't get angry, you are a friend of my childhood, that's why I am telling you all this; tell me, what did he gain by this?"

Suprakash heard everything, said nothing and smiled a little. Mani simply blazed, "Look here, I can't stand your posing at all! I shall tell tales about people and earn my sins in full while you pose a regular lamb of the All Saints Brigade and grin like some demented member of the zoo! I won't have that!"

\* Mani is a shortened form of Manindra.

† A very large open field in Calcutta.

§ † Two of the most famous beauties in Indian History.

\* One of India's sacred epics.

† da is a shortened form of dada or elder brother. Here used by courtesy.

Suprakash smiled and said, "Then what do you want? Shall I join you in the chorus?"

Mani cooled down, apparently without any reason and said, "You have seen the girl, haven't you? I don't see where she is so extraordinarily beautiful. Maybe we have lost our aesthetic sense in the dissection room, but you are a poet; tell me, is she beautiful?"

Suprakash said, "As there are so many she's in this world, isn't it rather unfair on my poetic powers to ask me to divine out this particular one and give an opinion on her charms?"

Mani said, "Oh, chuck it! Don't pose a fool. I am asking you, how you like old man Tarini's granddaughter. Has it gone in this time?"

It was darkening at that time. Suprakash was lying on the grass face downwards. As soon as he heard these words, he felt as if some one had struck him with a hammer on his breast. He had not expected to hear anything like this. Although Manindra could not see in the dark how red he had gone in the face, Suprakash turned his head away from him. The world did not reel and disappear from before his eyes; but he felt as one does when a beautiful water-colour is sprayed with ink by some savage. His beautiful world lost its charms at the touch of these defiling words. He wanted to push all beauty and charm away from his vision.

Mani asked him again, "Why, are you silent? Can't you answer a plain question?"

Suprakash woke up and dragged himself out of his reverie. He said, "What shall I say? You have said everything."

Mani condescended, "Yes, but haven't you some opinion of your own?"

Suprakash said, "I think it is all right."

Mani criticised his view, "Goodness me! I see, you are already in the whirlpool. Had it been any one else, you would have brought out a thousand measuring rods, Western, Eastern and your own."

Suprakash was getting fed up with Mani's ceaseless chattering. He wanted to send him away by force and arrange his disorderly thoughts in peace. He had mixed up the real and the imaginary and in trying to hide his mixing up from others he was getting more and more involved every minute. Yet he would not give up his game of social hide and seek; he said, "You see, one can discuss imaginary persons, but I am not an ass big

enough to make a gentlewoman the subject of such conversation."

Mani cried, "Heavens! You seem to have developed into a second edition of Vivekananda! \* We must not talk to you again."

But his words did not cease flowing. They came in large volumes, but haphazardly. Tarini, Karuna and Abinash; these three names were repeatedly coming to his ears, in what connection Suprakash did not hear. He was gazing at the distant lights of the department stores on the Chowringhee. † For the last few days a flood of unreasonable happiness was rising higher and higher every day. What a subterranean cavity has opened to day which has sucked his heart dry of all happiness! Only a coating of mud remained to show where the flood had been. In the dark tears appeared in his eyes and damped the grass. His heart was full of dry bitterness, but a strange sadness squeezed it painfully to wring a few drops of tear out of it. He could not find a reason for the painful trick which the cruel Dramatist has played on him by making him the hero of a tragedy. It was his vanity that he could laugh at the jokes of the divine Joker, but this joke had left him without a smile, nor could he rise in rebellion and his only chance seemed to lie through acknowledgment of defeat in tears.

Mani suddenly gave him a push and said, "He! Ho, have you gone to sleep. The evening air is no doubt invigorating. You are a bother. Get up! Let us go home."

Suprakash got up and said, "You go, I have got an appointment this way."

They got up and parted.

When Mani had gone a long way, Suprakash returned and sat down under a tree. The leaves were glistening in the light of a gas lamp which was not far away. The light filtered through the leaves and painted the ground with a quaint design in shadows. Suprakash turned his back to the lamp and sat down. The road lights slowly wiped out the receding light of the sun. Suprakash wanted that he could pass all his days like this, lazily and in the company of the playful shadows. The sorrows which have no definite shape in the day develop an intensity at night which is bitingly painful. The more

\* A great leader of the *Swami* movement. A saintly man

† Calcutta's most important thoroughfare. A centre of fashion and display,

his heart felt all kinds of known and unknown sorrows, the more he wanted relaxation. The night grew, the homewardbound evening walkers looked suspiciously at this man who did not seem to be conscious of the lateness of the hour. He sat up and gathered his wits together after a strange bearded face had been poked too near his eyes. He laughed even in his sorrow, "Was this how he was going to laugh at fate? Why was he breaking down like a schoolboy? Why, what has happened to him? Nothing at all! He had not got anything, then, whence arose this sorrow of losing? He could not convince his mind with logic, so he got up and went home. The whole night he dreamt disconnectedly and his dreams lacked sense or meaning. In one night he got and lost what generally occupies a whole life-time.

His dream-tears had washed his living sorrows clean and in the morning light his face appeared resplendent with a smile that had been washed with tears and touched with purity. He could then truthfully say that his giving had found its reward in itself and the quiet in his sorrowful heart was its proof. But the shame of being found out tinged his young face with red every now and then. Why did he write to her? Why couldn't he wait for a few days before risking his secret?

When he was trying to find pleasure in his pain by developing a feeling of giving without desires of getting any returns, when he was defying the whimsical conduct of God even then Fate started a new move to baffle all his efforts. He had just begun to criticise his erstwhile guilty self from the heights where he had put himself now and whence he could look at his joys and sorrows from a distance; the difficulties had not yet disappeared when fresh troubles came and pulled him down from his high pedestal.

There is no doubt something great in giving without taking, but nothing like it in taking without giving. As if with the express purpose of burdening him with taking and of depriving him of his glory, a host of things invaded his life. The Dattas never got tired of inviting him. If he hesitated, Abinash looked hurt and he had to go. He could not relish all these feasts at a time when he was longing to develop into a species of ascetic which thrived solely on giving. He found the gaiety of Bijali and Murala a bit forced, maybe, due to his own lack of high spirits. He thought they were wasting their lives on petty pleasures,—were they

the representatives of the progressive women of Bengal? When he was a devotee at the temple of happiness, he would have pardoned, or what is more likely, gladly accepted, their flippant conduct as sincere exuberance; but now he was finding only shallowness and thoughtlessness in them. As a general rule Murala and Bijali were rather particular about their dress, and the presence of a guest naturally increased their efforts in that direction. They were ever alert, even in the midst of sentimental songs and excited conversation, to see that their hair was in the right place, that the folds of their dress did not stray, that they were carrying themselves in the best way and so on. When one of them defaulted, the other tried to make her conscious of it, by signs. And Suprakash noticed everything like a critic, maybe, because he was there against his wish. The over-attention, which the two girls paid to personal charms, was like the death of all charms to Suprakash. The more he disliked them the more he remembered the simple charms of his village fairy Karuna. Not that Murala and Bijali did not notice his displeasure, but they took things wrongly and tried to please him by increased doses of what he disliked.

Suprakash was thinking of going out on another tour for a time. That afternoon Abinash was doing some work in a half-darkened room (in order to keep the heat out). All round him were disorderly mass of papers in baskets. Two half-opened drawers were making, as it were, frantic efforts to give out their secrets. Suddenly Suprakash came in after throwing the front door wide open. Abinash blinked, knit his brows and looked up. The sudden blast of glaring sun light made things rather uneasy for his weak and spectacled eyes. Suprakash came in and said without ceremony, "Dada, I am going out on a steamer trip for a few days, I want some money."

Abinash moved his eyes away from the sun and said, "Why, haven't you been just back from a long tour? Why, then, are you making all this hurry?"

Suprakash said, "I cannot stand Calcutta, it is sort of playing on my mind, I want to get out into the open."

Abinash shouted, "Can't you speak in simple Bengali? I can't understand all these great ideas coming from small boys! Playing on your mind! What mind? Tell me what is wrong, I shall give you some medicine."



Suprakash smiled and said, "Nothing is wrong, I only want to go out of Calcutta."

Abinash gave one of the drawers a tug and said, "All right, go where you like; don't talk in riddles! Take this and go."

As the light got into the drawer, something reflected it back. Suprakash leaned forward in curiosity. It was a golden pendant with the inscription "Karuna" upon it. Before Abinash could look up again, Suprakash had seen it. Abinash quickly closed that drawer, opened another and gave Suprakash a few currency notes.

Suprakash went straight to his room with the money. The pendant had rekindled his shame and sorrow. The only meaning which he could ascribe to Karuna's pendant, which Abinash had kept in his drawer as something dear and near to him, mysteriously reduced the glory of his own selflessness. His lifelong training was pointing out to him that there was no glory in giving where he had no right to give. The letter which he had written so joyfully and with so much pride had become the cause of his greatest shame. There was hardly anything to be ashamed of, but he was almost paralysed with shame, thinking of the probable meaning that Karuna would attach to his letter. Suprakash went away from Calcutta the very next day after adding this further item to his list of burdens.

(22)

The farther Suprakash went from the crowded harbour of Calcutta, the more he found clearer skies and purer waters instead of the usual pall of smoke and liquid filth. With these he found an increasing buoyancy in his heart. During the last few days, his reason, imagination and natural joyfulness had all become twisted and deformed. His vision had developed a narrowness and morbidity unusual in him.

He had never been used to passing his time with himself as his sole companion; but the more he saw of the open sky, the trees on the banks of the Ganges, the dilapidated flights of steps leading into it, the river-side, villages and their field-paths, the more he thought that the last few days at Calcutta had been days of pure selfishness. What did he pass his days with? Only his puny self! So long as the wind was blowing in his favour he had seen joy in creation; but no sooner did it go against him and he had to turn back, than he suddenly saw the unclean condition of his heart. That is why he was looking for wounds wherever he went. Was

this the mind he had been proudly carrying about so long? He used to preach the beauties of the creation, but, it seems, he had never seen the creation with fully open eyes. He had told others that it was not within the powers of a man to understand the endless range of mysteries, laws and bonds that creation presented to men; why, then, was he fretting because he had not been able to see through the unreasonable appearance of only one thing? Had he not preached that the saddest soul is that which employs all its energy to keep its sorrows alive? Then why is he himself so keen on storing up his sorrows? The wet breeze of the Ganges was caressing his being like the touch of some affectionate friend and soothing it into peacefulness, the endless sky was increasing the range of his soul; he was not feeling any satisfaction in remaining in the narrow recesses of his own sorrowful heart, he did not want to stain the glory of a sacrifice with tears of weakness; he would wipe his eyes and go out into the world of service like a brave man. He would weep no more.

Suprakash came back after seven days with a thousand brave resolutions in his heart. Old environment was again conspiring to sway him, but he was alive to the danger and on guard.

The day after he had come back, Abinash sent for him. When Suprakash went to him, Abinash said, you see Khoka, you have more or less finished your education here. Wouldn't it be a good idea to go to England now? It wouldn't take much time and would be a great help in earning money when you start doing so."

The various plans of service that Suprakash drawn up during his steamer days had nothing to do with going to England. Therefore he could not give an answer to this unexpected move on the part of Abinash. Finding him silent Abinash said, "you need not say either yes or no just now, think it over for some time, then give me an answer." As Suprakash was going away with evident relief, Abinash called him back and said, "There is another thing." Suprakash looked at him, expecting to hear something new and found Abinash a bit hesitating. This was quite a novel experience to Suprakash, as hesitation was one of the numerous frailties from which Abinash did not suffer. He remained silent in astonishment. At last Abinash said haltingly and blushing profusely, "you see I have talked about your going to England to the Dattas, so if they

ask you anything in this connection, please do not flatly refuse it. I ought to have told you of this before I did so to them, but when I have not done so, there must be a reason. I shall tell you all about it some other time." Abinash stopped and suddenly walked out of the room.

Suprakash had always known Abinash as the administrator of reward or punishment and had never seen him give explanations or make apologies. Especially to juniors like Suprakash he had never spoken unless in the imperative mood. To find him acknowledging to have done something wrong surprised Suprakash much more than if a stranger had suddenly caught him by the feet and craved his pardon for no reason. But he realised that at the root of all this lay something fairly troublesome. And why should the Dattas come in of all people? Was Abinash trying to repeat his own history through Suprakash? Suprakash felt ashamed of himself for thinking such things about his Dada, but the overaffectionate behaviour of the Dattas combined with the words of Abinash dragged him persistently to that conclusion.

His ideals of service lost colour in the face of his fresh worries. So long as his world lived within the map of Bengal, it was not a very difficult job to remove the thoughts of a particular Bengali girl from his mind and to contemplate the welfare of the world; but when the world rushed in upon him from across distant seas, his ideals had to fade away and yield place to that Bengali girl. He realised that foreign travel would enable him better to do his welfare work. He had always wanted to dissociate man from his nationality and love him simply as a man. But his longing for service had been born as a reaction to his sudden realisation of his own individual narrownesses and as a result he had to come to a quick decision and look for something wider to look up to. Hence his first thoughts went out to the nation. But now he increased their range and longed to meet the world. Moreover, foreign travel would be an asset, wherever he worked and, at least for a proper understanding of men's sorrows and joys, he should not give up this chance of coming into contact with new men. But his mind would not listen to this gospel of service. Had he yet known those who were near him that he should go away to meet far away souls? He has yet much to learn here. How could he go away for a long time without saying a word to Karuna? All his sufferings may have been based on nothing

after all. It must be so or why should Karuna look at him with eyes dim with tears on the New Year's Day when he was taking leave of her? Why did then she try to keep her eyes on him with the last moment? It must be all baseless fears! Illusion! How could he give a higher place to hearsay than to his own inmost feelings?

Suprakash was turning over the days at Rajgunge in his mind like the pages of a book. His soul filled with deep satisfaction as he did so. But as soon as he remembered the pendant and that Karuna had not answered his letter though nearly a month has passed since he wrote it, his mind felt the presence of something in it which hurt.

He could not believe that there could be any impurity in Karuna. Hadn't he seen her resplendent with the glory of innocence! That Karuna had friendly relations with Abinash, he had heard from Tarinikanta. But Karuna had never mentioned him; rather, she had avoided the name of Abinash whenever it had come up. Suprakash realised it to-day. But what did it mean? Either he had misunderstood Karuna and got entangled into his own mistakes, or Abinash had . . . . had what? Suprakash could not work it out. Nor could he own up that he had not understood Karuna.

Abinash had felt enough humiliation in having to confess his mistake before Suprakash. It was unbearable! He went out for a drive. He had got himself into a nice mess! If Suprakash refused to go to England he did not know how to extricate himself from the blunders he had made.

Ever since he opened and read Suprakash's letter, he had been getting more and more entangled in his attempts to make the road clear for himself.

He was extremely surprised when he had read that letter and not a little angry. Putting some anger and jealousy together and giving the resultant the name of reflective thinking, Abinash came to the conclusion that Suprakash should be married. All his life he had been used to acting on impulse, mature thinking was quite unknown to his temperament. If there was anything to think about, he generally did the thinking after he had done the deed. So before he had thought much about it, he found himself saying to Mr. Datta, "I have a desire that Suprakash married your daughter Murala."

Mr. Datta had always wanted to have the rich Abinash as his son-in-law, and had made much effort at getting his idea translated into

a fact. At times he thought he had come very near success. But when at last all his efforts came to nothing, he was rather glad to find Abinash coming with a fresh proposal, but he did not show his gladness all at once. When Abinash came home after this interview, he felt thoroughly disgusted with himself. His hurry had made him appear a supplicant to Mr. Datta and, probably, he would have to swallow further humiliation before Suprakash.

Although Mr. Datta did not gush, the tremendous enthusiasm he displayed in inviting and entertaining Suprakash made it quite clear to Abinash how much indifferent he was to the idea. He was glad, because this restored to him the health of his wounded vanity, but he also felt that it was no time to keep silent. He was not fully at ease to have arranged things without the knowledge of Suprakash. He knew that if Suprakash came to hear of it from a third person he would make trouble, so he tried to put it to him himself in a roundabout way.

The day Suprakash had been to Abinash to ask for funds to go out on his trip, Abinash went to Satadal and started a conversation. He said "Khoka does not seem to take his dinner at home now-a-days. When and where did he acquire so many friends?"

The answer of course was better known to Abinash. Yet Satadal had to say, "I am not sure, but the Dattas send him invitations very often; maybe, he goes there." Abinash had come to tell the truth but when the time for telling it came, he could not help twisting it a little and do some clever acting. He made a very grave face and said, "It seems Mr. Datta has liked him a bit too much. He wants him to marry Murala. Let us see what happens." The more he felt the shame of shifting his own ideas to others, the more he felt a deep indignation growing in his heart. Satadal was very much interested in her Chhotamama's marriage. She said, "That would be very nice, but would a girl of that house match with Chhotamama?"

Abinash was thoroughly roused and said, "What house? What's wrong with the house? She is a woman, isn't she? Is she any the worse because she isn't an illiterate one like you all?"

Satadal was muffled effectively and said nothing more. It was Abinash's intention that Satadal went and broached the subject to Suprakash, but the beginning of the move was so unpleasant that he finished it then and there and said nothing more.

Abinash was feeling depressed. And the weather was stifling. He was sitting alone on a chair which had been put on the balcony over the landing. He had insulted himself in many ways during the last few days and he had blamed the world for it. The result was that he was furious with the world. Petty things from all sides had increased his fury. The moonlit evening and his loneliness was bringing his tortured nerves back to the normal. It was about half-past nine; there was a sound of footsteps on the staircase and as Abinash turned his head to see who it was, he found Suprakash returning home with some purchases, evidently for his steamer trip. Abinash thought that when he had committed himself to Mr. Datta, he ought to make an attempt at learning how Suprakash was taking things. He called out, "Is that Khoka?"

Suprakash said, "Yes" and came out of the big shadow which the wall had thrown on the balcony.

Abinash asked, are you going to-morrow? When did you find time to see your friends?"

Suprakash said, "I did not see any. I am only going out for a few days. If I went to see people, I may catch companions. I want to be alone."

Abinash said, "Good company is better than loneliness. The Dattas are very fond of steamer trips. Didn't they care to join you in your trip?"

Suprakash said, as if in great panic, "no, no, I did not tell them anything about it. And why should they desire the company of a man of my nature? I am not very great friends with them. They are high up on the scale, I am a mere wanderer. I do not aspire to their friendship."

Suprakash expressed only his modesty and underestimation of the self, but Abinash could readily see that he wanted to get out of the Datta business. He did not say anything more.

Suprakash went downstairs to have his meal. Satadal tried to use her newly acquired knowledge in order to make fun of Suprakash and said, "Well, Chhotamama, where had you been so long? You seem to be fairly buzzing with a swarm of friends!"

Suprakash seldom showed temper, but he was fed up. He said angrily, "Oh, you are all worrying me to death! Won't you even let me take my dinner in peace?"

Satadal was quite surprised at this outburst. She said nothing and went on arranging



his dinner. So long as he ate she did not say a word, so worried and done up was the expression on his face. When he was getting up, she said, "I had something to say to you, but you seem to be hot as a furnace, so I have to keep quiet."

Suprakash said, calmly this time, "it is true, one should not display one's temper, but a man's mind does not always work up to his ideals. I shall listen to all you have to say when I come back. I have no time now. Please do not take it amiss."

Satadal saw that his face was drawn and haggard. It was dark with the mark of sorrow upon it. She remained silent and a great compassion swept over her soul. She could not think out how and with what he could have been hurt specially on that day.

After Suprakash had left him, Abinash began to think about everything and nothing. He had written a letter to Karuna to the address that he had gathered from Suprakash's letter, but he had not received any answer to it, and this had pained him no end. That he should write such a soft and entreating letter to Karuna and she should not even acknowledge it, exasperated him. He found no reason for such conduct on the part of Karuna, so he blamed Suprakash for it. But he had kept a sharp watch on the mails since that day, even Suprakash had got no

letters from her. And he had posted the letter he had opened and read a few days after he had done so.

The next day when Suprakash went away on his trip, Abinash turned his room upside down looking for something. There was a bunch of letters under a small statuette, but these were of no importance. There were two post cards with the post mark of Rajgunge; but the writers were unknown people. He discovered after reading these over and over again that Suprakash had been extremely kind to the Rajgunge girl's school. Any other time he would not have noticed this, but now he saw a meaning in it.

He replaced the letters, turned out all sorts of things from all sorts of places and at last got a photograph—a group of three, Karuna, Aruna and Ronu. He himself possessed a copy of this, but this second copy made him highly indignant. He thrust it under a book and left the room. In his sitting room, above his writing-desk was a portrait of Suprakash when he was very young. Abinash gazed at it for some time silently, then sighed and tugged out papers and books to find diversion in work.

(To be continued).

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL BENGALI BY  
ASHOKE CHATTERJEE.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc. according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

### ENGLISH

STUDIES IN VEDANTA : By Rai Bahadur Vasudeva J. Kirtikar. Edited by Mukund R. Jayakar. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., 190 Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. ii+viii+194+xxvii. Price Rs. 14/-

There are eleven chapters in the book under the following headings :—

(i) The Leading Ideas of the Vedanta. (ii) The

Vedanta and its Hegelian Critics. (iii) The Great Enigma. (iv) Knowing and Being. (v) Tat-Twan Asi and Western Thought. (vi) Pantheism and the Vedanta. (vii) The Ethics of the Vedanta. (viii) Indian Asceticism. (ix) Mysticism. (x) Avidya ; Nescience and (xi) Sat-Asat (being and not-being). The book is uncritical and unreliable. The very first sentence of the book is "The Indian Vedanta (which term includes the *Sankhya* and the *Yoga* systems)", etc.

**MITAMSA SUTRAS OF JAİMİNĪ, PART 5, VOL. XXVII OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS.** *Translated by Pandit Mohan Lal Sandal, M.A., LL.B. Published by Sudhindranath Vasu at the Pavani Office Bhubaneswari Asrama, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. 599—758. Price Rs. 3/- Annual Subscription: Inland Rs. 13/-*

This part contains X. I. I.—X. 6. 2.  
Well edited and translated.

MAHESH CHANDRA GHOSH.

**THE SYSTEM OF FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION IN BRITISH INDIA:** *By P. K. Wattal, M. A., F. S. S., F. R. E. S. of the Indian Audit and Accounts Service. Published by the Times of India Office, Bombay and Calcutta. Price Rs. 10.*

Mr. Wattal's excellent monogram on the "Population Problem in India," published in 1916, has already made his name familiar to many as a keen student of Indian economic problems, though unfortunately the monogram does not appear to have received the wide recognition that it deserved. The book under review should primarily establish his reputation as a well-balanced and scientific writer on economic subjects. It describes the whole machinery of Indian finance—the control exercised by the British Parliament and the Secretary of State for India over the financial administration of India and the organisation maintained in England for the purpose; the position of the Government of India in relation to Indian finance—the preparation, voting and execution of the Budget; Indian Railway finance, Irrigation finance, Cash Balances, National Debt, the system of maintenance and Audit of Government accounts, etc. The last half a dozen chapters of the book are devoted to the discussion of Provincial Finance—the past and present financial relations between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments; Provincial Budget; control over Provincial Revenue and Expenditure, Provincial Borrowing, Provincial Cash Balances, and Provincial Accounts and Audit. Without some knowledge of the financial machinery of a country the study of its public finance tends to become quite mechanical. Mr. Wattal's book will meet a long-felt want. The usual practice with Indian writers hitherto has been to copy the example set by Mr. Keynes in 1913 and to jumble together the treatment of Indian currency, banking and finance in one treatise, which has not made for the clarity of treatment of any one of these subjects. This may be one of the reasons why even an elementary knowledge of these important subjects is confined to so few of our educated countrymen. Banking, currency, and public finance are really distinct subjects and there is no reason why they should go together. We trust the example set by Mr. Wattal will now be followed more largely by writers on Indian Currency and Banking.

The description of the financial machinery of a country does not afford much scope for the expression of individual opinion. Where reforms are called for by obvious defects in the system, Mr. Wattal simply indicates the directions which such reforms might take and does not enter into a polemical discussion on the subject. This scientific detachment, so rare among writers on economic subjects in our country, is a special merit of the book. One such example might be cited here. At present the Government of India requires Parliament's sanction to borrow money in England, though foreign or Colonial Governments do not

require any such sanction. This puts the Government of India, as the author points out in a rather invidious position, as it enables influential business interests in the British Parliament to bring pressure and impose all sorts of unwritten conditions upon the Secretary of State for India to spend the loan for the benefit of British industries. It is high time that India was placed in the same position as the colonies in this respect. The sanction of the British Parliament does not imply any responsibility on the part of the British Government for the repayment of the loan; that is the sole concern of the Government of India. So it cannot be said that such sanction improves India's credit in the English money market. It is merely an old-time device which has survived from the days of the East India Company, when some control over the borrowing powers of the Company was obviously necessary in the interests of the shareholders as well as to check it from indulging too frequently in its favourite game of fighting the native Princes of India.

For clarity of treatment and readability of the text, the book leaves little to be desired.

ECONOMICUS.

**FACTORY LABOUR IN INDIA:** *By Rajanikanta Das, M. A., M. Sc., Ph. D., Lecturer in Economics, New York University; Former Special Agent, Department of Labour, U. S. Government.*

In this book Prof. Das has dealt with his subject thoroughly and methodically. He has divided his book into eleven chapters, of which two are devoted to the growth of the factory system, three to conditions in the factory, one to industrial efficiency, two to remuneration and standard of living and the rest to factory legislation, labor organisation, problems and conclusions. In the course of some two hundred pages, the author gives the reader an idea of the subject in all its aspects. No mean achievement!

**HINDUSTANI WORKERS ON THE PACIFIC COAST:** *By Rajanikanta Das, M. A., M. Sc., Ph. D., Lecturer in Economics, New York University; Former Special Agent, Department of Labour United States Government.*

Should Indians harbour in their mind any hopes of ever coming into the circle of industrial nations and competing with them on a basis of equality? Some will answer this question with 'yes', some with 'no'. Dr. Das has shown in his book that given the chance, Indians can display as much industrial efficiency as any other race: as a matter of fact, they have proved their merits on the Pacific Coast and there is no doubt that they can repeat the performance elsewhere, if the environment is favourable. Optimists in Indian economics will find good food and pessimists a cure in this book. It is a book worth reading not merely to economists but to all who think about India and her future.

**FACTORY LEGISLATION IN INDIA:** *By Rajanikanta Das M. Sc., Ph. D. Late Lecturer in Economics, New York University, Former Special Agent, United States Department of Labor with an introduction by John R. Commons, M. A., L. L. D., Professor of Economics, University of Wisconsin.*

In this book Dr. Das has shown how Factory Legislation in India has not been altogether due to philanthropic motives, and how it has been

largely engineered by British Capitalists who have found in it a subtle weapon to attack the growth of manufactures in India with. The book will be found extremely useful to those who study the methods which the British have employed in order to "Civilize" India.

**THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN INDIA :** *By Rajanikanta Das, M.Sc., Ph.D., Former Lecturer in Economics, New York University.*

In this book Dr. Das has given a general history of The Labour Movement in India, in South Africa, on the Pacific coast and in the British colonies which employed indentured labor; its aims, objects and achievements. He has divided the history into three periods. The Regulation Period 1875-91, the Abolition Period 1891-1917 and the Organization Period 1918-22 and has given a fair treatment to each. The book is very well written and the treatment of the subject shows the excellent methodology and hard work with which we always associate Dr. Rajanikanta Das' work. Dr. Das does not believe in writing too much. His books are always to the point and drives it well home. Indian economics has suffered a good deal from quantity writing. We welcome Dr. Das' efforts at vindicating the rights of quality.

**TRADE, TARIFFS AND TRANSPORT IN INDIA :** *By Prof. K. T. Shah of the University of Bombay. Published by the National Book Depot, Bombay.*

This is a comprehensive work on the history, character and problems of trade, tariffs and transport in India. Prof. K. T. Shah is a scholar with a well-earned reputation. We find the stamp of that scholarship and signs of keen analysis, clear thinking and faultless logic in every page of this book of twenty chapters and 450 pages. The chapters on railways and the economics of railroad transport, on ocean transport and Indian trade, on protection and on the industrialisation of India, deserve special mention. It is a book which should be studied by every student of Indian economics.

A. C.

## BENGALI.

**MANASWITAR MAP OR MEASUREMENT OF INTELLIGENCE :** *By G. Dasgupta, B. A., B. T. (Cal), Professor, David Hare Training College, Calcutta and J. M. Sen, M. Ed. (Leeds), B. Sc. (Calcutta), Professor, David Hare Training College, Calcutta. Published by the authors. Price eight annas only.*

In this little book, the authors have given a brief history of and some practical suggestions on measurement of intelligence of school-boys for teachers in Bengal. This is probably the first book on this subject in Bengali and the learned authors should be congratulated on the quality they have shown in their pioneer work. The subject itself is interesting and highly necessary for teachers. Good teaching requires a thorough understanding of the capacities of the pupils and this little book will go a long way to give the general run of teachers in Bengal, if not a thorough knowledge of the subject, at least the proper outlook and attitude of mind in regard to their work.

## SANSKRIT.

**THE ATHARVA-PRATISAKHYA :** *Edited by Vishva-Bandhu Vidyarthi, Shastri, M.A., M.O.L., Principal, Dayananda Brahma Mahavidyalaya, Lahore.*

More than sixty years back in the JAOS, Vol. VII. pp. 333-666, William D. Whitney edited with his English translation and notes a Pratisakhya of the AV (*Atharva Veda*) called *Saunakya Caturadhyayika*, 'Saunaka's Treatise in Four Chapters.' As no other work of that nature belonging to AV was at that time known to any one, nor was there any possibility of finding it out, Whitney called it *Atharva-Veda Pratisakhya*. That edition was based on a single MS of the text and the commentary found together in a codex. Later on there was found a new MS and was examined by him in an article in the same journal (Vol. X. pp. 156 ff.). Fortunately, since then half a dozen MSS have been discovered and secured.

The discovery and edition of the present volume shows that it is also a Pratisakhya treatise belonging to the same Veda. But what is its actual name? The editor simply writes *The Atharva Pratisakhya*, giving no authority whatever for it. Perhaps he will discuss it in the second volume which will contain its translation and notes among other things. So far as the first volume is concerned one finds only the following words at the end (p. 56): *Atharvane Samhitakasanagranthe pratisakhyamulasutram purnam*. It is left to the readers to decide from it as to what the actual name of the work might be.

In this book there are not more than 220 sutras, while the number in the *Caturadhyayika* is not less than 428. The former may be regarded as supplementary to the latter.

It is now edited for the first time from a good many MSS together with an Introduction and various Appendices reserving some useful matters for the second volume. Vedie students will be thankful to Professor Vishva-Bandhu for his presenting them with the edition of a treatise which fell into oblivion.

In conclusion we want to point out the following: It is evident from the discussion in the Introduction, p. 17, that the Sutra I. 15 has utterly been misunderstood by the Editor. The word *pratyane* does not imply here any country or a teacher belonging to a particular country. The sutra simply refers to AV., XI. 3. 26, in which the word occurs with two successive acute accents on the last two syllables, the final one of the latter being *pluta* or protracted according to Panini, VIII. 2. 97. See *Caturadhyayika* 1. 105 and Whitney's note in this AV Translation (Harvard Oriental Series) on the same word (XI. 3. 26.)

The references to AV traced out in the Appendix are not exhaustive.

One Appendix more containing the references arranged according to the order of the sutras would have been very useful. They could better be given in the foot notes.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

## HINDI.

**RADHAMADHAV AND SAIKRA BODHA NATAL,** *Published by Dr. Krishnarao Bhawe, Lordang, Subbapur. Crown 8 vo., pp. 104 + 58. Price Re. one.*

These two dramas have been published in the same column. The former is an adaptation of the Marathi play "Ragini." In it the deeds of false



sadhus have been ably drawn out. The second drama is an original one and the plot is laid in the times before Christ. Its moral effect is quite satisfactory, though its historical value does not seem to be of much worth. The style of the two books is good and they will repay perusal.

**BHARATVARSHA-KA-ITIHAS, Published by the Gyanmandal Office, Benares. Royal 8 vo., pp. 332. Price Rs. 2-12-0.**

Like the other publications of the Gyanmandal Series, this one removes a want. There are some other books on Indian History on independent lines but this has the merit of being suitable as a text-book. Therefore, novelties in the book, e. g. the use of words like Colonel Sulaimani, and Hari-versha for Europe. The Sanwat years have been given as dates and this we take to be a very good feature in the volume. However, the corresponding Christian cross may also have been profitably added at least in an appendix. It will suit elderly readers admirably but for young students the style and method of narration should have been a little more interesting. The index is perfect. In the body of the book itself, the modern theories and conclusions have been introduced when necessary even though they may not suit the tastes of certain historians. The book could be priced less or a cheap edition issued, if it were meant for use in some of the national schools. The publisher is Mr. Mukunci Lal and the author has been named as an Itihas prairi, his actual name being withheld.

M. S.

#### TELUGU.

**"BATTLE OF PLASSEY": By Mosalikanti Sanjiva Rao. Printed at the V. R. C. Press, Vizag, 1924, pp. 30.**

The essayist starts with the well-known truth that England appeared in India in the modest garb of a trader. He proves in his essay that the Battle of Plassey is the turning point in the history of the British power in India. With the vantage ground of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, England has rushed forth to the conquest of the rest of India. He proposes to deal with the effects of the Battle of Plassey in a subsequent bulletin entitled the "Battle of Buxar". As the essayist cherishes the laudable notion of writing a series of pamphlets on the rise of British Rule in India he would do well to systematise the work that he is doing at present. The first tendency he has to curb is to make broad generalisations without establishing adequate premises. He makes no attempt to show that England was asleep until the lust of gold bit her. How the Portuguese came to India as "robber knights" and failed on account of their crusading fervour, how the Dutch fanaticism led them to perpetrate acts of vandalism, and how the French though the most formidable rivals of the English had really no strong support from the home Central Government—could have been hinted in the beginning of the essay. He nowhere mentions that England was fortunate in having encountered the docile population of Madras and Bengal in their first assay of power. The story would have been different if they had faced the war-like inhabitants of N. W. India. Another grave omission is the failure to mention how the E. I. Company was forced to alter its trading tactics and "to exchange the wand of Mercury for the sword of conquest." Another fact which he should have mentioned as

pertinent to this topic is the ignominious position which the British held before the Battle of Plassey. As Macaulay says "until Clive went to India the English were despised as mere pedlars while the French were revered as a people formed for victory and command." Sirajdaula's insulting treatment of Jagatsett and his joining the conspiracy of Watts and Company is not alluded to.

In spite of these omissions the author creditably performs his task and he possesses an easy and lucid style. Like other historians he seems to be of the opinion that it is the Battle of Plassey that destroyed the freedom of Bengal. It should be more appropriate if the Permanent Settlement Act might be considered as the real cause for the loss of freedom of the major portion of the population of Bengal.

B. RAMCHANDRA RAO.

#### TAMIL.

**PAI PARAMANANTHAN: By S. Chokkalingam, Tenkasi. Published by Parasakti Pirasuralayam, Salem. Pp. 247. Price Re. 1.**

A very interesting political novel. The plot often reminds one of the author's sacrifices for the country.

**ISWARALILAI. By K. S. Seshagiri Iyer, 43 New Street, Mylapore. Pp. 87. Price 8 As.**

An abridged prose version of the sacred Thiruvilayadalpuranam.

MADHAVAN.

#### GUJARATI.

**KANYA SAMMICHCHYA, PART II. By R. V. Pathak. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick card board. Pp. 284. Price Re. 1-8-0. 1924.**

A very good and representative selection of the poems of Modern Gujarati poets, with a very able and tersely written but pertinently critical introduction, this book adds one more laurel to those already won by Prof. Pathak, in different branches of learning. It is a pleasure to read this collection.

**UPAMITI BHAVAPRAPANCHIA KATHA. Part II by Motichand Girdhar Kapadia. B. A. LL. B., Solicitor. Printed at the Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, cloth bound. Pp. 36-693 to 1460. Price Rs. 3-0-0. 1924.**

This is an allegory written by a very well-known Jain Saint, Shri Siddharshi, in Sanskrit. We had noticed the first part when it was published about three years ago, and referred to the excellences of the original, and the ability with which the translator had translated and annotated the work. The present volume, of a very substantial size, deals with the sections IV and V, which relate to the stages of falsehood and theft, in the pilgrim's progress, in this world. The whole subject has been allegorised ably and the translator has entered fully into the spirit of the original and done it ample justice.

**MAHATMA GANDHINE PUSHPANJALI: By Latif of Anjar in Cutch. Printed at the Sourashtra Press, Lumbdio Paper Cover pp. 68. 1924. Unipreced.**

The writer says he is a young man of twenty and his work must be full of defects and and so it is, the *jangli* consists of poems eulogising Mahatma Gandhi written in blank verse which read like prose.

**AROGYA SASHTRA.** Published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. Ltd., Bombay. Paper cover, Pp. 143. Price Rs. 1-0-0. 1924.

This is one of the School Books published by the above Co., it is a translation of Major Hutchison's Hygiene for girls. We have found it very well done and all the important points of domestic hygiene and sanitation are well brought out.

**HASYA TARANGA.** By Vallabhji Sundarji Punjabhai Kavi. Printed at the Sundar Vilas Press, Rajkot. Cloth bound. Pp. 200 with 3 pictures. Price Rs. 2-0-0. 1924.

The price of this book is out of all proportion to its size and the collection of humorous stories contained in it. It is a collection of ordinary stories which excite laughter but there is very little of keen or subtle humour in them, such as is found in those of Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai or Dhansuklal Mehta. Otherwise it is useful as a light story book, to while away idle moments.

K. M. J.

#### MALAYALAM.

**UPANYASA-MALA.** By K. G. Solomon of Tanjong Malim. Published by K. G. Constantain, Kamalalaya, Press, Trivandrum (Travancore).

A collection of seven essays on different subjects first written for various vernacular papers. The essays are too short, and the subjects not completely dealt with.

**Kannunir-Tulli (Tear-drops):** By Nalappat Narayana Menon, with an introduction by K. M. Panikkar M. A. (Oxon) M. R. A. S. Published at the Norman Printing Works, Calicut, pp. xiii+42.

An elegy full of pathos and deep feelings, written by a young and promising poet on the death of his wife. The author rightly deserves the high tribute paid to him by Mr. K. M. Panikkar in his introduction. We wish the book may receive wide circulation.

**SAHITYA-TILAKAM:** By K. V. Sankaran Nair M. A., with a short introduction by B. Bhagavathi Amona, Editor 'Mahila'. Published at the National Printing House, Tiruvalla (Travancore), pp. 38. Price 8 as.

This is a collection of songs and poems, first published in various journals. Most of the songs are in beautiful Dravidian metres.

The get-up is poor.

P. ANUJAN ACHAN.

#### GERMAN.

*The Almanac of the Firm of R. Piper & Co., of Munich.*

The publishers issue this in commemoration of the 20th anniversary of their existence. It is much more than a catalogue of books and pictures. It shows that the Germans have recovered if not surpassed—as far as literary, scholarly, and artistic activity is concerned—their pre-war production.

These 250 pages of neat print on fine paper, enriched with a fine collection of sketches, engravings, photographic reproductions of pictures, statues and buildings, include a series of essays on plastic arts, German and foreign, autobiographical letters of some of the authors published by Piper, fragments of their works, and finally specimens of the pictorial reproductions printed at Piper's and gathered in portfolios.

The books on plastic arts ancient and modern, are as versatile as they are numerous. Under 'Literature' we note a complete edition of Dosto-

jewski's works. But the Indian scholar will be more interested in K. E. Neumann's translations of the Buddhist Scriptures into German. Neumann spent twenty years of his life on them. He had had predecessors in Germany, but his interpretations are of a quality which seem to make all other attempts insignificant. If we believe such judges as G. Hauptmann, H. Hesse, Th. Mann, H. von Hoffmannsthal—and there cannot be better judges—his versions of these "pinnacles of human poetry", the Buddhist tales and songs, amount to a "re-birth of the Pali classics in the German language". They are compared with no less than Luther's translation of the Bible, and Schlegel's German Shakespeare, and are expected to have on the German style of writing of to-day, the same tonic effect that the Old Testament had formerly on the language through writers of the stamp of Goethe and Herder. The works Neumann translated are as follows:

The last days of Gotama Buddha (Mahaparinibbanasuttam).

The Sayings (utterances) of Gotama Buddha from the Middle-Collection of the Pali Canon, (Majjhimanikayo);

The Sayings of Gotama Buddha from the Longer-Collection, (Dighanikayo);

The Sayings of Gotama Buddha from the collection of fragments, (Suttanipato);

The Songs of the Monks and Nurses of Gotama Buddha.

The Path-of-Truth, (Dhammapadam).

Only death put a stop to Neumann's pious activity in November, 1915.

Together with the above catalogue Piper sends us a quarterly, the 'Piperbote'—Piper's Messenger, which offers, with a minimum of advertisement, excellent essays, reviews and illustrations.

F. B.

#### SPANISH.

Antonio Arraiz, the Venezuelan poet, does not care to sing young America, the land of the conquest; he offers his song 'Aspero' to the "great dead of glorious lineage.....Sitting Bull, the Eagle; Moctezuma, the Prince; Netzahuacoyotl, the poet; Huathemozinc, the tiger....to those that are not known, to the Soul of the race." I sing my virgin America,—I sing my Indian America, without Spaniards and without Christianity,—I sing my sorrowful America! "He sings it in irregular, rhythmical but unrhymed strophes rich in repetitions and not infrequently in pathos." "Some day Beauty will come and knock at my door...I shall call her my Queen, my Indian Queen—She will have a dark skin, dark eyes, dark hair, firm breasts and long hands. And I shall call her my Indian Queen!" And he tells us the reason of his longing to return to his primeval, adopted land in the 'Reproach.' "My ancestors,—it is your fault,—why did you drive me out of my dark wood-lands and broad plains—to put me in a cold and gloomy city?—You have guided me amiss—it is your fault if I have become a weakling!—At the beginning of things—men beautiful, sublime—used to tread the 'selva' with kingly steps. But you, my ancestors, why did you show me the way to the gloomy city? It is your fault, you taught me to smoke, to dress, to drink the 'aguardiente', to sleep within four walls, to roast my meat with fire,—you have taught me to talk, oh talk! Such is the reproach of the civilized weakening that you have made out of me!" F. B.

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticising it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. No criticism of reviews and notices of books will be published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, "The Modern Review." ]

### Mr. S. R. Das's Letter to His Son.

#### A YOUNG MAN'S REPLY.

I have not had the privilege of any personal acquaintance with the Advocate-General of Bengal but from what I have read of him in the papers and heard of him from friends, I gather, that he must be a fairly elderly person. His public letter to his son, therefore, is evidently meant for the young men of India in general. Mr. C. F. Andrews has put them under an obligation, by replying to the letter as he has done. Mr. Andrews has applied himself to the task in the capacity of a teacher. Encouraged by the Editor's invitation for criticism, I, a young man in college, and probably of the same age as the son for whom the letter was written, make bold to send the following observations.

I shall first take note of the outlook underlying the whole letter. It is clearly a letter of warning and caution: it shows in unmistakable terms the obstacles and difficulties in the path of patriotism: it warns the young men of the danger of their being led away by enthusiasm: holds out to them the comfortable path of arm-chair politics; and, advises them to suppress their natural feelings of indignation and resentment against a foreign bureaucracy, in order that, pleased by their feigned friendliness, the alien masters may make us a gift of some political power in some remote and obscure future. In a word, we may call it a worldly-wise letter and even that of a very narrow type. It is above all an appeal to suppress all enthusiasm and act timidly and cautiously and with worldly prudence.

Let us contrast with this the outlook of the class,—the young men—, to which Mr. Das's son belongs. It is well known that young men, at any rate by far the larger number of them, are by temperament idealists and full of enthusiasm. Upon them the worries and anxieties of life and the darker side of this world have not as yet imposed such a dead-weight as to crush in them all noble sentiments of selfless work, of service and of sacrifice. To them the call of duty, when it comes, comes as all-in-all and not with a compromise. With them love is life and determination is strength. When they love an object and form the determination to have it, they know no receding from their pursuit. Liberty, when it catches their imagination, fires them to actions which are the wonder of this degraded world. The young in India have set their heart upon liberty and whether their fathers and elders like Mr. S. R. Das will cheer them on forward or not, they will not rest till they have gained their goal.

But I shall not run on in a strain of mere

emotion. Let me deal with the letter in detail practically. I shall try to analyse it and see what real substance it contains. The letter seems to me to be a mere mention of the well-known difficulties which lie in the path of our attaining Swaraj. It catalogues them, indeed, in an impressive manner. But there it stops and does not seem seriously to consider or suggest any method of overcoming these difficulties. Except for its evidently sympathetic tone, the article could well do for a leader in one of our most reactionary Anglo-Indian papers. Mr. S. R. Das declares that India will have Self-Government at some time in the future; only, it cannot be to-day; nor perhaps in another fifty years. Now, this is a fundamental point. For the best part of the life of Mr. S. R. Das's generation and of the one next to him, will have already elapsed before these fifty years will complete themselves. It means that work as they may, these two generations cannot have Swaraj in their life-time. This belief naturally dulls the spirit and turns a man into an arm-chair politician with whom liberty may be a cherished dream of a distant future but cannot be a living reality of the present, worth working for, fighting for, and dying for, if need be.

Does not then the natural instinct of self-interest in all men, which Mr. Das also must possess, justify his advice to his son? Mr. S. R. Das realises that we cannot expect Britain to govern us better than at present. He clearly says that Britain cannot 'guarantee' that all her officers and men will behave properly in India. He realises the desirability of our having self-government, but then he remembers the communal friction, the problem of untouchability, the want of any means for national defence, our unfitness as administrators, etc., and therefore suggests to us young men, that we should remember that England must be humoured into a mood of generosity and security in order to be induced to grant to us self-government: that we must be meekly sitting, occasionally writing or speaking or even running an election campaign (costing Rs. 76,000!) but taking care not to offend the Englishman; that we must ever be taking pains to make our alien rulers believe that, do what they may, tyrannise as they can, misbehave as they will, we shall in perpetuity be their friends and slaves! Not a very bright and alluring prospect, we confess!

Mr. S. R. Das has referred to history. May I respectfully invite his attention to the communal and religious feuds and riots, that were so rampant in Europe and in England and Ireland too, not so very long ago? May I point out to him the honest and genuine attempts already being made, with much success, for the amelioration of the so-called



untouchables? Did Mr. S. R. Das peruse the schemes for the National Defence of a Free India which Nationalist Indians put before the Indian Army Committee in 1921? And what has Mr. S. R. Das to say to the fact that even under the present dark conditions, almost all the Indian young men who compete for the open I.C.S. examinations take very creditable positions,—one of them standing first in the last examination?

The truth is,—and a little recollection of the history of countries which have attained to freedom from bondage, will show it,—that India to-day is IN REALITY far better prepared to take up her own administration than Italy, Russia, the United States, Canada or Australia were when they became free. The only difficulty with us is that we have been subjected to such a subtle and protracted method of slavery that our minds even have been enslaved. Therefore, eminent and able persons like Mr. S. R. Das have begun to ignore all past history and expect that mere feeble prayers will make us free. He opposes even the carrying on of any strong agitation, for, he thinks such things do nothing. But few will agree with his view, that the agitation of 1905-07, the Home Rule agitation of 1916, and the Non-Co-operation movement of 1920-24 have not been responsible respectively for the Minto-Morley Reforms, the Montfort Reforms of 1919 and the British Government's present anxiety for India. Mr. Das thinks it was the detached goodwill and wisdom of the British that brought about these concessions. And he therefore wants dutifully to wait for more. He realises that 'No nation in history has ever succeeded in keeping another in subjection for ever.' But he ignores those portions of history, where the processes leading to the endings of such subjugations are recorded. He wants India to beg, to hope, to wait! He also reminds us of the good we may expect by remaining friendly to the Empire.

Last of all he complacently throws at us the insult that we are being "TRAINED" by the British people for Swaraj. Now, this is too much. I refuse to accept the position that Britain can teach India anything for her good. It is almost an impertinence

to suggest that she can. England may be quite good at increasing big industrial centres and developing a highly accentuated materialistic and selfish life; but if all that is noble and good, all that is sincere and truthful, all that stands for security, peace and goodwill has to be taught, then England must come to India rather than *vice-versa*.

We young men feel proud of our past and we are hopeful of our future. We realise the difficulties of our present condition. We know where we stand. It is no secret that India is prepared to be friendly to England on terms of equality and of freedom. But if England does not accept the offer, what are we to do? Remain ever in Bondage and Slavery? Nay, that shall not be! Let aged men of the type of Mr. S. R. Das wait and beg; our die is cast. Young men are the real soldiers in every nation's army. During the late war the schools and colleges of England were lying empty. In Egypt and in Ireland the young have freed their motherland. And so shall it be in India. We shall not wait indefinitely for the Lord to throw to us a crumb from his table. We shall be up and doing. And if Mr. S. R. Das and elders of his type will only help us by refraining from damping our spirit and enthusiasm by letters of this kind, we shall raise our motherland out of her misery and degradation long before Mr. S. R. Das thinks, England, by herself, will let us do so.

GOVIND MALAVIYA

Delhi, 9th October, 1924.

As Mr. S. R. Das's Letter has been widely criticized in the press, no more comments on it will be published in this Review. Editor, *M. R.*

### "Jesus and the Gospels"

(Explanation)

In my article in the September number the word "*Buddhism*" means necessarily "The Doctrines of Gotama Buddha."

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

## NOTES

### Silk Industry in Kashmir.

A series of very informing and interesting articles on Kashmir Industries by Mr. S. M. Dattatreya, B.A., has been running its course in *Welfare* for months past. About the silk industry in that State, the writer says, in Part :

There is very little of silk-weaving done in Srinagar, and not a bit of it in the rest of Kashmir. According to the Census of 1921 the number of persons supported by silk-weaving in Srinagar, and as a matter of fact in the whole of Kashmir, is 145, 47 workers and 98 dependents. In 1906 a weaving

establishment was started in the State Factory with about 100 handlooms of improved pattern imported from abroad. For several years, the State ran the business on its own account, but finding it commercially unprofitable leased out the establishment to various private contractors. During the last few years, the rooms have been quite idle; and it is believed that the State is thinking of starting the business afresh with up-to-date machinery worked by power. The weaving is not a State monopoly and admits of free private enterprise. At present it is carried on only by a few private firms, which buy the yarn from the State Factory. One of them—which is the biggest—is known as the Kashmir Textiles Manufacturing Company, and is capitalised by a set of Punjabis. It was started as late as

April 1921. Electric power is used in the winding process, but warping and weaving are carried on by the hand. There are some 20 handlooms in this firm, and the number of weavers employed is as many. The writer visited it in October 1921, and found that it is housed in a new and comely building, airy and well situated; a happy contrast to the weaving barracks in the carpet factories of Mitchell and Hadow, which are murky and stinky, veritable dungeons.

There is another silk-weaving firm known as Messrs. Sarva Nand and Brothers—a partnership which was started in February 1921. The work in it is carried on entirely by hand. The total number of looms is four. A characteristic of the organisation is that it is capitalised and run by Kashmiri Pandits—a rare thing in Kashmir industries. Weaving of pile carpets is also carried on alongside in this firm, three looms being devoted to that work.

The production of raw silk has vast potentialities in Kashmir, and if the weaving is undertaken by the State or private capitalists on a large scale and along up-to-date lines, there is no doubt that a great and roaring industry can spring up.

We have also here expressed the view that the silk produced in Kashmir ought to be woven there. Then all the profits of the industry can remain in the country and the workers be paid a living wage. But as things stand at present "the wages of labour are unduly pressed down for the following reasons:

(1) The product of the Srinagar Silk Factory, being of a semi-manufactured variety, is not a consumers' good, and it is well-known that producers are not so well-paying customers as are consumers.

(2) There is no peculiarity about Srinagar raw silk such as there is to be found in Srinagar Shawls or carpets, wood-carving or embroidery, enamel or silver work. A sort of complete or partial producers' monopoly enjoyed by Kashmir in these last mentioned goods is absent in the case of silk. Therefore, production is more warily and economically carried on.

(3) Kashmir silk, the demand for it within the State itself being negligible and in other parts of India small, has to go out to foreign lands to fight with competitors, sometimes on their own ground. To ensure that the price of the product with the unavoidable cost of carriage from Srinagar to these foreign lands added to it, does not become higher than that of competing supplies produced, in some cases under comparatively somewhat more advantageous conditions, great care has to be taken that production in Srinagar is as cheap as feasible. In this attempt at cheapness the wages of labour are unduly pressed down, and the gains that arise ultimately are harvested all by Capital, with a little deduction that goes to the supervising staff of administrators."

Some of the most notable and prosperous professional men in India are Kashmiri Pandits. If they pay attention to this subject, they can undoubtedly help in bringing about a better state of things. The Kashmir Durbar also ought to encourage the flow of indigenous capital into the industries of Kashmir.

### A Scheme for Driving Malaria out of Bengal.

The Public Health Department, Bengal, has published a small pamphlet by Sree Girindra Krishna Mitra, M.B. dealing with the health problem of Bengal. Dr. Mitra's scheme has all the qualities of a workable thing. It is comprehensive and clear-cut. District Boards, Municipalities, Union Boards and all other health and social service organisations will be well advised to obtain copies of this pamphlet from the P.H. D. Bengal, Dalhousie Square, Calcutta.

A. C.

### German Opinion on the Dawes Plan.

In our Foreign Periodicals section we have quoted some remarks on the Dawes Plan from an American weekly. British opinion on it is pretty well-known. From Doctor Erich Wulf's Industrial Sketches in Germany, contributed to *Berliner Tageblatt*, one can form an idea of German opinion in some circles. The Doctor refers to the opinion of leaders in the chemical industry and Saxon textilemill owners and machine-builders. We read in his article that Chemnitz, the industrial centre of Saxony, is one of the most important manufacturing cities of Germany, and until the recent crisis its wares were exported to all parts of the globe. The city and the surrounding district employ more than 300,000 operatives, or well toward one-third of all those in Saxony. Its principal branches of manufacture are textiles and machinery. Here in this region employers feel keenly the scarcity of money and credit. Urgent need of foreign credit, and hope of obtaining it as soon as the Reparations question is settled, explain the attitude of Saxon industrialists in this part of Germany towards the Dawes Report. Some bitter opponents of the Report have been down there agitating against it, but their appeals, according to Doctor Erich Wulf, made no impression. A great majority of the responsible business men were opposed to an unconditional rejection of the Report, feeling that such action would precipitate Germany into a business crisis the consequences of which can hardly be measured. Manufacturers are ready to make sacrifices; on the other hand, most of them oppose an unqualified acceptance, and wish to ensure conditions that guarantee the survival of their industries. Doctor Wulf adds:—

"Leaders in the chemical industry on the Main,

like Saxon textilemill owners and Machine-builders, look forward to the acceptance of the Dawes Report as the only thing that will end the present crisis. They are even more unanimous and emphatic than their Saxon brethren in asserting that the report must be accepted—of course after securing every possible concession. That opinion is expressed without reserve by large employers who are equally outspoken Nationalists and Conservatives. They consider the burdens imposed upon Germany by the Report almost intolerable, but believe, that a period of repose is imperative for our industrial recovery, and that the only way to get it is by doing our utmost to satisfy the Dawes demands. If any conditions thus imposed on us are impossible of fulfilment, let it be proved by hard facts, not by noisy argument."

We have only to add by way of extra precaution that in this Note "Saxon" everywhere means "native of Saxony in Germany", not Britisher.

### Professor Winternitz on Visvabharati

Professor M. Winternitz of Prague is a most distinguished orientalist, and has in addition first-hand knowledge of Visvabharati. What, therefore, he has written on "Visvabharati, the International University of Rabindranath Tagore in Santiniketan," in the "Minerva-Zeitschrift" of Berlin, September 6, 1924, should prove of interest to the reader. The Professor writes :—

"Visvabharati is the name which the Poet gave to his University because Bharati, the goddess of speech and higher culture, was to unite there all (visva) nations, whole mankind, in one combined intellectual endeavour. It is there that the Poet's ideal of a real collaboration between East and West was to be realized : not of a sway of the West over the East, not of an imitation of the West by the East, but of a peaceful exchange of intellectual achievements fostered on the ground of mutual esteem. Indian students were to be trained in their own languages and culture better than they had been before in the Universities founded by the British Government. For it is only when Indians are well initiated in their own culture that they can assimilate the best culture of the Occident. But Visvabharati was also to become a centre of intellectual culture of the whole East. There, ancient bonds between India, China, and the Far East were to be knotted again. Hindoos, Buddhists, Mohamedans, Parsees and Christians were to be united without losing their own peculiarities. And—last but not least—Visvabharati was to become a focus of collaboration for the East and West on the basis of equality. Western scholars were to come to Santiniketan not only to teach, but to learn. And not only teachers, but students of the West were to be welcomed there as guests on equal terms and rights. "I have founded this our Visvabharati," Tagore used to say, 'to realize the spiritual and intellectual unity of mankind.' It was not to be a training institution for higher professions, a machinery for the obtaining of degrees by means of examinations and certificates—other universities already answer that

purpose—but a living community of teachers and students endowed with unlimited freedom of teaching and learning. Not a scheme of whatever sort, but the disponible forces and the arising needs were to determine what would be taught. Such was, roughly speaking, the ideal the Poet had in view when he founded the Visvabharati. He knew quite well that this ideal could not be reached at once, but only after a slow process of development..... (Here Prof. Winternitz gives a description and history of the Visvabharati, and concludes....) The International University (Visvabharati) is national in the sense that it is entirely independent of the British Government and neither requires nor receives any support from it. It is maintained by the generosity of the Poet and his friends only. The Visvabharati Association counted at the end of 1923 only 416 yearly members and 91 life-members. Friends of the Poet have bestowed, of course, considerable donations on it, but more, much more is necessary, and the members of the Association should amount to thousands if the financial basis indispensable to the realizations of the high ideals is to be safeguarded. The further development of the International University depends entirely upon the means which will be allotted to it in the future. For the time being everything is still in its mere beginnings. Whoever expects to find in Santiniketan a complete university in our sense of the word will be disillusioned. And so will be the man who has no sense for the humanitarian ideals of the founder. But whoever has comprehension for these high ideals will already discover in the Visvabharati the seeds of an international high-school for science, art, and social work unique in its kind. May these seeds come to blossom and ripen into fruits for the good of India and the good of mankind!"

For the translation given here we are indebted to Professor Fernand Benoit.

### Mahomedan Education.

*The Indian Daily Mail* observes :—

The greatest obstacle to the attainment of self-government by India is the lack of education of the vast majority of the people. But no section of the nation is, perhaps, educationally so backward as the Mahomedans. This is all the more unfortunate as no constitutional progress is possible without the willing co-operation of the Muslim community with the others.

If we use the word "section" in the sense of "religious community" and if we also ignore the existence of the one crore Aborigines (97,75,000, to be exact), the Mahomedans may be correctly spoken of as educationally the most backward community in India as a whole. In any other sense, they are not the most backward. The most backward classes are the aboriginals and the classes considered untouchable by "high"-caste Hindus. But as none of these classes are "politically important" and as they have not yet made themselves troublesome by verbal and physical arguments or demonstration, neither the



Government nor the popular leaders of India have given adequate attention to their educational needs or tried to conciliate them.

"Literate" and "educated" are not synonymous, but, in the mass, there is no other means of ascertaining the spread of education in a community than by counting the number of literate persons among it. Bearing this in mind, we shall find the following extracts from the Census Report of India, 1921, Volume I, helpful in arriving at a correct conclusion regarding the spread of education among some communities and subsections:—

"The Hindus have one literate person in every thirteen, for males the ratio is one in eight and for females one in sixty-three...One Muhammadan male in 11 and one female in 116 can read and write....Where they [Musalmans] are in the minority, as in the Central Provinces, United Provinces and Madras, they are usually town-dwellers and have a considerably higher proportion of literates....."

"...Among Muhammadans the Bohras in Bombay and the Labbais and Mappillas in Madras have a comparatively high degree of literacy and in the United Provinces the Saiyids are even more literate than the Brahmans. *Literacy among the "depressed classes" and aborigines is naturally rare.*" (Italics ours.)

The following table shows the number per thousand who are literate in different Provinces and States among Hindus, Musalmans and Aborigines, according to the Census of 1921:—

	HINDU		MOSLEM		ANIMIST	
	Males.	Fe- males.	Males.	Fe- males.	Males.	Fe- males.
INDIA	130	16	93	9	16	1
PROVINCES.						
Ajmer-Merwara	140	15	187	18	3	...
Assam	167	18	85	5	19	2
Bengal	268	36	109	6	14	1
Bihar and Orissa	101	6	99	8	12	1
Bombay	151	21	114	15	7	1
Burma	288	86	302	87	77	5
C. P. and Berar	89	8	225	27	10	3
Delhi	150	26	182	31	...	...
Madras	170	21	201	18	5	...
N. W. F. Province	346	98	33	2	...	...
Panjab	113	11	37	4	...	...
United Provinces	71	6	73	8	...	...
STATES & AGENCIES.						
Baroda	234	42	309	48	37	3
Central India	56	4	169	19	1	...
Gwalior	60	6	142	26	2	...
Hyderabad	47	4	140	35	10	5
Kashmir	124	6	20	1	...	...
Mysore	133	16	238	62	9	...
Rajputana Agency	57	3	66	9	1	...
Sikkim	91	3	833	...	...	...
Travancore	371	146	238	50	...	...

This table shows that in all Provinces in British territory the Animists or aboriginals are educationally the most backward of all peoples. It also shows that in Bihar and

Orissa Hindus and Moslems are about equally literate, and that in Ajmer-Merwara, Burma, Central Provinces and Berar, Delhi, Madras, United Provinces, Baroda State, Central India Agency, Gwalior State, Hyderabad State, Mysore State, Rajputana Agency and Sikkim State Musalmans are more literate than Hindus. No one, therefore, need despair of finding Musalmans everywhere educationally as advanced in course of time as their neighbors of other communities.

The fact also emerges that, without in the least neglecting Muhammadan education, there is an urgent need throughout India of paying far greater attention than has hitherto been done to the education of the "depressed classes" and the aborigines. It is also evident that both in British territory and in the Indian States there are extensive regions where special efforts are more necessary for the spread of education among Hindus than among Muslims, just as there are other extensive regions where special efforts are more necessary for the spread of education among Muhammadans than among Hindus.

But the most patent fact of all is that illiteracy is writ large over the face of the Indian population as a whole—particularly of its female section. All possible efforts should be made to remove this reproach.

### Progress of the Movement for Prohibition.

*Abkari* notes several encouraging signs in connection with the Indian movement for prohibition.

The Bombay Legislative Council has passed a resolution calling for the prohibition of the liquor traffic within the next twenty years. In course of the debate nearly all the unofficial Indian members supported the recommendations of the recent committee of inquiry. The action proposed to be taken by the Bombay City Corporation with a view to the picketing of liquor-shops and the prevention of drinking has been referred to the Courts for a legal decision as to its powers in the matter.

The Madras Temperance League, through its President, Sir T. Sadasiva Iyer, has issued circulars requesting all the various local authorities in the Madras Presidency to adopt resolutions in favour of prohibiting the sale of liquor within their respective jurisdictions. We are glad to note that many of the boards and municipalities concerned has adopted resolutions to this effect and forwarded them to Government. Arrangements are being made to publish the results in tabular form. Particulars will be found elsewhere of the significant action of the Madras Corporation in withdrawing its representatives from the local Licensing Board.

The particulars referred to above are, in part:—

The councillors of the Madras Corporation met

on July 8, and at the instance of Mr. K. C. Desikachari adopted a resolution taking strong exception to the attitude of the Madras Excise Licensing Board towards the recommendations of the Corporation in the matter of location and licensing of toddy shops and arrack taverns in the city, and calling upon their representatives on the Board to resign their places. In response to the resolution, Dr. Mahomed Osman, one of the three councillors elected by the Corporation to represent them on the Board, announced forthwith his intention of tendering the resignation of his membership in the Board.

*The Hindu* also reports that the Madura Municipality has done a manly act by refusing to send any representatives to the local Abkari Advisory Committee on the ground that the officials in the latter body do not generally pay heed to the Council's resolutions or the suggestions of its representatives.

### "No Work, No Vote."

*Young India* for September 25, 1924 contains an article by Mahatma Gandhi, entitled "No Work, No Vote", which begins thus :—

Maulana Hasrat Mohani brought me the other day the constitution of the Russian Soviet, and told me that I should read it, if only to find a striking resemblance between the Soviet constitution and that of the Congress. I have cursorily read that constitution, and whilst there is undoubtedly a striking resemblance in form between the two constitutions, showing that there is nothing new or original under the sun, there are also vital differences into which I need not go. But the one thing that captivated me was the formula of 'no work, no vote.' The qualification under the Soviet constitution is not money, not even four annas, not landed property, not even education, but *honest labour*. Thus the Soviet Congress is a workers' Congress. The philosophers, the professors, and all others must do some labour. What form that labour takes, I do not know. As I gave it only a few minutes, even if the information is to be found in the booklet, it has escaped me. The important and relevant fact is that every voter has to show sound work. My proposal therefore that every one henceforth who desires to belong to the Congress organisation should have some labour for the nation to his credit is neither original nor ridiculous. Seeing that a great nation has accepted before us the formula, we need not be ashamed of copying it. Labour given for only a few minutes per day to be fruitful must be of the same kind for the millions. And there is nothing but hand-spinning which can be made universal in a big country like ours.

Whether workers alone should be entitled to the Vote—whether they alone should enjoy the franchise or the rights of citizenship, is a question which we do not propose to discuss in this note. And it is in fact a question which cannot be adequately discussed within the compass of a note. We wish only to consider what is meant by

work or labour—by "honest labour" and "sound work".

Let us first take it for granted that work or labour can mean nothing but physical or bodily labour. If that be so, it does not seem necessary to confine Congress membership to those alone who spin. Those who do any kind of agricultural work with their hands should also be considered qualified. Similarly carpenters, blacksmiths, potters, bricklayers, masons, etc., should be declared qualified. It is not necessary that only one and the same kind of bodily labour should be made the indispensable condition for qualification.

One other thing that we wish respectfully to point out is that labour or work does not necessarily mean bodily labour. Intellectual labour and spiritual endeavour is also work. There are some kinds of intellectual work and spiritual endeavour which are just as "sound", and "honest" too, as the most strenuous physical labour: Intellectual and spiritual exertion often make as great a demand on human energy and are often as exhausting as bodily labour. It may not also be superfluous to point out that intellectual labour, too, has been indispensably necessary for the progress of man. And with reference to the Soviet Government it may be well for us to bear in mind that Lenin found that society could not go on without the help of some of those workers who are not labourers in the narrower acceptance of that term.

The Soviet Government, is no doubt the latest experiment in constitution-making. But there may be some sound ideas in earlier experiments, too. The Labour Party in Britain includes many men who do not work with their hands, except in a very literal sense, namely, by using a pen or a typewriter.

In Kasibhardvaja Sutta, in Suttanipata, we find Buddha laying claim to being a worker. Let us quote part of the story as translated by V. Fausboll.

At one time Bhagavat dwelt in Magadha at Dakkhinagiri in the Brahmana village Ekanala. And at that time the Brahmana Kasibharadvaja's five hundred ploughs were tied to the yokes in the sowing season. Then Bhagavat, in the morning, having put on his raiment and taken his bowl and robes, went to the place where the Brahmana Kasibharadvaja's work was going on. At that time the Brahmana Kasibharadvaja's distribution of food took place. Then Bhagavat went to the place where the distribution of food took place, and having gone there, he stood apart. The Brahmana Kasibharadvaja saw Bhagavat standing there

to get alms, and having seen him, he said this to Bhagavat :

I, O Samana, both plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, I eat ; thou also, O Samana, shouldst plough and sow, and and having ploughed and sown, thou shouldst eat'.

I also, O Brahmana, both plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, I eat', so said Bhagavat.

'Yet we do not see the yoke, or the plough, or the ploughshare, or the goad, or the oxen of the venerable Gotama'.

And then the venerable Gotama spoke in this way :

'I also, O Brahmana, both plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, I eat', so said Bhagavat.

Then the Brahmana Kasibharadvaja addressed Bhagavat in a stanza :

1. 'Thou professest to be a ploughman, and yet we do not see thy ploughing ; asked about thy ploughing tell us of it, that we may know thy ploughing.'

2. Bhagavat answered : 'Faith is the seed, penance the rain, understanding my yoke and plough, modesty the pole of the plough, mind the tie thoughtfulness my ploughshare and goad.'

3. 'I am guarded in respect of the body, I am guarded in respect of speech, temperate in food ; I make truth to cut away weeds, tenderness is my deliverance.'

4. 'Exertion is my beast of burden ; carrying me to Nirvana, he goes with turning back to the place where having gone one does not grieve.'

5. 'So this ploughing is ploughed, it bears the fruit of immortality ; having ploughed this ploughing one is freed from all pain.'

This story need not be pursued further.

In the Gospel according to St. John it is related that Jesus cured a man who had an infirmity thirty-eight years on the sabbath.

The man departed and told the Jews that it was Jesus which had made him whole. And therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus, and sought to slay Him, because He had done these things on the sabbath day. But Jesus answered them :—

"My Father worketh hitherto, and I work."

The work here spoken of was not bodily labour.

When in the Bhagavad-Gita Srikrishna says :

"Karmanye vadhi karaste ma phaleshu Kadachana,"  
"Thy business is with the action only, never with its fruits",

and when he exhorts him,

"Yogasthah Kuru Karman". "Perform action, dwelling in the union with the divine".

The *Karma* or work referred to is not exclusively bodily labour.

When it has been rightly said that even

"They also serve who only stand and wait", it becomes difficult to agree to the exclusion of all but bodily labourers from the privilege of serving India through the Congress organisation. And it is still more difficult to agree to such exclusion of all but those who would spin.

Our words are not meant to be a plea against obtaining the Congress franchise by spinning. It is a plea for the recognition of all kinds of "honest" and "sound" exertion.

### Mrs. Annie Besant's Jubilee.

There have been meetings in various places in celebration of the completion of fifty years of the public career of Mrs. Annie Besant. This was quite fitting. Mrs. Besant is a world figure. She has done much to extend the sphere of women's work. She has fought strenuously for women's rights, and for the fundamental right of free expression of opinion which is man's birth-right. She has endeavoured through a long series of years, by means of the spoken and the written word, to bring about a better understanding of the ancient wisdom and civilisation of the East, particularly of India, among the people of the West. Her educational work also has been remarkable. Though the ideal of Indian Home Rule was first definitely placed before the public by a writer in the *Modern Review*, it was Mrs. Besant more than anybody else who made it a living issue.

### Red Oleanders.

Rabindranath Tagore's latest work is a play in one act in Bengali, named "Rakta Karabi." The whole of it was published in the special autumnal number of the Bengali monthly *Prabasi*. Subsequently an English version of the play by the poet himself has been published as the special Sharadiya (autumn) number of the *Visvabharati Quarterly* with some illustrations by Gaganendranath Tagore in his modified cubist style. It has been priced at rupees three per copy in aid of the Pearson Memorial Hospital Fund in Santiniketan. Those who know both Bengali and English would find the two versions helpful in getting at the poet's meaning.

### Labour and Militarism.

In an article contributed by him to the *Morning Post* of London, Dean Inge establishes



a necessary connection between Labour and Militarism in the following way:—

"Is the world to belong to the high-standard races or to the low-standard races? Is the wellfed, highly educated American workman, with a motor car and creased trousers, and an expensively dressed wife, to prevail over the rice-eating Asiatic, who works fourteen hours a day, and saves out of wages on which a white man would starve? The American, the Australian, and the South African feel this to be literally a question of life and death. They are convinced that free competition between the white labourer and the Asiatic would mean the speedy and complete extinction of the former. They demand protection of the most drastic kind. The so-called Gentlemen's Agreement between America and Japan stipulated that no Japanese working man was to be allowed to emigrate to the New World. The professional classes do not ask for this protection; it is a working man's question. The white labourer is economically so far inferior to the Asiatic that the latter must be kept out altogether. And if necessary he must be kept out by battleships and bayonets. A Japanese once asked me whether the League of Nations would give to his countrymen the same liberty of settlement as to Europeans. I said that there was no such intention. 'Then, why?' he asked unanswerably, 'should we join the League of Nations?' As I said lately, the white man has no thought of giving up the weapons which have made him the master and bully of the planet. It is not easy to see how disarmament can ever be accepted while the white labour can only live behind a Chinese wall, built this time, to exclude, not the Tartars but the Chinese. But if Asiatics were admitted, they would soon drive even the cheapest white labour off the field. Will they ultimately force their way in or will America and Australia remain permanently white? It would be rash to prophesy. But it seems clear that the claim of the white labourer to a much higher standard of living than has ever before been reached by his class must commit him not only to a policy of stringent protection, but to militarism. If the Asiatic can give much better value for his wages than the white man (and this is the sole serious charge against him), he can only be kept at home by telling him that he will be shot if he tries to compete with the whites. It seems, then, that in many cases racial prejudice is only a stalking-horse for a far more fundamental antagonism."

*The Kobe Herald* observes:—

"The main trouble lies in the fact that prejudice exists on both sides. Scrutch the average Japanese for example, and you will find perhaps as much racial prejudice, certainly as much racial pride, as you will find anywhere. Only education and intercourse will serve to correct this state of things."

But if Westerners exclude Orientals from their lands, and in retaliation the Orientals exclude the Westerners from theirs when and where they can, how can this intercourse take place? Slave-driving and exploiting by the West in the East is not intercourse.

## National Defence and National Autonomy.

Indians have been told again and again by their British opponents in a taunting spirit: "You want to be politically free to manage your internal affairs, though you cannot defend your country! You are to be masters of the house and we are to keep watch and ward! A nice arrangement indeed—from your point of view!"

To this *New India* replies:—

Such diarchy existed even in the now Self-Governing Colonies. The grant of Responsible Government was not in Australia and Canada made to depend on the withdrawal of Imperial troops. The latter remained to guard the Colonies, *at the expense of the Imperial Government* (unlike in India) even after that Government ceased to have any voice in the Civil or National policy pursued by the Government of the Colony.

Moreover, there are countless men in India who would both be ready and able to defend their country, if the British Government did not stand in the way of their getting the necessary training. All Indians are not pacifists, nor are they all cowards.

## Abduction of Woman

*The Mussalman* says:—

It is a matter of deep regret to us to note that cases of abduction of women have become very frequent in Bengal, and what is a matter of greater regret to us as Mussalmans is that in the majority of cases the girls or women abducted are Hindus and the abductors are Mussalmans. We have to hang down our heads in shame when we constantly find such cases reported in newspapers. It may be that the girls or women that are carried away are mostly of questionable character, it may be that the Hindu society as a whole are morally responsible for the fact that certain of their women fall easy prey to Muslim ruffians, it may be that in some cases the girls elope with Muslim youths of their own accord, it may be that cases of adultery by mutual consent are sometimes reported as those of rape—taking all these assumptions as facts, we shall find no reason, far less any shadow of justification, as to why Muslim young men—young men even belonging to the class which are generally called 'lower'—should figure in criminal courts, as accused in abduction cases. It is time that the Muslim community as a whole should take serious notice of the matter and those who have any voice or influence should try their best to put down this sort of heinous lawlessness on the part of a section of their co-religionists. We do not say that members of other communities are immune from this vice. We do not say that others are puritans and it is only Mussalmans who have the monopoly of this vice. But we address the Mussalmans specially, because we ourselves are Mussalmans and because it is mostly Mussalmans who have been figuring in these cases and also because it is mostly Hindu women who are victims of Muslim outrages. It is the

duty of Mussalmans—specially of those having local influence—in every district, in every sub-division, nay in every village, to try to check these lawless elements and keep them under control. What is necessary is that there should be a strong public opinion everywhere against these misdeeds so that none may commit them with impunity. In villages—and most of these crimes are committed in villages—pressure can be easily brought to bear upon those inclined to commit such outrages. Persons like them may be socially ostracised or, at any rate, may be deprived of all amenities of social life. That is calculated to act as a great corrective. But what is necessary at the first instance is to create a strong public opinion in the villages against these crimes—this moral depravity of Muslim youths—and, we think, our vernacular contemporaries, conducted by Mussalmans, may render a great service in this connection, if they take up the question in right earnest. We, Muslims, would be guilty of a great dereliction of duty if we sleep over the matter and fail to do everything possible to blot out this stain on the good name of the community.

### Hinduism and Roman Catholicism.

Dr. Margaret Lamont writes in *The Catholic Herald of India* :—

"I had time in Bombay, besides my plague work, in spite of the thousands who were dying, and found dead in the streets every morning, to visit a Government Leper Asylum. There I found a Hindu shrine (with a small leper girl shyly laying a marigold, that flower of the poor and of Our Lady, on it)—and a chapel dedicated to our Lady of Dolours—no other religions were represented there, and I often feel the soul of the best Hinduism is more like that of Catholic truth than any other non-Catholic creed."

That perhaps partly explains how the late Brahmabandhab Upadhyay could be both a Hindu and a Roman Catholic.

### The General Election in England

Apart from considerations of friendliness or unfriendliness towards Indians on the part of different British political parties, our sympathies are with the Labour party. The manual labourers in every country form the majority of the people, and it is only in recent times that they have begun to have an effective part in the management of public affairs in any country. For the first time in the history of Britain, the Labour party came into power this year. But they held power only by sufferance as it were, and were in office only for six months. Therefore, though within this brief period they have done things which go to show their political capacity, they have not had time to fully develop and carry out their home and foreign policies and programmes.

It is natural for us, therefore, to wish that they should have sufficient time to show what they are capable of. The self-governing capacity of Labour in one country, proved to demonstration, cannot but influence the progress towards real democracy in other countries too.

As regards India, Labour in power has not been able to practise what Labour in opposition professed and preached. This is no doubt a failing which is not peculiar to Labour. Other parties, too, have similarly failed to carry out the promises made, directly or indirectly, while in opposition. An additional excuse may rightly be made by Labour. It held power only by sufferance and held it for a short period. So it may say that if the Labour party can form a majority of the House of commons by itself and can enjoy power for a pretty long period, they can do for India what they want to. It does not rest with us to bring Labour into power. But we wish all success to the party. If Labour Members come into power again by virtue of their being a majority by themselves and if they hold power long, they would be able to demonstrate the sincerity of their professions in relation to India. If they succeed in giving a concrete shape to their ideals, it would be good for them and good for India. And it would justify the faith of a section of politically-minded Indians in the "British sense of justice." For our part, even if Labour fulfils its promise, we would continue to believe in the need of repeatedly asking all subject peoples :

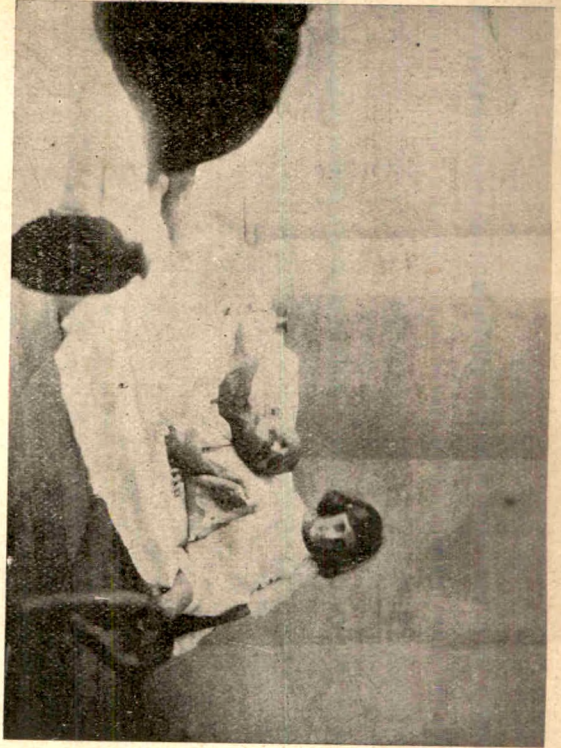
"Hereditary bondsmen, know ye not, Themselves must strike the blow who would be free?"

For freedom is a thing which cannot be given; it has to be worked for, it has to be won. Those who have not made it their *sadhana* (strenuous endeavour) to be self-ruling in their individual and corporate lives, are destined to be enslaved by indigenuous despots even if their foreign fetters were taken off.

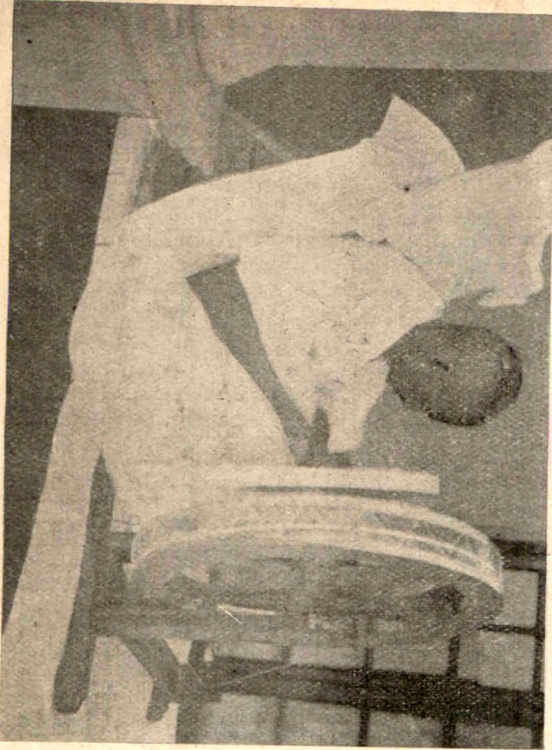
### Gandhi-ji's Fast.

When we first learned from a telegram addressed to a friend that Mahatma Gandhi had begun a fast for 21 days, we were disturbed in spirit. When subsequently we read in the papers that he had promised to break his fast if his life were at any time really in danger—for, he had said, he did not want to die but to live and serve, a purer and a better man, we felt somewhat

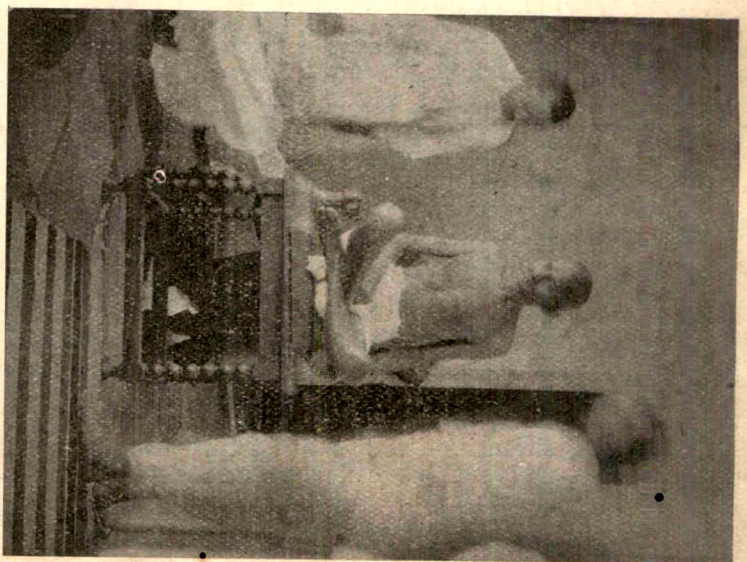




Mahatma Gandhi  
Two Hours Before  
Completion of His  
Twenty-one Days'  
Fast, Holding the  
Arm of Pandit  
Jawaharlal Nehru's  
Daughter, Who is a  
Great Favourite  
of the Mahatma



Mahatma Gandhi  
Spinning on the  
Morning of the 21st  
Day of His Fast  
Which was Broken  
subsequently at  
Mid-day that Day



Gandhiji being Weighed after Completion of  
His 21st Days' Fast. On the Left is Dr.  
Bhambhani, on the Right Dr. Jivraj  
Mehta, Sitting Behind is Dr. Ansari  
Noting Weight on Balance and  
Mrs. Sarojini Standing Behind,  
an Elbow only being Visible



relieved. We now rejoice that he has been able to complete his fast and is on the way to regaining his usual health and strength. He is a great moral and spiritual force in the world. Everything no doubt is in the hand of God, but humanly speaking, the world cannot afford to lose him now.

### How Gandhi-ji Broke His Fast.

Srijut Ramchandran, a senior student of of Visvabharati, was present when Gandhiji broke his fast;—he was in fact with the Mahatma for some days before and after that event. We are indebted to him for the following account of what took place when the fast had been completed :—

"It was a bright and sunny morning, and in the faces also of the leaders and others who began to assemble in the big hall downstairs there was sunshine and brightness. Mahatmaji's fast ended only at twelve at noon. By that time the hall was packed to bursting. There was Pandit Motilal Nehru looking like a Roman senator in toga with his khaddar garments, his face full of smiles, and Deshbandhu C. R. Das, dignified and looking very firm indeed. Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru bright, young, fresh and brimming with enthusiasm, was there too. And then there was Hakim Ajmal Khan, a man whom at the very look you take for a leader of men, with his piercing dark eyes and deep, serene, ways. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was talking away while his remarkable face reflected all the generosity, tolerance and breadth of view characteristic of him. Maulana Mohammad Ali is a wonderful figure. When I saw him first, I felt like putting a crown upon his head—he looks so much like a king. He was moving about radiantly happy. Maulana Shaukat Ali, a giant with the heart of a child looked as if he could not contain his joy. Srijut Mahadev Desai, with his innate humility and depth, was a quiet peaceful figure in the background and there were besides a host of others, all impatient for the coming happy event.

"In the meanwhile Mahatmaji had called Mr. C. F. Andrews upstairs where he lay. They embraced each other. One could easily see that these two great men were more than brothers even. Then the doctors were called in, and Mahatmaji, after thanking them in the most touching terms embraced them too. It was soon twelve. One after another the leaders and the rest softly came up, and

there on the bed, covered only with snow-white khaddar, lay Mahatmaji with a radiant smile and wonderful glow in his face. I saw Srijut Banker coming in like a devotee going to his shrine. Mahatmaji held out his arms like a father and Srijut Banker was clasped in a loving embrace. It was like a father and a son meeting. And then one by one the leaders came in. Hakim Ajmal Khan came. The Mahatma held out again his trembling arms. They embraced. Maulana Mahomed Ali came. Him too the Mahatma embraced. Maulana Shaukat Ali did not, however, offer to be embraced. He "touched" the Mahatma's feet. The Mahatma laughed. He knew why his "Big Brother" did not go in for the embrace. He was too large-limbed. The embracing went on till all the leaders had come in.

"Hindu and Muslim, Christian and Zoroastrian met as brothers round the bed where he lay. When the greetings were over, all sat round the cot. Sarojini Devi, on the verge of tears, Sarala Devi and many other distinguished women stood near the bed. A Maulana first sang some Koranic verses. Mr. Andrews next sang in a wonderful rapturous way a beautiful Christian hymn. This was followed by the chanting of Vedic hymns and verses from the Gita. When the prayers of these religions had thus mingled, there was silence. Then from the bed came a clear silver voice. It was the voice of truth. Mahatmaji said: 'For the last thirty years Hindu-Muslim unity has been nearest my heart. It was the hope of my life. It is still its one great dream. My prayer is that God will give me the chance to cement this unity with my life, if necessary. The Hinduism that refuses to live in peace with Islam is no religion at all, and Islam is worth nothing if it refuses to tolerate Hinduism. I pray that all the leaders, Hindus and Muslims, will take a vow that they too shall not rest till unity is achieved, that they too will be ready to die, if necessary, for the cause. My last prayer to-day is, tolerate each other, love each other and enthrone God in your hearts.' His voice trembled as he finished. There was silence again, and one after another the leaders spoke, giving most solemn assurances never to rest till better relations had been established. Maulana Azad spoke in the most inspiring way, and Swami Shradhdhanandaji did the same.

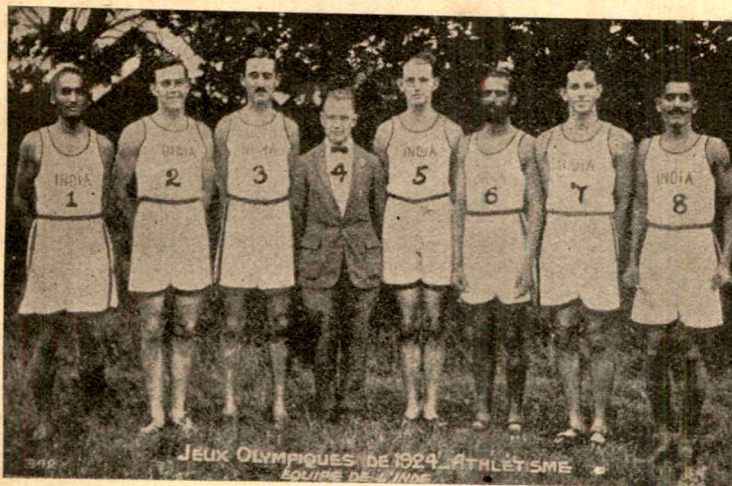
Just a minute after Dr. Ansari brought up a cup of orange juice, and this with a few chips of orange was Mahatmaji's first meal



after twenty-one days. To Sarojini Devi, who knelt near the bed, Mahatmaji said: 'Don't you imagine it is all finished. It is only begun.' He spoke the truth. Mahatmaji has not had any illusions that all dissensions would cease at once. He is fully aware of the 'vast undone.'

### The Olympic Games and India.

For the last two terms India has been participating in the Olympic Games. Details of the last game are set forth elsewhere. It is hoped that in future India will take greater share in it, specially next year, when



- |               |                     |                |
|---------------|---------------------|----------------|
| 1. Pala Singh | 3. Hildreth         | 5. Hall        |
| 2. Pitt       | 4. Mr. Buck (Coach) | 6. Dalip Singh |
| 7. Lakshmanan | 8. Hinge            |                |

the function comes off nearer home, and thus establish as many points of international contact as possible, provided it is not inconsistent in any way with the self-respect of the Indian people.

A. G.

### The Bengal Arrests.

Anglo-Indian papers and British Tory journals, and British die-hards had been saying for months past that owing to the want of firmness of the Labour Government, British power and prestige in India was seriously on the wane, that British capital could no longer be safely invested in India, and that British lives and even the honour of British women had become insecure. Anglo-Indian correspondents in India of British "home" papers had been sending

alarming accounts of the state of things here in this "land of regrets" (that more money could not be made and that more quickly). When the General Election campaign began in Britain, Mr. Baldwin and others of his way of thinking began to thunder against the nerveless Indian policy of the Labour party. Such vapourings and such rollings of thunder could not but produce the thunderbolt. So at length the bolt, hurled from the heights of Simla by the modern Jupiter, has fallen in Bengal.

But so far as effectiveness goes, it is little better than stage thunder.

We remember the days of the Deportations during the Anti-partition agitation in Bengal. Then there was real, though short-lived, consternation. We were among those who took part in getting up a protest meeting. No leading politician, not even Sriji Suren-dranath Banerjee, could be persuaded to preside over the meeting. Despairing of mere politicians, we went to the late Pandit Sivanath Sastri, minister and missionary of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj. He said that, though he was not a politician, yet as no other man was available, he would take the chair. At once he wrote out a speech embodying a firm and dignified protest against the repressive policy of the Government. It was delivered at a public

meeting held at an open piece of land lying between the Brahma Girls' School and the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb school. For six months after the Bengal deportations Sriji Surendranath Banerjee did not address any Swadeshi meetings, as they were called in those days, though they continued to be held and addressed by other men. We write this from personal knowledge, as in those days we were in a position to have something to do with conducting the Swadeshi campaign.

What is the solution today? During the Bengal Partition agitation the Deportees did not number even a dozen. On the present occasion scores of men have been arrested. But is anybody terror-stricken? Not a bit. There will be sufferings and inconveniences, sometimes terrible privations, in the families of those who have been deported or arrested. With



such sufferings we wish to record our deep and respectful sympathy. But we know they will be borne with unconquerable strength and courage in many a home, in many an obscure corner of Bengal. In many a home, too the sufferers will be proud of the martyrdom of their near and dear ones. There will be deep resentment also and bitterness of feeling. But Bengal will not be cowed down, has not been cowed down. Nay, we shall be glad if Government's futile and foolish policy of repression does not lead to a resurgence of the reckless spirit of flinging down one's life in sheer bravado.

The Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre has not cowed down either the Panjab or India as a whole. The non-violent heroism with which the Akali and other Sikhs have met horrible forms of death and continue to face terrible persecutions akin to death in life, is proof positive of our statement.

So, it may be taken for granted that, even if in accordance with the new Bengal Ordinance, there be death penalties, which is not likely, our countrymen, though shocked, will not be panic-stricken. The struggle for the attainment of freedom and the destruction of despotism will not be given up but will receive a new impetus.

We do not wish to say harsh things of Lord Lytton. For he has been repeatedly hard hit by his Bad Luck, which may be merely the personification of his weakness and unwisdom. He is an unlucky man. His blunders are the opportunities of his opponents. His tactless and partially discourteous letter to the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee gave the latter the opportunity to cover up the defects of his university policy and administration and rehabilitate himself by a bold and thundering reply. A notorious passage in Lord Lytton's Dacca police parade speech enabled his critics to make political capital out of it. The public offer of the third Minister's post to some one of those M. L. C.s who would vote for the Ministers' salaries was made similar use of by his opponents. Instances need not be multiplied. His Lordship's latest and perhaps the gravest blunder of all has been asking Lord Reading for the introduction of a repressive policy in Bengal. We have been told that Lord Lytton came out to Bengal with sincere intentions to help her forward in the paths of political and educational progress. We do not disbelieve it. But good intentions alone are unavailing ;—a certain place is said to be paved with good intentions. One must have in addition the

knowledge, the wisdom, the tact and the strength to carry out one's good intentions.

In writing of Lord Lytton what we have done, we do not mean to absolve Lord Reading from all blame. He is certainly responsible. He states that he has had satisfactory proofs of a revolutionary conspiracy in Bengal. But unless we know what the evidences are and unless those against whom they have been brought forward have the opportunity to put their reliability to the proof by the production of rebutting evidence and other means, we cannot pronounce any opinion on the character of the evidence collected. Intellectual fallibility and moral inadequacy belong not merely to the lowest police informers and agents ; they have been found by the witness of history to characterize some of the most famous personages in the world. Therefore no man's word can be taken on trust. If the judgment of persons holding high office could be implicitly relied upon, why have elaborate forms of open trial, with full opportunities and facilities given to the accused for self-defence, come into vogue, and why have "Star Chamber" methods become a bye-word of reproach ?

No, we are not satisfied that there is any serious and dangerous revolutionary conspiracy in Bengal ; nor that, if any such existed, it could not be dealt with according to the existing ordinary laws of the land. The public must be satisfied on both points before approving of the steps taken by Government.

We are not aware of the existence of any revolutionary conspiracy in Bengal or in any other Province of India. To a far greater extent than any mere political question or method, the problem of Hindu-Moslem unity has at present been occupying the attention of the people. Mahatma Gandhi's influence, which has always made for non-violence, has been again in the ascendant. Of non-political questions, devastating floods in all parts of the country have put the severest strain on the energies of the altruistic workers of the country. No doubt there is deep discontent in the land. But there is, to the best of our knowledge, no serious preparation for a revolution.

Even granting that a revolutionary spirit or conspiracy existed in Bengal, is it certain that repression was the only medicine to cure this political malady ? When and where has mere repression succeeded in stamping out the revolutionary spirit ? Again and again has history taught that force is no



remedy. The use of force creates a desire in those against whom it is applied, to meet it by force. There is no question that in emergencies, in times of crises, public security must be promptly safeguarded. But there is at present no such crisis or emergency. Therefore we say, the steps taken have been unnecessary and ill-advised, and may even precipitate the evil results which they are *professedly* meant to prevent.

We have referred above to the lesson of history that popular discontent cannot be stamped out by force. But autocrats out here probably think the Russians, the Irish etc., were made of sterner stuff, and therefore their rulers did not succeed in putting down revolutionary movements by force. In India, on the contrary, they think they have to deal with a sorry lot of cowards who can be easily cowed down for ever. We do not claim to be a heroic people. But facts even in India are facts, and refuse to be ignored. Have the "strong" measures adopted in the Punjab, beginning with the Martial Law regime, crushed the spirit of the people there? The autocrats may reply: "The Punjab is inhabited by martial races, Bengal is not; and hence force may succeed in Bengal." But even in Bengal though the terrorist movement resulting from the Bengal Partition led to the hanging, transportation for life and long term imprisonment of many young men, and though subsequently in more recent times also many persons have been made state prisoners and many more imprisoned and punished in other ways, the revolutionary spirit has not been crushed, according to the testimony of the bureaucrats themselves;—for they assert that there has been a recrudescence of anarchism and the State is in great danger.

It is true that the terrorist movement in Bengal in the first decade of this century gradually died out. But it was not mere repression that brought about that result. Several other means had to be adopted. There were the Morley-Minto reforms. There was the annulling of the Bengal partition to some extent. Later came Mahatma Gandhi's cult of non-violence. The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms also made a section of the people hopeful.

Perhaps at the present juncture, too, conciliation will be tried later. But, it may be asked, why not try unmixed reform and conciliation? Why resort to repression at all? There is a reason. We will venture a guess. Again and again have

British Statesmen and other persons of British race who have no title to that name declared that Britain will not be cowed down, will not be forced by threats of violence to make concessions. Britishers are mightily afraid of the world thinking that they have yielded to force or threats of violence (we need not here discuss whether they have ever done so). So even when they want to be a little progressive, they make a previous show of force in order to make the world believe that the "concessions," as they are styled, proceed from unmixed British generosity. But is the world deceived?

Of course, on the present occasion, the adoption of a repressive policy is not due entirely to the motive referred to above. The general elections in England have much to do with it. The Labour Party has been again and again accused of being weak and vacillating in dealing with the Indian situation. If the Labour Ministry had continued to be in power, they might have disregarded this charge brought against them, as they actually did after the much-discussed Serajunge resolution relating to Gopinath Saha, when there was an agitation in Anglo-India and Britain for forcing the hands of Government and make them adopt stern measures of repression. But now Labour has again to obtain the votes of the British people. So the Labour candidates have to show the British electors that Labour can be "firm" and "strong". Hence there has not now been any opposition on the part of the "home" authorities to the demand of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy that the Indian people should be taught who is the master.

But whatever the origin of the repressive policy, it is bound to fail. The human spirit possesses great elasticity. Any pressing down is certain to be followed by a rebound.

British repressive policy has naturally on every occasion on which it has been adopted, victimised the strongest Indian political party, on the plea of that party favouring violence, or its activities leading to violence. That was what was done at the time of the Bengal partition agitation. Leading non-co-operators, including at last Mr. M. K. Gandhi, were similarly deprived of their liberty when the Non-co-operators formed the strongest party. Until lately the Swarajists have been the strongest political party, at any rate in Bengal. But a blow has been struck at them when their popularity and influence were already on the wane and when Gandhi and his followers had begun to come into

their own. The very fact of Gandhiji's revived popularity should have been considered an armour of safety against anarchism, if there were any. So, even from the point of view of the bureaucracy, the blow has been ill-timed and ill-aimed.

It will give a new lease of life to the influence and power of the Swarajya party and make heroes of the arrested men, some of whom had been heroes before already. And as all political parties in India are opposed to the policy and practice of repression, all will stand shoulder to shoulder and present a united front. Thus a united Congress which many leaders had been trying to bring about is more likely to be a reality now than seemed probable even a few days ago. Such a result was neither anticipated nor desired by the bureaucracy.

That Mr. C. R. Das has not been arrested is due to the same policy which left Srijut Surendranath Banerjea outside the jail in the enjoyment of inglorious personal freedom.

If it be really true that a serious revolutionary spirit widely prevails in Bengal, the remedy for it would lie in the immediate adoption of such a strikingly progressive sound policy in matters political as would appeal to the imagination of the people, in lightening the burden of taxation on those on whom it presses heavily and in taking all those steps which are taken in free self-ruling countries for improving the material condition of the people.

### The Reforms Committee.

The evidence before the Reforms Committee of all those whose opinions really count goes to show that no political party in India will be satisfied without complete autonomy in the provinces and responsibility in the Central Government. As regards provincial autonomy there is practical unanimity among all the influential witnesses. As regards the Central Government, some leave Defence, Foreign Affairs and the Political portfolio in the hands of the Executive Government. This is the minimum. More advanced is the view that nothing should be left in the hands of an irresponsible executive, and that even the military department should be under the control of the legislature, a minimum annual military allotment, say of 50 crores, being guaranteed. We have more than once observed that if the military department be left uncontrolled, its expenditure would make it impossible to carry on the work of the other

departments effectively even if we had full freedom of action in them. Freedom cannot be obtained by compartments.

### "The Indian Social Reformer."

With reference to our note in the last issue relating to the *Indian Social Reformer*, Mr. K. Natarajan has informed us that the paper was started not by him but by some friends whom he joined within a few months of its starting.

### "Forward."

We congratulate *Forward* on its completing the first year of its existence. We hope it will grow more and more useful to the public.

### Gandhi-ji on Himself.

A Roman Catholic correspondent having drawn Gandhi-ji's attention to the fact that many of his admirers and followers have compared him to Christ and having criticised that comparison, Mahatma Gandhi wrote in reply in *Young India* :—

"So it is only natural for me to ask you what you think of all that these writers have written about you."

The pain that the writer feels over the comparison is obvious. In answer to his question I may repeat what I have said before that I do not like these comparisons at all. They serve no useful purpose and cause unnecessary hurt to the feelings of the devotees of the masters with whose life mine is compared. I lay claim to nothing exclusively divine in me. I do not claim prophethood. I am but a humble seeker after Truth and bent upon finding it. I count no sacrifice too great for the sake of seeing God face to face. The whole of my activity whether it may be called social, political, humanitarian or ethical is directed to that end. And as I know that God is found more often in the lowliest of His creatures than in the high and mighty, I am struggling to reach the status of these. I cannot do so without their service. Hence my passion for the service of the suppressed classes. And as I cannot render this service without entering politics, I find myself in them. Thus I am no master. I am but a struggling, erring, humble servant of India and there-through of humanity.

### Mahatma Gandhi on Sympathy for the Poor.

In *Young India* for September 11 last, in the article entitled "The Realities" (By M. K. Gandhi), occurs the following passage :—

The Congress must progressively represent the



masses. They are as yet untouched by politics. They have no political consciousness of the type our politicians desire. Their politics are confined to bread and salt—I dare not say butter, for millions do not know the taste of ghee or even oil. Their politics are confined to communal adjustments. It is right however to say that we the politicians do represent the masses in opposition to the Government. But if we begin to use them before they are ready, we shall cease to represent them. We must first come in living touch with them by working for them and in their midst. We must share their sorrows, understand their difficulties and anticipate their wants. With the pariahs we must be pariahs and see how we feel to clean the closets of the upper classes and have the remains of their table thrown at us. We must see how we like being in the boxes, mis-called houses, of the labourers of Bombay. We must identify ourselves with the villagers who toil under the hot sun beating on their bent backs and see how we would like to drink water from the pool in which the villagers bathe, wash their clothes and pots and in which their cattle drink and roll. Then and not till then shall we truly represent the masses and they will, as surely as I am writing this, respond to every call.

"We cannot all do this, and if we are to do this, good-bye to Swaraj for a thousand years and more," some will say. I shall sympathise with the objection. But I do claim that some of us at least will have to go through the agony and out of it only will a nation, full, vigorous and free, be born. I suggest to all that they should give their mental cooperation and that they should mentally identify themselves with the masses, and as a visible and tangible token thereof, they should earnestly spin for at least thirty minutes per day in their name and for their sake. It will be a mighty prayer from the intelligentsia among the Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsis, Christians, and others of India, rising up to Heaven for their, that is, India's deliverance.

### The Unity Conference.

The resolutions passed at the Delhi Unity Conference breathe the true spirit of religious liberty and toleration. They are quite reasonable. On going through them, the only addition which occurred to us as desirable was that in the second resolution the words "outrages on women" should be inserted after the words "resulting in" in the first sentence, making it run as follows:—

This conference deplors the dissensions and quarrels that are now going on between Hindus and Muslims in several places in India resulting in [outrages on women.] loss of life, burning and plunder of property and desecration of temples."

On what the Conference achieved and what it can do, the following article contributed by Bishop Westcott, the Metropolitan of India, to *The Statesman*, will amply repay perusal:—

The very criticisms which have been levelled against

the Unity Conference, so far from demonstrating its futility, have, to my mind, indicated the secret of that measure of success which it has already achieved, and the ground of our hopes for a permanent improvement in communal relationships. I am under no illusion in regard to the fact that those economic and political causes which were definitely excluded from the consideration of the conference lie at the very root of the present troubles and that the religious differences which are generally the ostensible causes of outbreaks are more often than not merely the most effective means by which designing persons have been able to excite the passions of ignorant and fanatical people. But another Committee have been appointed to consider these, and it has been called on to report by the middle of December, thus allowing fuller time for the consideration of a very thorny subject.

### EARLY TENSION.

Meanwhile, this conference has in no small measure effected in the case of those who were present that conversion of mind which we have been constantly reminded is the essential preliminary to the establishment of genuine Hindu-Moslem unity. Of this change of mind no one who was present throughout the discussions of the Subjects Committee, could have failed to be aware. We commenced to sit on the morning of Saturday the 27th and when, after preliminary speeches on the general principles of religious tolerance and freedom of thought, we got down to the consideration of a series of brief resolutions which a small committee had prepared, the bitterness and tenseness of feeling which prevailed at once became obvious and, though their expression was curbed they yet threatened to render the Conference abortive. As we listened on hour after hour to Hindus expatiating on their veneration for the cow and denouncing its slaughter we realised the depth and intensity of their feelings though the arguments by which they sought to explain and justify them might carry little conviction. No grievance on the Muhammedan side seemed to an impartial observer, to arouse quite the same bitter resentment, though at one time the consciousness that the playing of music outside mosque at the time of public worship could hardly be placed on a level with the slaughter of cows as an outrage led some Muhammedan speakers to give prominence to the carrying of idols in procession as an insult to their religious susceptibilities no whit less grievous than that of which the Hindus complained.

### A NEW SPIRIT.

This underlying bitterness was associated with a spirit of deep suspicion. Neither party seemed able to trust the professions of goodwill made by the other and generous advances were treated as a bait to secure some more substantial advantage. Even on the afternoon of the fifth day when a speech by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had won unstinted admiration by the brilliance of its eloquence and the truly generous spirit which animated it, a Hindu was found to rise at once and ask what concession he hoped to receive in return. But the needed conversion had been in progress during those four and a half days and the indignant shouts from all sides which greeted this question showed that success would not long be delayed. The spirit of bargaining and the desire for party gain had largely been replaced by a new spirit of tolerance which recognised that differences of custom and belief were legi-



timate, and that the convictions of others were entitled to the same respect which they asked for their own. The winning of concessions ceased to be the aim of the rival disputants, as it was perceived that the spirit of goodwill and mutual consideration was a more effective means of removing causes of offence.

#### RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES.

But the conversion went further: at the commencement of the conference great stress was laid by both parties on their rights and the earlier drafts of the resolutions had largely taken the form of a declaration of rights.

Gradually the members came to realize that rights carried responsibilities and that the solution of their difficulties was to be found rather in the acknowledgment of obligations than in the assertion of rights.

I must not stop to trace out other aspects of the change in thought and temper which issued in the resolutions passed by the conference. The value of these lies in the fact that they are the expression of a genuine spirit of tolerance and not the embodiment of a working compromise as the result of communal bargaining. I know well that there are many outside the conference who are religious fanatics to whom the letter of their Scriptures is an irrevocable law compelling them to deny the right of religious liberty at any rate to their own co-religionists, men who were capable of commending the Amir of Afghanistan for the recent stoning of a Muhammadan heretic, but the new spirit of tolerance will spread as it has spread in the West, and it is for us to encourage it.

#### UNITY AND SWARAJ.

It has been urged that this plea for religious tolerance on the part of Hindu and Mahomedan leaders at the conference is simply the result of the present political situation, it being recognised that *Swaraj* is impossible of attainment so long as the present bitter antagonism exists. Granted that this is largely true, we have no reason to mistrust it, if it is genuine, as I believe it to be, because of the motive which has inspired it. The Government has frankly accepted for India the political ideal of dominion status within the Empire. Are we Englishmen not bound, in loyalty to this ideal, to welcome whole-heartedly the appearance of that spirit which will bring the day of its realisation nearer? But again it is asked, can we hope that the resolutions of a conference which can lay no claim to represent officially the religious communities whose disputes it sought to settle, will carry any weight with the mass of the followers of those faiths? The conference achieved success largely because the members were not elected delegates holding a "ticket," but men free to listen to reason and to be won by argument.

There was room for the free spirit of God to work among them, and the claims of freedom and tolerance were not overwhelmed by the infallible pronouncements of theological experts. The theologian was not ignored, as was shown by the presence of Maulana Kifaiyet Ullah, the President of the Jamayet-ul-Ulema of Delhi and many others and the deference with which they were listened to, but their theories and statements were tested by the light of a wider knowledge, and truth prevailed over prejudice.

The resolutions go forth to win their way to popular acceptance by the same forces which

brought them to the birth. They appeal to men not by the weight of the acknowledged authority which lies behind them, but by the reasonableness which characterises them. They prescribe little in the way of definite rules applicable only to special circumstances, but they inculcate a spirit in which every emergency can be successfully dealt with. Throughout the conference, though the thought of Mahatma Gandhi and his ideals were ever present, speakers deliberately refrained from claiming the weight of his authority for the opinions which they urged, preferring that they should win their way just in so far as the measure of truth which they embodied warranted.

If the resolutions for which general acceptance is now sought embody true principles, the solution of the problem of religious strife which they offer will deserve a ready welcome, but, if their underlying principles are false, no coercive authority can save them from the rejection to which they must be doomed.

#### Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim.

By the death of Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Baronet, the Bombay Presidency in particular and all India in general have suffered a



Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim

great loss. At the time of his death he was in his 84th year. *The Indian Daily Mail* writes:—

The share which the industrious and enterprising Khoja community of Western India had in developing and extending the trade of the country is unquestionably very great. For many years past the Khojas have played a foremost part in the great work of creating new industries, and of opening up new markets for the produce of India. They have had a large influence in enlarging and strengthening the prosperity of the City of Bombay. By the Khojas of to-day, Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim is acknowledged throughout Bombay and Western India as being foremost among their leaders.



Of his generosity we read in *The Bombay Chronicle* :—

Sir Currimbhoy was chairman and supporter of several Khoja benevolent funds, and his private charities were very extensive—they were not confined to his own people or the professors of his own creed. He was interested in many charitable institutions, every deserving institution getting help from his generous hands. For many years he was connected with the fund for providing medical relief to the women of India. Of his recent public benefactions his magnificent contributions of the three lakhs to the Prince of Wales Museum and of 4½ lakhs to the Royal Institute of Science and the endowment of 10 lakhs this year for scholarships to Muslim students may be mentioned.

There is also a big orphanage at Matunga which is supported by his charities.

### Floods.

All parts of India have suffered this year from devastating floods. In northern India among public institutions the greatest sufferer has been the Gurukula at Hardwar. It has lost in buildings and other property washed away, several lakhs of rupees. At Hrisikesh more than a hundred Sadhus are said to have lost their lives. No trace of their bodies have been found.

The loss of life caused by the floods in different parts of India is irreparable. Property lost may, however, be replaced if the people and Government are able to do their duty.

We have more than once suggested that capable engineers ought to be deputed by Government to see what has been done in America and elsewhere to prevent floods from devastating the country. On their return from abroad they may be able to do something similar for India.

### Protective Steel Tariff.

What with dumping by foreign manufacturers and what with fluctuations in exchange, the Indian steel industry again finds its existence threatened. It has again applied for a higher protective tariff. On principle we do not object to an increased tariff. But there ought to be a limit to the sacrifices which Indian purchasers are required to make. The people of India may agree to pay higher prices if the Tata Iron and Steel Works be made a really national industry. Therefore, before agreeing to a gradually increasing tariff, Government ought to ascertain whether the concern is really carried on with as much economy as is consistent with efficiency and whether adequate arrange-

ments have been made for the training of Indians to replace all foreign skilled labour within a reasonable period of time. It would be unreasonable to call upon the people of India to pay high prices for certain kinds of steel goods for an indefinitely long period of time, in order that fat salaries may be paid to foreigners and dividends may be earned by the share-holders of the company owning the Works.

### Rabindranath Tagore on the Spirit of the French Revolution.

A Paris telegram states, that, interviewed by a representative of the "Œuvre", the poet Tagore said that if France succeeded in making the spirit of the French revolution triumph at Geneva, peace would be secured for the world. Obviously the poet had in view the principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, which have remained largely confined to paper.

### Rabindranath Tagore and Politics.

With reference to another Paris telegram, running as follows :

"Dr. Rabindranath Tagore is sailing from Cherbourg for America in response to an invitation from the Latin American Republics to attend the celebration of the centenary of their independence."

A Bengali contemporary asks, why the poet does not devote himself with his whole soul to liberating his own country.

We do not know whether the poet if his attention had been drawn to the question, would have answered it, and what his answer would have been in that case. But as one journalist has asked the question, another may be permitted to make a few remarks.

In our opinion the poet has been trying all along to win for himself and his countrymen by his sadhana a deeper and broader freedom than what mere political liberty signifies. Not that he has been indifferent to the attainment of political freedom. He wants it not less than any other Indian. Only his method has been different. Indian political idealism, on its positive aspects has not yet left behind Tagore's idealism, which is still undergoing fresh developments.

The inclinations, aptitudes and powers of different persons are different. Therefore it is not reasonable to expect the same kind of work from all men.

A man may be doing his duty as a citizen to the full without being a statesman or a politician. Let us here quote a few sentences from an article contributed by

Benedetto Croce, Italy's foremost philosopher, to *The Century Magazine*. In order that the value of Croce's opinion may be fully estimated, it should be added that he has himself been a statesman, and therefore he is not a mere theorist. He was appointed to the Senate of the Kingdom of Italy in 1920, and in the same year, under the Giolitti government, he became minister of public instruction and inaugurated a policy of liberal reconstruction. His literary, philosophical, and political theories also have exerted a very wide influence on modern thought. In his opinion, it is not merely political activity that is *public*; every sphere of activity is entitled to be called public activity.

"And this sphere is public in that it is part of that universal in which all other spheres of activity unite, vibrate, resound, and from which vibrations and echoes descend into each separate sphere."

From this last observation of his, one can without difficulty infer that Croce understands the function of citizenship in a very liberal and wide sense. This inference finds support from what immediately follows :

"A citizen becomes a poet or a philosopher or a saint without, however, ceasing to be a citizen. On the contrary, the deeper he goes into one of these forms of being, the more strictly he adheres to that form, the better and truer he becomes as a citizen. The poet gives his people their dreams of the human heart. The philosopher sets before them the truths of nature and the lineaments of history. The saint cultivates and imparts the moral virtues. And all these creative forces make their influence felt in the field that is more specifically political. It may happen on occasion that poet, philosopher, or saint becomes statesman or soldier : a political personality, that is, in the narrow sense. Not a few such re-orientations or changes of role might be counted in the past.....; and they had their public careers either before their special callings developed or after they had passed their full maturity and wearing out."

In India Sri Aurobindo Ghosh had his "public," i. e., political career before his special calling developed. The same may be said to some extent of Rabindranath Tagore.

We have not written this Note as an *apologia* for the Poet's life. That is not necessary. We have been trying to understand that we should not complain if our poets, sages, philosophers, saints, teachers, historians, men of letters and artists are not also politicians. He who is true to his vocation, whatever it is, is also a true citizen.

Croce concludes :—

To secure union of politics with the other forms of human activity we do not have to depend on rare prodigies and geniuses. That union is already

a fact when we do the work for which we are fitted in the best and noblest way, and with a sense of responsibility and service to our fellows."

It may be incidentally observed here that though Rabindranath did not talk of an Asiatic Federation as others have done, and though he did not go to China with any direct or indirect political object, his visit to that ancient land has revived the ancient feelings of love and brotherhood between India and China and has thus sown the seeds of a deeper and more enduring unity than any revolutions on an Asiatic Federation could produce.

### Spinning Franchise

"Spinning as a voluntary sacrifice is all right, but as a qualification for franchise it is galling. This is the substance of the objection that I hear against my proposal. I must confess I am surprised at the objection, for it is offered not because it is spinning that matters, but because with the critics it is the restriction, the obligation that matters. But why? If a monetary qualification, that is restriction, may be imposed, why not a working qualification? Is it more honourable to pay than to labour? Is it galling in a temperance association to require every member to be a teetotaler? Is it galling in a naval association to require every member to possess certain naval qualifications? Is it galling, say, in France, where military skill is considered a necessity of national existence, to require every member to practise the use of arms? If it is not galling to have the requisite test in any of these cases, why should it be galling in an Indian National Assembly to have spinning and the wearing of khaddar, which is national necessity, to be the qualification for the franchise, or which is the same thing, the test of membership? Is it not the easiest and readiest method of popularising it and bringing it home to the people? Of course, my argument is addressed only to those who regard it as absolutely necessary that India should be self-contained in so far as her clothing is concerned and that, principally, through the spinning wheel and the handloom.—M. K. Gandhi.

The foregoing passage has been extracted from *Young India* for October 16, 1924. We may be permitted to respectfully offer a few remarks on it. Before we do so, we hope to be excused for quoting what we wrote on hand-spinning in some recent issues, in order to show that we are not captious, and cynical critics of the charkha. We wrote in our last September and October issues respectively:

Every improvement in the condition of the people and whatever they may achieve by their own efforts may undoubtedly be of some indirect help to them in winning Swaraj. To that extent hand-spinning may indirectly promote the cause of Swaraj. But the direct advantage is to afford the underfed and the unemployed a supplementary source of income, however small, which they cannot have in any other way that we know of. Of course, the spinning wheel cannot be though



of as a permanent institution. But so cannot the common country plough or the hand-saw also; these will be replaced by the steam-plough and the power-saw. The bullock cart has already been partly driven out of the field in large cities by motor lorries. But the more primitive implements and conveyances still continue to be of use to man over the greater portion of India. And even the most up-to-date appliances of industry are being constantly scrapped in favour of more improved ones. So, no appliance, however, primitive, is to be despised or rejected, if it can be used to advantage under present circumstances, though it should not at the same time be made a fetish of.

Swaraj can be won only by weapons of the spirit. Of course, the soul will use material means. But where the spirit is absent, no organisation or mechanical contrivance primitive or modern, can be of any avail.

We have more than once dealt on the economic value of hand-spinning and hand-weaving: we have said that as whatever gives us confidence in our ability to achieve something important must necessarily embolden us and increase our zeal to attain Swaraj, so our ability to clothe ourselves would contribute indirectly to the attainment of Swaraj; we have also said that the use of Khaddar by all classes of people even at a sacrifice may create a bond of sympathy and be a practical demonstration of that sympathy between those who produce the yarn and the cloth and who use them. Nevertheless, we think that to make hand-spinning an indispensable condition of membership of the Congress would practically limit the membership of that body to a small minority of the people and of even politically-minded Indians.

The difference between a monetary and a working qualification lies in this that money may be earned by various kinds of labour, and may also be paid as an equivalent for various forms of work, whereas when only a single definite kind of work is prescribed as the sole qualification, no option is left.

It is certainly not more honourable to pay than to labour. The dignity of labour has always been understood by some and talked of by more. But it stands to the credit of Mahatma Gandhi more than that of any other person that he has himself realised it and made some of the foremost persons in the land realise it in practice.

In a temperance association, every member is rightly required to be a teetotaller, because it is a temperance association. Similarly in a naval association it is quite proper to require every member to possess certain naval qualifications. But as the Congress has never been and is not yet a spinning or khaddar-producing association, therefore the proposed spinning franchise is criticized. No doubt Mahatmaji desires to make "the Congress for a time predominantly a spinners' association." But his desire is not yet an accomplished fact. And, therefore, it is not

legitimate to put forward any argument on the assumption that it is already a spinners' association, as he appears to do.

In France or in any other country, conscription may be the rule. But as far as we are aware, the French constitution does not lay down that nobody can have the franchise unless he practises the use of arms and fights for his country when required by the State to do so. In England there was conscription during the war. Pacifists who were not old or unfit were sent to jail, on refusal to enlist but they were not disenfranchised. Therefore the analogy does not hold good. It does not hold good for another reason. Military skill may be required in a certain country at a certain crisis "as a necessity of national existence." But we do not think it can be said that universal spinning is a necessity of our national existence. Mahatmaji and his followers may think so; but opinions differ.

We do not in the least minimize the importance of clothing ourselves by our own efforts, particularly as India is a cotton-growing country. But cotton yarn and cloth may be manufactured in cotton mills, too. Therefore we do not see why the owners or share-holders of a cotton mill should not have the franchise.

The object of the Congress has hitherto been the attainment of Swaraj. Now, there are many self-ruling countries which do not produce all or even a considerable proportion of the cloth used by them. Therefore it is not impossible for India to be politically free even while she remains partly dependent on foreign countries for her supply of cloth. Nor is it necessary for every Indian to spin and weave in order to clothe the entire population. A multiplication of cotton mills may bring about the same result. Moreover, when India had not come under British sway and when she clothed herself with her own fabrics, there was no universal spinning or weaving;—only a section of the people spun, and only the weavers plied the handloom.

Food is at least as great a necessity as clothing—in the Indian climate in the plains for the greater part of the year, it is a greater necessity than clothing. And it is well known that millions of the people of India do not get enough food throughout their lives. So the production and conservation of more food for consumption in India might at least have been proposed to be made an alternative qualification for the Congress franchise.

We have referred to the fact of there being free countries which are dependent on foreign countries for their supply of cloth. Britain depends on other countries for the supply of even most of her food. Yet she is politically free. There does not therefore appear to be any necessary connection between economic self-sufficiency as regards either food or clothing and political freedom.

We have already said that as whatever gives us confidence in our ability to achieve something important must necessarily embolden us and increase our zeal to attain Swaraj, so our ability to clothe ourselves would contribute indirectly to the attainment of Swaraj. We know also that political pressure may be brought to bear on Britain by the resulting practical boycott of British cotton goods. But in the achievement of these economic and political results Indian cotton mills may be at least as helpful as the charkha and the handloom. The moral objections to modern industrialism are wellknown, but they are not entirely irremediable.

In our last issue we have also dwelt briefly on the moral effect of "mechanical compliance with a rule" (p. 475), and need not repeat our observations there made.

### "Dr. Tagore's Message."

*The New Times* of Karachi writes:—

On his way to Colombo, Dr. Tagore sent the following beautiful message to members of the Rabindranath Club:—"Do not belittle Truth while magnifying man."

### The New Bengal Ordinance.

One of the reasons why the new Bengal Ordinance has been promulgated and so many houses have been searched and so many men arrested, appears to be the chagrin felt by the bureaucracy at the carrying by a substantial majority of the non-official Bill to repeal the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1903 in spite of the strong opposition of the Government. How could Government bear the loss of the Criminal Law Amendment Act in addition to that of the Rowlatt Act? So the executive and the police had to be armed with practical irresponsibility.

There may be in the country some persons with a revolutionary turn of mind. But the extent and dangerous character of the so-called revolutionary movement in Bengal become at once apparent from Mr. Police Commissioner Tegart's admission *that in none of the houses searched were any fire-arms*

*found*, though Bolshevik literature, etc., were found! We confess the Government Post Office delivers to us unasked much literature from abroad of all sorts which we throw away unread.

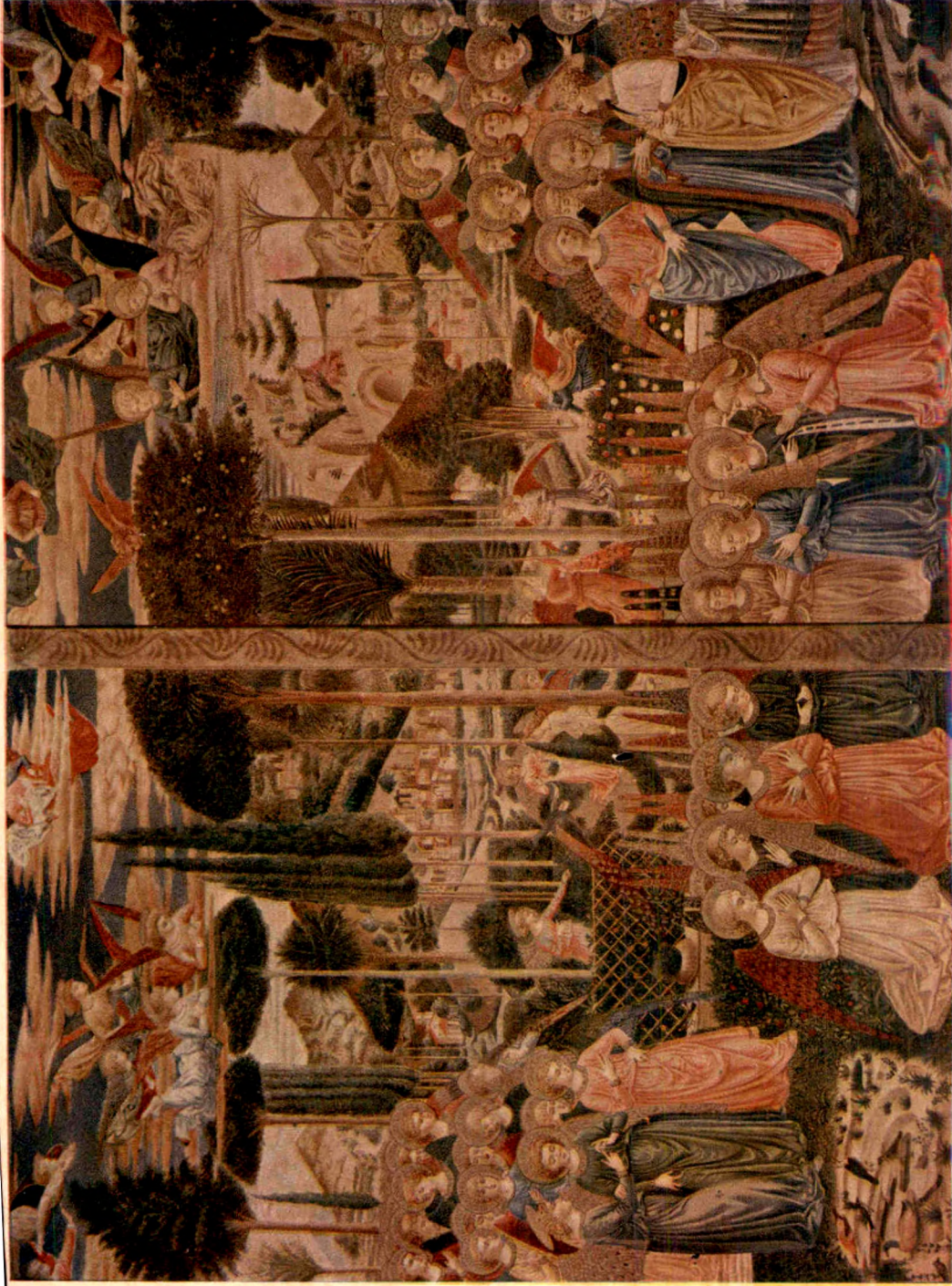
To think that if non-violent means fail, physical force may be used, is no offence; thousands hold that opinion. To make a man guilty, there must be proof of actual preparation to overthrow the Government by force of arms. But there is no proof of any such preparation on an extensive and dangerous scale, to justify giving to the police a blank cheque. Circumstanced as India is, there cannot be any such preparation on an adequate scale. That is why in addition to the Ahimsaists on principle, there are countless Ahimsaists as a matter of right policy. If any politician asserts that there is any such preparation, we take it as bluff. No politician ought to make use of such bluff to obtain "concessions" from Government.

It will not do to take it for granted that all the men arrested are guilty. From what we know of several, we cannot believe that they can be so foolish as to have faith in the cult of the bomb and the revolver. In any case we are bound to believe every one to be innocent whose guilt has not been established by open trial according to the forms of ordinary law.

Gopinath Saha and many other accused "anarchists" have been convicted and sentenced according to verdicts of juries. It is, therefore, not true that the ordinary forms of law are not of any use because of intimidation of jurors. Where are the proofs of such general intimidation by anarchists?

In different parts of India, there have been disgraceful religious riots resulting in numerous murders, outrages on women, extensive looting and incendiarism, etc. What ordinary or extraordinary steps have Government taken to stop such things? Undoubtedly the life of a policeman, white or brown, is as valuable as that of any other man, and the State is bound to safeguard it. But are the lives, honour, property and houses of the far more numerous non-official Indian men and women not of at least as much value? Where then are the Kohat, Delhi, Lucknow, Allahabad, and other ordinances? Are anarchical murders and robbery the only politically cognizable crimes to call for special measures, but not the far more numerous other kinds of collective murders, plunder, incendiarism, etc?





GLORIFICATION OF THE BIRTH OF CHRIST  
BY BENOZZO GOZZOLI





# THE MODERN REVIEW

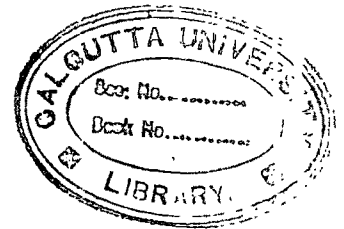
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## HOW TO END WAR A WESTERN VIEW

BY WILFRED WELLOCK



**T**HE first condition of abolishing war is the desire to abolish it.

That, at last, we have. Only a few incorrigible hotheads now advocate war for its own sake, or believe that it is inevitable, a necessary adjunct of human society.

Time was when war was glorious, and people really enjoyed it. Later it was regarded as a regrettable necessity. Finally it has come to be abhorred, while its inevitability is firmly and hotly denied.

One of the paramount facts of the present time is the almost universal feeling, which in many cases has hardened into a conviction, that war is inhuman and avoidable. So late as thirty years ago, it was quite otherwise. Then, even the "Christian" nations of the West believed that whilst war was in many respects to be deplored, it was nevertheless inevitable, and to take part in it, morally elevating.

The change is due to an awakened conscience resulting from a steady process of spiritual development. Like most spiritual changes it came suddenly. Long prepared for, it yet manifested itself unexpectedly, like a prophet. It was bound to come, however, if civilisation was to develop, or even to survive. The world-war brought it to consciousness. Not until the war got going did the people realise how strongly they disbelieved in war, thousands since having confessed to the pain of having to defend that in which they did not in their hearts really believe.

This development, or transition, has carried with it the recognition

(1) that mankind is one:

(2) that human reason is capable of settling every kind of dispute between men and between nations;

(3) that the common people the world over love justice and are always ready to concede it, in consequence of which they cannot understand why they should be brought up to fear and hate one another, or on occasion commanded to do these things;

(4) that the law of human life and of nations ought to be co-operation, and not irresponsible greed as is the case to-day.

The great Labour and Socialist movement, which is now universal, is largely responsible for this change of outlook, although the abhorrence of war which it embodies is shared by many who still retain belief in capitalism. This movement, taking as it does the international standpoint, looks upon war as social suicide, and regards all modern wars as the sacrifice of humanity in the interest of finance. It sees that suffering, death, poverty and unemployment are the inheritance of the common people in victorious and vanquished nations alike.

The ancient causes of war are:

(1) The quest for food and security;

(2) Zeal for the protection (which often meant the spread) of a particular religion or cult.

Science has obliterated the first cause. It is now obvious to all that mass production

has made it possible for the physical needs of mankind to be satisfied with comparative ease. Given co-operation and organisation, not a single human being in any part of the world need go short of the necessities of life.

Similarly, the scientific spirit has removed the second cause. Prior to the birth of science, faith held universal sway and the gods were supreme. The latter, moreover, were very jealous, and because men were their slaves, being entirely at their mercy, wholly dependent upon them for their harvests etc., wars for the supremacy of one's own gods as against rival gods, were common. Science and philosophy, however, have gradually created a belief in reason by revealing the power of the human mind to discover and teach truth, to understand and control Nature, and have thereby rendered religious wars among the more civilised nations well-nigh impossible.

It is true that unscrupulous politicians and financiers are still capable of using the old shibboleths and war-cries in order to attain their ends, as they did all over Europe in regard to Russia in the years succeeding the Russian Revolution, but the enlightened public opinion of Europe would have none of it, despite the fact that there was widespread disagreement with the methods of the Bolsheviks.

The frequency of wars for food and shelter, or in the interest of particular gods or a particular religion, led to the conversion of the war-leaders into kings. Then a new war motive set in: the desire of kings and courtiers for power and dominion. Thereafter wars took place on a bigger scale than before, and withal were more ferocious.

Later still, when the power of kings had been curtailed, authority gradually fell into the hands of traders and men of commerce, who demanded an Empire for the purpose of commercial and industrial exploitation. But to create an Empire meant greater and more deadly wars than ever.

After the traders came the financiers, whose aim was and still is to carry out a policy of economic imperialism. Backed by untold wealth, these seek trading rights rather than territory, to rule by means of banks and finance rather than by armies and navies. Their object is to control raw material, cheap labour and markets, and thus to "develop" "backward" countries. Neither religion, nationality, nor indeed anything of a spiritual character concerns them so long as they are

permitted to exploit the earth's resources. Nevertheless warfare results from their operations, warfare of the most merciless, mechanical and revolting kind. But when it comes, its real cause is carefully hidden, camouflaged by a thousand misleading phrases, buried beneath a mountain of hypocritical inventions. As soon as the fatal hour is passed and war is declared, a handful of millionaires, assisted by a small army of satellites, turn out shoals of books, pamphlets, leaflets and newspaper articles, and so stampede the people into war, against their better judgment. Thus, as in 1914, by means of an avalanche of lies, misrepresentations, denunciations, passion-rousing cries, the people, misled and forsaken by those who had professed to teach to them the way of peace, distrust their better instincts, the new ideas they have been quietly fostering and trusting, and slide back into a bog they imagined they had quitted for ever.

How, in these circumstances, are we to secure peace?

War triumphed over peace in 1914 chiefly by virtue of organisation. The organisation achieved by the promoters of that war surpassed anything witnessed in modern times. That fact must be recognised and its lesson learned. If peace is ever to triumph over war its forces will have to be well organised. By means of persistent propaganda, a thorough-going education policy, the people must be made to realise that war is sheer social suicide, that peace is not only possible but is the only sensible policy, that it is, indeed, a personal matter. Faith in peace must be made as firm as faith in sun and moon, and as it used to be in war.

We must start at the bottom and convince the people

(1) That even to-day, with all our unscientific agricultural methods, enough food is produced in the world to satisfy all the needs of mankind;

(2) That, properly distributed, there is enough raw material to meet the demands of every nation under the sun;

(3) That reason and science have so far freed mankind from poverty, bondage and ignorance, from all kinds of established authority, that it is folly to try and change the faith or opinion of people by resort to violence.

It follows from the above that the control of the earth's raw material ought not to be in the hands of rival groups of financiers, but should belong to the people themselves; that co-operation ought to be the law of

nations, and that warfare ought to be a thing of the past.

In other words we must insist upon each individual recognising the importance of

(1) asserting his or her intention to have nothing further, to do with war, to be no longer the tool of imperialistic politicians and financiers, and thereafter to seek by collective effort to

(2) organise the international control, through representatives of the peoples, of the earth's raw materials for the common good of mankind;

(3) develop the League of Nations, first by making it an all-inclusive league of peoples, and then by giving it something vital to do, e.g. devising a scheme for the control and distribution of specified raw materials, and thereby make a beginning in the policy of organising the whole of society on a co-operative basis;

(4) establish a series of Labour Governments throughout the world so as to break the power of the combines, financial groups, armament rings etc., and to carry out effective disarmament measures;

(5) create within each legislature a group whose object will be to advocate total disarmament for their own country irrespective of what other countries may do.

In regard to point 4, this step is necessary for the reason that only Labour Governments are in a position to put an end to the evils of imperialism, including cheap native labour. The Yellow Peril, like the Black Peril, and the whole question of cheap native labour, is largely the offspring of Western Capitalism. Whether we take India, China or Japan, the workers in these countries are keenly desirous of raising their standard of life and it is to the interest of the workers of the West that this be done. But the interests of capitalism and imperialism demand that these countries be economically controlled, which means that their labour shall be exploited, i. e. kept cheap. Sooner or later the eight hundred millions of people who comprise these three countries will assert their authority, which will mean trouble and probably war if capitalist governments continue to hold sway in the West. Outside the great Labour Movement there is not the slightest indication of an enlightened policy, any kind of mutual understanding, in regard to the coloured races. And it is simply impossible to wipe out of existence eight hundred millions of people. We may try to do that, of course, or we may try to enslave them, or, thirdly, we may try to come to an understanding

with them and co-operate with them for our mutual good. If the first alternative is impossible, the second would be morally disastrous, whilst it would most certainly lead to a war of unprecedented frightfulness. The third policy is the only sane one. This is Labour's policy, and it requires no sword to carry it through.

Particular attention should be given to points (1) and (5), as these call for the cultivation of that sense of individual responsibility which is the secret of success in any cause.

Innumerable objections are raised the moment one suggests disarmament for one's own country irrespective of what other countries may do. It is alleged, e. g.

(1) that other nations would attack and enslave such nation;

(2) that if it were an imperial power other nations would attack and try to attach the various parts of its empire;

(3) that at once other nations would try to satisfy imperialistic ambitions from which the fear of stronger nations had hitherto restrained them.

All such fears melt away as soon as we reflect that nothing so elevates the human mind, and with it conduct, like faith in mankind, the effort to apply finer principles. The stimulating effect of an act of faith is universal and spontaneous. It cannot be denied that the coming into power of a Labour Government in Britain, (which was the outcome of an act of faith on the part of the British people) has changed the atmosphere, the morale, and the political outlook, not only of Europe but of America, and indeed of the whole world. Since then Labour Government after Labour Government has come into being. Further, when in Britain, in the early decades of the nineteenth century an attempt was made to abrogate the law by which a man could be hung for stealing anything to the value of five shillings, it was stated in the British Parliament that to take this step would be to check all restraint and cause the workers to run through the country seeking whom or what they might devour. When, eventually, that law was abrogated, it was found that the exact opposite of what had been predicted happened. Instead of crime increasing it diminished. The moral is: trust human nature and, with rare exceptions, it will respond with conduct equally noble. The effect of exalted conduct on the part of a great nation would be electric and universal, such, indeed as to make it impossible



for that country to be injured or taken advantage of by an unscrupulous neighbour. Governments are sensitive to psychological changes in the people, and the common people everywhere are keenly appreciative of and responsive to acts of moral courage. All the errors of the merely nominal pacifists of to-day spring from failure to realise the universal psychological effects of a bold moral policy.

The indisputable fact is that the nation which is able to rise to the spiritual level whence it can totally disarm, will be the strongest and safest nation in the world. Other nations would admire it too much to attack it. No army could conceivably be induced to march against it, for no Government could say that it was aggressive or that it sought to deprive other peoples of their rights. The very act of disarming would prove that at least one nation believed in human nature, in justice and reason, and was prepared to trust these qualities under all circumstances. Moreover, trust and generosity are the most powerful civilising forces we possess. They dissipate fury, subdue the wildest passions, neutralise the most implacable hatreds, enfeeble and undermine the most bellicose militarisms.

It is scarcely possible to imagine the psychological effect which a bold policy of disarmament, carried out by one of the great imperialist nations would have upon the world. By a single stroke, the nations of the earth would be swept on to a higher moral plane. Imperialism would meet its doom. Tyrant princes or governments would fear the newly-awakened moral consciousness. But if an army could be induced to invade a country that had disarmed, what could such army do if it were treated as the Germans treated the French when they marched into the Ruhr in January 1923? If world opinion swung round to the side of Germany in the circumstances in which that country was placed at that time, how much more decidedly would it swing round to the side of a nation which stood high in the public esteem, and whose sole crime consisted in having done a heroic thing?

The world is awaiting the heroic nation—the nation that dare disarm no matter what others do. There can be no disputing what the other nations would do afterwards. Shame and admiration combined would effect the desired result. As Labour throughout the world has been elevated and stimulated as a

result of the British General Election of 1923, impotent as the Government is in regard to fundamental issues, whether domestic or imperial, so the movement towards world disarmament would be strengthened beyond measure were one of the great nations to adopt a bold policy of disarmament.

The heroic nation will yet appear, and when it does, it will be the first nation of the world, as it will be the morally greatest. Moral courage is the basis of all true greatness.

The present state of affairs in regard to armaments is an unassailable proof that without moral disarmament, the abandonment of distrust and the voluntary adoption of a bold policy of disarmament, it is useless to expect success to attend the policy of disarmament by conferences merely. The after-history of the Washington Conference is a complete vindication of this contention. We must have a moral lead. Given such a lead, Disarmament Conferences will be of great help, for they will educate, and be the means of focussing the public opinion of the world upon the disarmament issue. The League of Nations will hasten the coming of peace, because it contains the machinery whereby a disarmed world can settle its disputes.

But the world cannot be saved by machinery; it can only be saved by vision and courage—the vision of a better way and the courage to pursue it.

Happily the truths and principles upon which a sound policy of disarmament depends are being disseminated in manifold ways.

Peace organisations were never so numerous or so active as they are at the present time.

The Trades Union and Labour Movements of the world are organising public opinion for total disarmaments.

The War Resisters International is spreading its tentacles right across the world.

The World War produced a formidable array of Conscientious Objectors in the various countries involved in it.

There is talk of a Labour Government in Denmark bringing in a bill for what is virtually total disarmament.

In the British Parliament a group of Labour M.P.s have voted for an amendment to reduce the British army to some 10,000 men.

In Germany the workers have met an invasion of French troops with a policy of non-resistance.

India is showing the world how to win

freedom by suffering, how to overcome the most powerful imperialism ever known by enduring a policy of violence which it refuses to emulate.)

The need of the time, and the trend of events, are apparent.

Individuals have given the lead. The na-

tions must inevitably follow. Which nation will have the honour of being the first to enter the heroic but as yet untrodden path to universal peace remains to be seen. What nation that be, its conduct will not jeopardise peace, but will at one stroke bring a disarmed world within sight.

## I A MEMOIR OF OLD DELHI

By C. F. ANDREWS

### CHAPTER I.

#### Old Delhi

AS a background for this Memoir, I have tried to obtain from various contemporary sources, which are very rapidly vanishing away, a picture of the condition of Old Delhi before the Mutiny. There are still those living, at the time that I am writing this book, in the year 1911, who were fully grown-up men before the Mutiny began. Munshi Zaka Ullah and Maulvi Nazir Ahmed were two of these, and among their small group of intellectual friends in Delhi were others also. They will soon all be gone, and it is of importance to obtain their own vivid pictures of what happened in the old days, before it passes away from memory altogether.

I have not taken the materials for this opening chapter from any printed records, but from the living memory of those who still survive and are well known to me as my personal friends. In certain small details, their memory may be faulty, or my representation of it may be imperfect, but at least the record should have the vividness of personal eye-witness.

Outside the Kashmir Gate, I am told, there were very few houses or roads. The site of the present large railway station inside the City was one of the most thickly populated areas of old Delhi. What is now cleared away, as a great open space, for military purposes, between the Fort and the Great Mosque, was filled with the houses of the middle classes, along with a sprinkling of the

nobility attached to the Moghal Court. During the second quarter of the century, from 1830-1850, when the 'English Peace', as it was called, was firmly established, there was great prosperity in the city and the common people shared in that prosperity. The rate of wheat was about forty seers to the rupee, and that of ghee four seers to the rupee.\*

The majority of citizens led an easy-going comfortable existence and time was leisurely spent. Festivals were common, and life of the citizens was full of variety, colour and charm. The markets as yet contained very few foreign goods, and only a very small number of the rich used European cloth imported all the way from Calcutta. There was only one good road outside the walls. The ordinary roads inside the city were full of holes and became invariably ankle-deep in mud during every monsoon season. But people did not notice this, as they had been used to nothing else all their lives. The great nobles of the city kept stately bullock carriages in which they went from place to place accompanied by much jolting. Often, one wheel of a carriage would come off, owing to the roughness of the road. Down the middle of the central thoroughfare of Delhi, the world-famous Chandni Chowk, ran a canal, and trees grew on both sides.

\* A seer is equal to about two pounds avoirdupois.

Ghee is clarified butter. The present price of wheat is more than five times dearer than this recorded amount. As the difference was so remarkable, I made many separate inquiries, on this point; but the testimony was always the same.

The gardens, which are fairly numerous, were for the most part closed to the public. Certain gardens were used by the royal ladies of the Moghal Court, and some were called by their names. The water supply was very bad. There were not many public wells and the water taken from these not infrequently produced a very painful kind of boil, for which Delhi was notorious, called the 'Delhi Sore'. Water used to be brought up in skins from the Jumna in the hot weather, and sold in the streets. The great river at that time ran beneath the wall of the palace and the Fort. It has considerably moved its course during the last fifty years.

The finest sight in the streets, which was the pride of all the inhabitants of Delhi in those days, was to see the royal elephants, covered with cloth of gold, and on state occasions carrying huge gilded howdahs on their backs as they were led by the mahouts. These were the delight and joy of the whole city, especially of the young. I have had many accounts of them from those who had actually seen the sight in their younger days, and their magnificence evidently impressed the imagination. Not far from the great Mosque was an immense well, called the 'Well of the Elephants'. There, the state elephants used to come morning and evening from the Fort to the great pleasure and amusement of the Delhi people.

At the time when Munshi Zaka Ullah, was a little child, the Moghal Emperor Bahadur Shah, who traced his direct descent to the Emperors Baber and Akbar and Shah Jehan, was an old man nearing his dotage. But all the same, he was greatly respected by the easy-going inhabitants of the royal city. One of the survivors, who had actually seen him, told me that he was dearly loved by Muhammadans and Hindus alike, and his foibles and weaknesses as a monarch were a part of his attraction for the multitude. He was very simple and unwarlike. People would smile at his simplicity, but they loved him all the same.

The Emperor, Bahadur Shah, was himself skilled in those fine arts for which the ancient city of Delhi was justly famous at the time. The four chief of these were (i) music, (ii) manuscript illumination, (iii) miniature painting on ivory, and (iv) poetry. The last mentioned was the one absorbing fascination for the class; and all the nobles vied with one another in their rival literary productions. Contests were held; the most favoured poems were recited. Every noble

took part in this rivalry and each of them had his own *roman de plume*, by which he was well known in this confined literary world. The Emperor would often take part in these literary and musical contests.

The favourite sport among the nobles within the Fort was that of cock-fighting; and immense sums of money would be lost or won upon the issue of a single cock-fight. Meanwhile, the affairs of administration within the Fort, as far as they remained in the Emperor's power, went from bad to worse. He became more and more the prey of greedy courtiers and sycophants, who used to flatter him grossly and praise him to the skies for his musical or poetic skill, in order to obtain his bounty. In this way, large sums of money were extracted from him, which ought to have been used for state purposes.

Meanwhile the royal princes had their way and decay reigned supreme in everything that the Emperor handled. The whole picture that was drawn of him before me by those, who in their younger days had actually been present within the Fort, was not unlike the portrait of old King René, as sketched by Sir Walter Scott in his novel, *Anne of Geierstein*.

The long residence together, side by side in the same city, of Muhammadans and Hindus had brought about a noticeable amalgamation of customs and usages in the pre-Mutiny days. In Delhi, unlike the further North, the Hindus have not been unequally matched in numbers and their influence has told in its own way just as the influence of Islam has told in other directions. I have had more evidence of this amalgamation of Hindus and Musalmans in old Delhi than I have had concerning any other factor; it was evidently a feature of the city of which the inhabitants themselves were proud. The old inhabitants, whether Hindu or Musalman, spoke of it with pride to me and contrasted it with the divisions and disputes of modern times.

I have often been told by these older inhabitants of Delhi, that it was quite common for the two communities to join in each other's festivities, Hindus with Muhammadans, and Muhammadans with Hindus. This had been a natural custom, and none of the priests on either side raised any objection to it. The Hindus flocked to worship at the tomb of the Muhammadan Saint, Sayyad Badshah, which was near the city. It was also the custom of Hindu writers, who were famous in Urdu literature, to preface their Urdu writings with the word 'Bismillah' as



an invocation before they began to write. Hindu children went in large numbers to the Maktabas, or schools, attached to the mosques; there they learnt Persian and became attached to that language, all their lives, as the language of poetry, and prided themselves on their fluency in it. On their own Hindu religious fast days, they would always bring offerings of food to their Ustad-ji (teacher) and they would invite him to their families to share in their festivities. Musalmans, on their side, spoke of the Hindu religious festivals and customs with great respect and were very particular never to expose beef for sale in the streets. At the social functions, such as marriages and the like, presents were accepted and exchanged.

The old Emperor himself, Bahadur Shah, was most punctilious in these matters. He would pass in procession with his royal elephants and would take his seat afterwards in the Saman Burj and watch the crowd that passed beneath him at the chief Hindu festivals as well as at the Muhammadan festivals. He would also, sometimes, publicly recite his own verses, and the people used loudly to applaud. The Mirzas, or royal princes, used to ride on gaily caparisoned horses through the city, on such occasions, when the whole city took holiday; and in this way they often courted popularity for their different factions in the Court.

Mention has already been made about the 'English Peace.' This may be reckoned from the year 1803. In that year, Sindhia was defeated by Wellesley at the Battle of Assaye; and this brought to an end the Maratha supremacy in Delhi. There was a general agreement, I found, among those who could speak from the past records and memories in their old Delhi families, concerning Maratha rule, that it was oppressive and that the inhabitants of the city of Delhi suffered greatly from plunder while it lasted. Outside the city the looting was even worse and it was dangerous to travel about. Accordingly, when the English troops took possession of the city leaving the Emperor in undisturbed command within the Palace and Fort, the general sympathy of the people was with them and they were pleased with their forbearance. The looting ceased; but I am told, that, most of all, through every vicissitude of fortune, they clung to their old Moghal Emperors. These Emperors were by no means despots. Indeed, they were often mere puppets in the hands of others. Their chief virtue lay

in a great tradition of tolerance, especially towards their Hindu subjects. The Hindus trusted them. They were kind and generous and lovers of art and music. Their chief fault consisted in the inherent weakness and imbecility of their rule; for it is hardly possible to call it at times by less harsh a name. The corruption, which they allowed to go on, brought its own inevitable retribution and they succumbed at once to any more efficiently organised power.

The people of Delhi,—it was generally agreed by those whom I consulted,—would certainly have preferred their old traditional rulers to the English, if these rulers had only been strong enough to protect the city from violence and plunder. But as matters were arranged during the earlier part of the Nineteenth Century, the inhabitants of Delhi were well content. The semblance of power was left by the foreigners from abroad in the hands of the Emperors who were allowed to go on indulging in their festivities and expensive amusements as they had done before, and also to keep up a show of state. But the real power remained with the English who protected the city from external enemies and put down as far as possible highway robbery outside.

The Fort, along with the Palace, remained entirely free from English jurisdiction and control. It was looked upon as a separate petty State. The Emperor of Delhi used to distribute from the Fort, out of his ample pension, something like twenty thousand rupees on every royal or religious occasion with a truly eastern generosity. The greatest respect was shown to him and to the princes whenever they appeared in state in public. People riding on horseback at once dismounted and saluted with a deep obeisance. The Emperors took citizens into service without any religious distinction. The greatest trouble came from the royal family. The numerous princes of the royal blood, in this effete Moghal Court, were incessantly quarrelling among themselves and stirring up rivalries both in the Court and in the city; and they often ruined themselves and their households by their extravagant expenditure. They themselves, more than any other single cause, brought about the final ruin of the Moghal House.

Once upon a time, the Emperor himself Bahadur Shah, fell ill and appeared to be upon the point of death. The British authorities outside the Fort, fearing lest if the reigning Emperor died there might be a fratricidal

quarrel among the princes, to gain possession of the throne, posted a regiment of soldiers at the entrance to the Fort. The old sick Emperor was informed of it by his own attendants. When he heard the news, he sent out the following message to the Commissioner, who lived outside the city gates :

"Sir, do you think that my dead body will fight the English ? May I not be allowed even to *die* in peace ?"

The Commissioner, when he received the message, at once withdrew the regiment and the old Emperor was left alone..

In spite of the rapid and wide decay that took place in other directions during the reign of the last of the Moghal Emperors, Urdu literature made great progress. This was perhaps the most noticeable event in the history of the city at that time. In the Eighteenth Century, Persian had been the Court language, spoken by everyone in the presence of the King; and in the royal edicts Persian had always been used. But as the Nineteenth Century advanced a great many books were translated from Persian into Urdu and Urdu poetry flourished. The Court of the Moghal Emperor became the centre of this literary change, which was to have such an important effect in Northern India as the century advanced.

There were two famous Urdu poets at the royal court at Delhi, who were great rivals. Their rivalry became an event of first-rate importance in this puppet court. Their literary names were Ghalib and Zoug. The latter at length gained the ear of the Emperor, Bahadur Shah. If court rumours are to be believed he defeated his rival by composing many of the Emperor's best verses or him. The Emperor chose for his own *nom de plume* the title, Zafar. The old and young people in Delhi used to sing the Urdu couplets of the King round about the streets ; and the flattery of the old man, as a poet, that was consciously carried on was immense. There was one Urdu newspaper, so I have been told, edited by Maulvi Mahammad Baqar. Later on, an English newspaper also made its appearance, edited by Mr. Place, called the Delhi Gazette.

The administration of the city of Delhi itself was in the hands of the English, outside the Fort area. It was carried on as far as possible unobtrusively and without change of customs. There were no separate civil courts. The executive and revenue officers decided both the civil and criminal suits

alike under the same jurisdiction. But the amount of litigation was exceedingly small. It differed remarkably from what is customary and prevalent today. Sir Theophilus Metcalfe was perhaps the most famous among the Resident Commissioners, and he used to live in the large bungalow on the banks of the river Jumna, at the foot of the Ridge, which is still called 'Metcalfe House' after him today. The story runs, that during the hot weather he used to ride out each night, in a carriage drawn by magnificent horses along the Qutab Road, and pass the night in the purer and cooler air at the rising ground on which is built the Qutab Minar. There were very few troops in the neighbourhood of the city itself ; but remarkably good order was kept ; and the roads outside the city were safer from highway robbers than they had ever been before.

A note by Mr. Trevelyan, who was British Resident in Delhi in 1831, states that an English class was opened in Delhi as early as 1827, and that as many as 300 students were reading English as early as 1831. The school was first started close to the Ajmere Gate ; but the old Delhi College which grew out of the original school was situated not far from the Kashmir Gate and the River Jumna.

The Hindus and Musalmans, at first, objected to learning English at this school. For they were convinced that the foremost object of the British authorities in opening it was to convert them to Christianity. It so happened that in quite early days one of the most brilliant mathematical students, a Hindu by birth, whose name was Ramechandra, became a Christian. This only served to confirm the popular impression, and a strict boycott of the English school began. The Muhammadan community was especially prejudiced against this new form of education. Though lavish Government scholarships were offered and a free education was given, very few, even of the poorest, among the Muhammadans, would accept the proffered aid.

Nevertheless, among those who had sufficient courage to break through the boycott and receive instruction in the new learning, there were some who were destined to become afterwards in their own generation, the most remarkable men in Northern India. The teaching must have been exceptionally good ; and those who were present as students have spoken to me in the highest terms of the ability of the staff.

Among the first students to attend was

Ramchandra, whom I have mentioned. His course was brilliant. He discovered a new mathematical formula and gained a European reputation as a mathematician. There was also Nazir Ahmed, who has since become the leading Urdu writer of the Nineteenth Century and world-famous besides for his Arabic learning. There was Shabamat Ali, who became Prime Minister at Indore, and Mukand Lal, who gained a high reputation as one of the first doctors of the modern type in North-West India. Zia-ud-Din and Mohammad Husain, whose literary name was Azad, were also students and contemporaries with Zaka Ullah. These three together with Nazir Ahmed and Altaf Husain, 'Hati' may be regarded as the chief founders of modern Urdu Literature.

About the year 1843, the school-building in which the new learning was taught, were transferred from Ajmere Gate to the Royal Library, which was not far from the Kashmir Gate and close to the arsenal. I believe, today, some of the class rooms are still used as buildings for the Government High School. The mathematical side of the College was strong from the very first. The English books, that were used, were obtained from the Calcutta School Book Society; but it was not easy at any time to get the books required and there were long delays. I have had an interesting account given me of the courses of English by one of those who was among the first students. He told me that in English Poetry, Goldsmith's 'Traveller' and 'Deserted Village' were studied very carefully. Most of the students learnt them off by heart. Then followed Milton's 'Paradise Lost' and Shakespeare's plays, which were taught in the highest classes of all. I have not been able to get a complete list of the prose books, but Richardson's 'Selections', Bacon's 'Advancement of Learning', Cateley's 'England', and Burke's 'Essays and Speeches', were among them. Burke was very popular with this earlier generation of Indian students; and this probably accounts for the somewhat florid style of English writing which was at first in fashion, when they took to forming their own style of English composition.

But, unlike the first enthusiasm for the new learning in Bengal, where the passionate study of the English language for a time swept all before it, these students in the North of India, did not take very kindly to their new studies in English literature. The most popular side of the education offered in the old College was not the English side, but

the vernacular. This was called the Oriental Department; and its classes in Arabic and Persian, taught through the medium of Urdu, were crowded out with pupils. A very remarkable professor of Persian, Maulvi Imam Baksh, held the younger generation in Delhi under his intellectual sway. It was on this side that nearly all the Musalman students entered to receive their education, and the standard reached in Oriental literature was very high indeed. Here both Nazir Ahmed and Zaka Ullah were class fellows. I shall explain later how tragically Maulvi Imam Baksh was killed in the Mutiny. He must have been in everyway a very remarkable man. From all sides I heard testimony about him, and his reputation was evidently great among Hindus.

But while English literature was not popular with these brilliant, young students, Western Science and Mathematics always held their attention. These subjects were taught from lectures, not from books; for English books were not as yet procurable in any large numbers. No vernacular text-books had been written in these subjects. Munshi Zaka Ullah, in his old age used to tell me, with kindling eyes, how eagerly these lectures were followed and the notes afterwards scanned. It was like entering a new and undiscovered hemisphere of knowledge to be taught altogether new mathematical subjects to be allowed to try experiments with the new chemical gases, and the new science of magnetism or electricity, which was just coming to the fore. The young students used to go back to their homes, filled with strange ideas, to dream at night about the marvellous things which they had seen and heard. It is little wonder that, here and there, one or other of the students, filled with the new wine of knowledge, broke through the ancient traditions and customs of their forefathers and declared themselves 'free-thinkers'. It is little wonder, also that the new western education itself became suspected and even hated by those who belonged by temperament and tradition to the old school of thought.

The name that was first given to these young western-educated students by the city people was 'Philosophers'; but this title quickly got changed to the more opprobrious name of 'Atheists' by those who did not understand their growing laxity in the matter of religious observance and ritual. As a matter of fact, this Delhi Renaissance, if it may rightly so be called, was remarkably free from any tendency towards downright atheism. All the



teachers who came to the North, and most of the English servants of the British East India Company, at this time, were religious men, and the new learning, along with its expounders, at no time became associated in the young Delhi students' minds with irreligion. Certainly, all those whom I myself have met in later life were markedly religious men on whose conduct religion had left the deepest mark of all.

A very tiny band of some of the most of brilliant among them became Christians. As Maulvi Nazir Ahmed has told in his preface, Professor Ramchandra was among them, and his conversion gave a great shock both to Hinduism and to Islam in the North at this time. Dr. Chiman Lal was another famous name among those who became Christians. Some others, in after-life, were leaders of reforming Hinduisim. Others, like my two friends, became staunch supporters of Sir Syed Ahmed's 'Aligarh Movement' in Islam. But as far as I have been able to trace on very careful inquiry not a single one of them gave up religion altogether. The cry of 'atheism' that was raised was, therefore, entirely unfounded.

The approximate number of students that has been given me from many sources for the old Delhi College, in both of its departments, has been placed as high as four hundred. Mr. F. Taylor, the Principal, was one of the most striking personalities among the teachers. The record of his influence recalls that of Derozio in Calcutta. The latter, however, was a Deist, while Mr. Taylor was a devout Christian. Ramchandra owed his conversion to Christianity chiefly to Mr. Taylor's influence. Ramchandra became a Professor in his own College at a very early age. Pandit Adjodhia Pershad, a Kashmiri Brahmin of remarkable ability, was Assistant Professor. The part played by Kashmiri Brahmins in Delhi, in those early days of the new learning, was an important one.

In addition to the old Delhi College, with its western science and its Oriental department there was also a very famous school of medicine of the old Arabic tradition, called Yunani, that flourished in the city of Delhi near to the Chandni Chowk. This school of Medicine, which went by the name of the Tibbia, still exists under the very able direction of Hakim Ajmal Khan, Sahib, Hazik-ul-Mulk, to whom I have already referred in connexion with the important part he has always played, and his ancestors also, in promoting goodwill between Hindus and

Musslmans in the city. In later years, Munshi Zaka Ullah became a Vice-President and ardent supporter of the Tibbia. The Yunani (Greek) system of medicine, which it taught and practised, had been handed down from Galen and Hippocrates through the Arabs. Hakim Mahmud Khan and Hakim Ehsan Ullah Khan were its chief exponents in Delhi in earlier days. The latter was a most remarkable man. He was wellversed in religious learning, in philosophy, in history and literature as well as in medicine. He helped the poor and needy with unbounded generosity and gave his medical services without any charge to Hindus and Musalmans alike. This tradition of service of the poor has been kept up ever since. At his death the whole city of Delhi mourned for him, as for one of its greatest benefactors. 'Hali', the famous poet, wrote one of his finest elegies about him. It remains to be added, that the present leader of the great 'Tibbia' movement, Hakim Ajmal Khan, has gained the same confidence of the whole city of Delhi, Hindu and Musalman alike, which has now become almost a family inheritance.

Munshi Zaka Ullah, in his old age, when speaking about the city of Delhi before the Mutiny and its inhabitants, never waxed very enthusiastic about it, even though there was much in the modern city which he heartily abhorred. He was in many ways, as old people tend to be, a lover of the past, and this made his faint praise of old Delhi and the Moghul Court all the more significant. One day, in conversation with me, he said: "I know old Delhi and the royal Palace better perhaps than any one who is now alive; for almost every one is dead now who could remember it as I could. I can only say this, that the present with all its faults, is a hundred times better than that which I knew when I was a boy. Men speak of the good old times; but they were not good compared with the days in which we are now living: They were full of corruption and decay."

In the first edition of his History of India, Zaka Ullah spoke about the Court of the Emperor Bahadur Shah in terms for which he afterwards expressed regret. He used to say that he could never afterwards meet any member of the ex-royal household, after its publication, without a pang of regret. His justification was that he was writing as a historian, and history must show no favour. His intense loyalty to the Emperor's family was noticeable throughout his long life. Out of this intense regard, he

took at a later date the daughter of Mirza Baber, the brother of the Emperor Bahadur Shah, into his own family, in her old age, and gave her the apartments which his own mother had occupied. When he undertook any journey, the first thing he did both on going and returning was to make obeisance to the Begum Sahiba, who gave her his blessing in return. She lived with Zaka Ullah's family occupying a position of deepest reverence and regard until her death. This slight picture, which I have received at first hand, of the act of obeisance on the part of Zaka Ullah, revealing his devoted loyalty to the family of Bahadur Shah, seems to give to me, in itself, a vision of the past. It seems to show what these ties of the imperial house at Delhi must have meant at the height of its magnificence and power.

It is a strange contrast,—Old Delhi before

the Mutiny, with its aged doted king, its royal elephant processions, its decaying splendour, its literary after-glow, which lighted up for one brief moment the ruined past before the end came: and modern industrial and commercial Delhi, with its railways and factories, its smoke and steam. As we look back upon the past, which is so rapidly vanishing away before our eyes, we cannot refrain from echoing the words, which Wordsworth used in one of his greatest sonnets concerning another imperial city, Venice, in its decline,—

And what if she had seen those glories fade,  
Those titles vanish and that strength decay?  
Yet shall some tribute of regret be paid,  
When her long life hath reached its final day.  
Men are we, and must grieve, when even the shade

Of that which once was great is passed away.'

## THE EARLIEST MARATHI CHRONICLE: ITS SOURCES.

BY G. S. SARDESAI, B.A.

WHAT goes under the name of the Jedhe Shakavali, is not so absolutely original as is believed, although it is unquestionably of great historical value. I have myself seen, at different times and places, at least six copies of a similar document. On close inquiry into its real origin, I have been informed that many important families in old days kept large blank books in their possession, of the same size and kind as the present-day Cash-Book of a Marwari. In this they copied all *vaqias* or chronological accounts of notable events, often beginning with the era of Yudhisthira. For various social purposes also, such a full record was necessary in every well-to-do family, when printing and calendars were unknown. So far as my immediate point is concerned, it was Anaji Ranganath Malekar, a *Kulkarni* of Fulgam Apti, the first *Waqanavis* of Shivaji (see page, 18 of Shivaji's *bakhar*—Forrest), who started writing *Bayan-i-vaqias*, more or less after the *Tawarikh*s of the Mussalman Emperors. It was customary for official records in those days to be housed not in a central record office of Government as at

present, but in the private residence of the hereditary officials in charge. It is mainly for this reason that several vast and well-arranged *Daftars* of the old Maratha days, have now been found intact (like Nana Fadnis' *Daftar* at Menavali, now mostly published by Parasnisi in his *Itihas-Sangraha*); while, if they had been stored in a public office or the palace of the Peshvas, they would probably have all been lost to us. All the same, Annaji Ranganath's entries were so short, pointed, pithy and useful, that many began to take copies from them for private use. There is palpably a common origin for these various Shakavalis, which, mainly for the time of Shivaji and, perhaps, for ten or twenty years after him, exist in nearly the same form, matter, and wording. As time went on, each family began to note down only such events as concerned them and their dealings. Thus, the original common origin came to be gradually lost. All these Shakavalis seem to be written or copied by different writers, at different times; and some of them have still many blank pages left intact. They mostly come down to the

end of the Peshvas (1818); but some go on, even to the time of the mutiny. They all begin with long lists of old kings and dynasties, including, as they come to the recent days, the Mughal Emperor and Mussalman kingdoms of the Deccan. Some writers kept only loose sheets, and not bound books. Some sheets were lost here and there, that is why we often find gaps or inter-change in these entries.

The Jedhes were prominent helpers of Shivaji in his earlier days, and appointed Lohkares as their Khasnis. Members of this Lohkare family wrote loose sheets for the Jedhes, and these have come down, as Jedhe Shakavali.

It is worth noting how this Jedhe Shakavali was first brought to light. One Jedhe had a family dispute, in connection with which he approached the late Mr. Tilak for legal advice and gave him some old papers, which Tilak kept under his own lock and key. As Mr. Tilak was soon after deported to Mandalay, the owner could not get his papers back until after Tilak's return in 1914, whereupon he pressed Tilak to return the papers at once. Tilak promised to look after them and return them the next day. In the evening, when he took out the papers and had a peep into them, he discovered some old sheets containing a narration of chronological events. He at once called a few friends together, and asked them to verify whether the entries were correct. The papers, upon inspection, were found to be very old and to contain such valuable information that it was at once resolved to have the papers copied before returning them. But there was no time for copying. Only a night remained between. Mr. Tilak called at once a large number of writers together, and had the sheets copied in the night. The copy was made, under the conditions, of course, hurriedly and carelessly and could not be compared with the original by expert readers of the quaint old Modi. The original papers were returned as promised, and the copy was subsequently printed by the Bharat Itihas-Sanshodhak Mandal.

Some time elapsed and many workers in the Deccan discovered, during their search, many diaries or Shakavalis similar to Jedhe's and reported them during annual sittings of the Mandal. Many interested persons come every year for these sittings with whatever old papers they could procure. During the last three years, I have seen some four or five large *Chopdas* of such Shakavalis and some loose sheets also. In June 1923, I saw a similar Shakavali in the Forbes' collection at the Royal Asiatic Society's Library in Bombay. It is full, and, in earlier portions, closely follows Jedhe's. It has full entries for the latter Peshva period also. I copied from it a few entries of Madhavrao I and an account of Narayanrao's murder for my use. This book (from Forbes' collection) belonged to the Deshpandes of Shivapur near Poona, and was taken possession of by the Inam Commission, from whom, probably, Mr. Forbes acquired it. I saw similar books in Poona, one belonging, I believe, to the Purandares and one to the Atres. The latter has this endorsement, "Copied by Kashi Anandrao Atre from a book belonging to Janardan Narayan Deshpande of Shivapur." I saw another copy belonging, I am told, to Mr. Haribhau Soman of Morgaum.

Bits of these Shakavalis have now and then been printed, e. g. the first 125 pages of Raj. Vol. 18 is a piece from Purandaray Daftar; No. 57 of Raj. Vol. 18, and No. 328 of the records of Devrukh Desai, (printed in ३० ३०), are similar bits; and the Jedhe Shakavali itself is also a small portion of a fuller and more extensive document. If one or two workers were to sit down for a time with all these documents at hand, and prepare a full comprehensive chronology for the whole Maratha period, collecting, after careful verification, whatever is best and additional in the various *Chopdas*, they would do an immense service to the cause of Maratha History. May I invite the University of Bombay to offer a prize of Rs. 500 or so, for this important research work?



# DANGER IN CHINA

By JOHN A. BRAILSFORD

THE CIVIL WAR, THE PEOPLE AND THE FOREIGNERS  
Kobe, Japan, Sept. 10, 1924.

CIVIL war in China is usually a comic-opera affair, with a medley of names that are unintelligible to the casual observer. The present strife may come to nothing but noise. On the other hand it has large possibilities for China; it threatens grave dangers to the foreign residents; and it raises very difficult problems for the Governments of the Powers—problems concerning not only their conduct towards China but also their relations with one another.

It is generally agreed among those who have lived long in China that the average Chinese has hardly more interest than the foreigner in the actual quarrels between the political and military factions. The peasant clans, the artisans and the merchants seem to regard civil war as a visitation of uncontrollable forces, like flood or famine. They pay little heed to the high pretensions of the leaders. They want peace, and it is remarkable how unanimously these leaders proclaim a "war to end war," knowing that that is the catch-cry to appeal to the masses. A further appeal is made to provincial jealousies, and this is of some importance as hostility to the present imbecile and openly corrupt central Government at Peking is widespread throughout the country among the politically active class. This class is smaller in China than in Western countries, but its influence is not to be despised.

Here the foreigner comes in. The Powers are playing a direct part in bolstering up the the Peking Government, which (their representatives will admit) is utterly impotent and rotten to the core. They support it simply because they find it more convenient to deal with one central authority than with ten or twenty local governments in collecting debts and indemnities and in getting some Chinese or other punished when a foreigner is attacked; also because some of their interests, such as foreign investments in the railways, could hardly be provincialised. It is difficult to see what real return the Powers get for their support of Peking. If interest

on the railway investments is paid regularly, it is because foreigners largely control the funds; if obligations on other loans are met and indemnity payments are forthcoming, it is because foreigners handle the customs and salt-tax revenues. The advantage is to Peking, which receives the surplus after the foreign moneylenders are paid. Moreover by handing this surplus to the central Government, the Powers antagonise all those provinces and sections that are in revolt against Peking. For the revenues are drawn largely from those sections. Take Canton for instance. There Sun Yat-sen has long been opposing the authority of Peking. But he sees the revenues collected by the foreign-controlled Customs service in Canton sent to swell the funds of his enemies. He protested not long ago, and threatened to seize the Customs, but the Powers promptly sent about twenty warships to stop him.

It should be obvious that, in continuing to support the Peking Government, the diplomacy of the Powers is endangering the lives and property of foreigners wherever Peking is unable to exercise authority—that is to say, almost throughout China. Facts proving that it is so have been strangely disregarded. The worst of the raids that have been made on foreigners during the past three years have been due, not merely to a desire for ransom money but to resentment against the Peking Government. The so-called brigands who kidnapped large numbers of foreigners in Honan in 1922 and in Shantung last year were really political malcontents who had been defeated by their rivals and deprived of the pay they had formerly received as soldiers of China. They saw that the best means at hand for embarrassing the Peking Government was to make trouble for foreigners. They calculated well. Peking had to capitulate to them in order to bring about the release of the foreign captives. The Powers, of course, demanded new indemnities. What else could they do? Unfortunately, the more they exact from the Peking Government, the more they stir up the opponents of Peking throughout the country; for the Government is hated by the politically-minded not only for its

corruption but also because it represents the humiliation of China in her relations with the other nations.

It is certainly a difficult position for the diplomats, and it seems that the only alternative that their imagination can perceive is "the gunboat policy"—the sending of foreign warships or troops to protect foreigners or to carry out punitive operations where it is too late to afford protection. Many of the British and American editors of English-language papers published in China have been clamouring for the past few years for a return to the old "gunboat policy." In a measure they have gained their wish. Not that the sending of warships to Shanghai and the landing of marines has meant any reversion; that is simply what has been done always at such times since foreign navies went to China waters. But the arming of American merchant vessels on the Yangtse about a year ago was a new departure. The *American Weekly Review* of Shanghai has lately boasted of the slaughter wrought by the machine guns on these boats in reply to attacks of snipers; and has boasted also of the fact that these warlike operations have been kept secret. The British have been more open in their recent activities. When the American manager of a British firm was killed at Wanhhsien on the Upper Yangtse by junkmen who had been deeply stirred because their livelihood had been taken from them by the advent of the river steamers, the commander of the British gunboat *Cockrafer* threatened to bombard the city unless two junkmen were executed. Two Chinese were promptly beheaded. They were innocent of the crime. It is typical of the state of affairs in China that, while Chinese are protesting against this sacrifice of the innocent and saying little of the original outrage, a foreign Press correspondent at Wanhhsien writes of the heinousness of allowing the guilty to escape but has not a word for the beheaded victims.

A more remarkable use of the British naval power was the sending of the recent ultimatum to Sun Yat-sen. For some weeks there had been a dispute between Sun and a volunteer corps formed by the citizens of Canton for self-defence. The "father of revolution" seems to have behaved very ill, first giving the permit for the volunteers to import firearms and then confiscating these after the volunteers had paid for them. The merchants of Canton went on strike to try to force Sun to hand over the firearms, and

the streets were barricaded. The quarrel, it would appear, had nothing to do with Britain or Britons, but, when it was learned that Sun Yat-sen was considering the question of bombarding the part of Canton where the merchants and volunteers were preparing for trouble, he received an ultimatum from the British Consul declaring that, if he did so, all the British naval forces available would be used against him.

As it is likely that this incident will give rise to a good deal of comment, it may be worth while to quote in full the correspondence that passed.

#### THE ULTIMATUM.

The following is the text of the ultimatum presented by the British Consul-General at Canton:—

August 29th, 1924.

"Sir,—Having heard yesterday from several sources that the Chinese authorities contemplated opening fire on the city of Canton, particularly on the suburb of Saikuan—the Consular Body, through the medium of the Senior Consul, yesterday, made a verbal protest to the Civil Governor as under:

(1) That in the event of foreign persons or property being injured they would hold the Government responsible:

(2) That they protested against the barbarity of firing upon a defenceless city:

(3) That in the event of injury to foreign persons or property they would take whatever measures they deemed desirable.

"I am now in receipt of a message from the Senior British Naval officer stating that he has received orders from the Commodore in Hongkong that in the event of the Chinese authorities firing upon the city, immediate action is to be taken against them by all British naval forces available.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,  
"BERTRAM GILES,

His Britannic Majesty's Consul-General."

The above document was addressed to Mr. Foo Ping-Shung, Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, Canton.

#### DR. SUN YAT-SEN'S REPLY.

In view of the ultimatum of the British Consul-General, Dr. Sun Yat-sen immediately issued the following manifesto to the people of Kwangtung and all the world:—

"From the moment that the comprador of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, Chan Lim-pak, openly began his rebellion against my Government, I had reasons to suspect that his anti-national movement was supported by British Imperialism. I have been reluctant, however, to believe this in view of the accession to power of the Labour Party in England, which in its conferences and programmes repeatedly expressed its sympathy with exploited peoples. And I still had hope that this Labour Government—now that power was in their hands—would prove their

professions by at least abandoning the old gunboat policy, which in the past has heaped disaster and humiliation on China, and would inaugurate in this country that era of international honesty which is reputed to be a principle inspiring the political thought of British Labour.

"We now know the truth.

"On the 29th of August, the British Consul-General addressed a dispatch to my Government, stating that the Consular Body in Shameen protested against the barbarity of firing upon a defenceless city, and continuing with this menacing note: 'I am now in receipt of a message from the Senior British Naval officer, stating that he has received orders from the Commodore in Hongkong that in the event of the Chinese authorities firing upon the city, immediate action is to be taken against them by all British naval forces available.'

"My Government repudiates the suggestion that it would be guilty of the barbarity of firing upon a defenceless city, since the only section of Canton against which the Government might be compelled to take action is the suburb of Saikwan, which is the armed stronghold of the Chan Lim-Pak rebels; but this infamous suggestion, coming as it does from a body which includes the authors of the Singapore massacre and the Amritsar murders and other atrocities in Egypt and Ireland, is typical of of Imperialist hypocrisy. And even in my own country, I need but refer to the latest British outrage at Wanhien, where the bombardment of a defenceless city by British naval forces was only avoided by the sacrifice of two of my countrymen who were summarily decapitated without trial in order to satisfy Imperialist frightfulness.

"Is it because such outrages upon a weak and disunited country are perpetrated with impunity that here in Canton waters the British navy again threatens to fire upon the authorities of another Chinese city? But I see a further and more sinister meaning in this challenge of Imperialist England. Reading it in the light of the diplomatic and moral support and of the millions of the reorganisation and other loans which the Imperialist Powers have for upwards of twelve years consistently given to the counter-revolution, it is impossible to view this act of Imperialism as other than a calculated attempt to destroy the Kuomintang Government, of which I am the head. For here is open rebellion against this Government, directed by a trusted agent of the most powerful engine of British Imperialism in China, and a so-called British Labour Government threatens to shoot down the Chinese authorities in Canton should they take the only form of action which would enable them effectively to cope with a movement aiming at their own overthrow.

"And what is this Kuomintang Government that Imperialism wants to destroy? It is the only ruling body in the country to-day which strives to preserve from utter extinction the spirit of the Revolution. It is the sole centre of resistance to the counter-revolution. Therefore, British guns are trained on it. There was a time when the order of the day was the overthrow of the Manchu conqueror. The time is come when the order of the day shall be the overthrow of Imperialist intervention in China, which is the principal obstacle to the completion of the historic work of the Revolution."

Dr. Sun Yat-sen sent a similar protest to

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the British Prime Minister.

The attack is especially hard for a Labour Government to meet because of the fact that the leader of the Canton volunteers Mr. Chan Lim-Pak, was the head Chinese official of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, the leading British financial institution of that part of the world. His influence may not have had anything to do with the ultimatum, but the back-benchers of the Labour Party will certainly wish to know why this quite unusual action was taken in a purely Chinese dispute.

However, the advocates of the "gunboat policy" are delighted. The *Peking and Tientsin Times*, whose editor is I understand, the correspondent of the leading London Tory paper, writes columns on "How Britain Saved Canton," and the London *Times* urges that similar action be taken elsewhere.

#### DANGERS OF THE "GUNBOAT POLICY."

Moral considerations apart, there are two considerable dangers in the policy of armed intervention of the powers in China—danger to foreign residents and danger of conflict arising among the powers themselves.

It is obvious that the navies cannot protect foreigners in the interior of China, and it is hardly conceivable that foreign garrisons large enough to control the whole country could be introduced. It might be done if the financiers of America and other wealthy nations would supply the funds to enable Japanese troops to operate in China by the hundreds of thousands. But it is only necessary to mention this plan to reveal its absurdity. So the foreigners who live away from the coasts and the great rivers, and away from the garrisons which guard the Legations at Peking, cannot have armed protection. And the very fact that armed intervention is practised at the ports and the capital stirs resentment against foreigners and so endangers those in the interior. The resentment grows with the progress of education in China. It is added to the humiliation felt over the relations between the Powers and Peking. From such resentments the Boxer massacres arose in 1900. It seems to me that the foreigners in the interior of China will be in very grave danger if the present civil war continues long, and that "gunboat policy," so far from protecting them, adds to their risks.

Then there is the danger of antagonism among the Powers. Already Russia is denouncing the intervention as an exhibition of imperialism, blaming America and Britain especially. If the civil war continues, a cry



will be raised in certain quarters for more and still more intervention. But every step forward will be the occasion of increasing jealousies. The jealousy between Russia and the Powers is no greater than that between Japan and America, and British and French interests in China are also considerable. Russia, Japan and America are already in dispute over the oil of Saghalien, Japan and America over wireless rights in China; Russia and the Powers—particularly France—over the Russian built railway in Manchuria; and new conflicts over financial concessions and commercial advantages, besides the more critical question of military penetration, are likely to arise at any time.

#### CAN THE DANGER BE AVOIDED ?

There is so much community of interests between the peace-loving Chinese and the foreign community, mainly composed of commercial people and missionaries, that the

way to friendly co-operation would appear to be easy. But naturally there can be no co-operation while the foreigners are in the position of domination that they now hold. To take advantage of the community of interests it would be necessary for the foreign Powers to change their policy radically—to place themselves in the position which the German residents now occupy. Perhaps the future will show that the Germans will gain more by their defencelessness than the other foreigners by armed intervention, their immunity from Chinese laws and from certain taxes, and so forth. But in the meantime, the great Powers show little inclination to yield an inch of their position of domination. They are more likely to go forward, incurring all the risks of conflict among themselves and of the resentment that must be felt against their nationals living unprotected in the interior of China.

## THE MEANING OF SWADESHI

By C. F. ANDREWS

IN the very critical period of human history at which we have at last arrived, after terrible conflict and suffering and with many defeats, there are few questions that need more careful thinking out to a right conclusion than the relationship of different groups of men, called nations and races, to the one Body of Humanity. Europe has passed through her own acute fever of Nationalism; and Lord Robert Cecil has announced, at the end of it all, that there is no greater menace to the peace of the world today than the 'cult of the Nation.' Rabindranath Tagore had already anticipated him in this utterance, and Romain Rolland had acclaimed the Indian poet's words and made them his own with a fervour of gladness. More and more, the higher thought of the West is tending to regard the extreme national development which has recently characterised Europe, as a blunder in the history of mankind.

We have in India a remarkable definition of Swadeshi by Mahatma Gandhi, which has

been, with him, the resultant of long years of patient thought and meditation, involving as it does the gist of his whole science of life. It is a view of human obligations bound up intimately with his ideas concerning the evil of machinery and his conviction that modern civilisation itself is leading the human race to destruction. I have often discussed matters with him, but I do not yet regard myself as able to understand his views in their full concrete form. I only know that he regards what he has written on Swadeshi to be his definition of the law of duty to one's neighbours, as it affects the individual and society. To put his conclusions briefly, he regards it imperative as a Law of Life to confine oneself to one's own neighbourhood and surroundings in all vital things; from the purchase of goods to the political administration; from the study of primary text-books to the choice of a religion. To be truly Swadeshi is to exclude that which is foreign, while neither hating it, nor despising it.

In what I write, as a criticism of this

Swadeshi conception I wish to make it quite clear at the outset that I am discussing the theory itself in its abstract form. Personalities always transcend theories, and here I am discussing the doctrine which Mahatma Gandhi sets forward. The more I study it, the more I feel uncertain about it; and my fears are often painfully aroused, that this Swadeshi path may prove to be a blind alley after all and not the true highway which humanity at last is destined to follow.

But first it is necessary to define my own position as far as possible. At one time, I shared the common confidence in the 'nationalism' of Europe. My one hope for the East

of Czarist Russia, Chauvinist France or Imperialist Britain, and the sole guilt of Germany. I could see, at last, how the fiercest national ambitions were tearing Europe to pieces. Yet my disillusionment came not so much from Europe as from Japan. During the year 1916, a visit along with the poet, Rabindranath Tagore, to that country opened my eyes. I could see how all that was beautiful in Japan was being crushed to death under the weight of a fierce militarism which was combined with an intense nationalistic spirit of the European type. The warning was patent. Yet even that was not altogether convincing or finally arresting. It required



C. F. Andrews

was that it should follow the same path. I rejoiced at the awakening of national consciousness in India and was prepared to help to employ it to the full in order to throw off the yoke of subjection to Europe itself. But I did not realise any of its dangers. This was natural, because I still believed in it as a glorious thing and regarded this stage as an inevitable step in the upward progress of mankind.

The Great War opened my eyes. It was nothing less than a night-mare of horror to me from the very start; for I did not believe for one moment in the guiltlessness

the discovery of the Secret Treaties, the atrocity of Amritsar, the infamy of the Treaty of Versailles and the Treaty of Sevres, to bring me to my senses.

As a reaction against all this, the moral protest of the Non-Co-operation movement, with its fundamental doctrine of non-violence and its reliance upon spiritual weapons only, carried me away. It remains still to me the greatest event of world-wide importance in the history of the Twentieth Century; for it actually released a new spiritual force which had been stored up for ages undiscovered in the soul of man.



But from the very first, along with enthusiasm and conviction and hope, I had misgivings, anxieties and repulsions. For I began to find the very same spirit of 'nationalism' and the very same appeal to racial passion, which I had begun to detest in Europe.

It was this that made me cry out, almost with an agony of pain, at the burning of the foreign cloth in great bonfires on Chowpatty beach at Bombay. It was then that I began to study the word "Swadeshi" far more carefully in order to try to find out what it implied. My enquiries led me very painfully to the conclusion, that much that was concealed behind this word "Swadeshi" was only a second-hand copy of European aggressive nationalism after all. Therefore I had to withdraw myself more and more from all that I found in the movement, which bore that type and character.

Thus it will be clear, that it is more and more impossible for me to be a 'nationalist', or to urge others to be 'nationalists', in the way I did before. The word 'patriotism' also has widened out for me its meaning, and I cannot recognise any local geographical limits as ultimately binding on mankind. Many boundaries which existed in the past are today obviously absurd and others are changing rapidly before our eyes. The one Nation to me is Humanity. The one patriotism to me is the patriotism of the human race. I have now at last after a great struggle, won that emancipation in the concrete, and not merely as an abstract proposition without any practical meaning.

I find out more clearly every day that the great teachers of humanity, and most notably the Buddha and the Christ, taught the same thing. They were not "patriots." It is true that there may be found limitations in their teaching, which mark the time and place and origin of their birth and upbringing. But their appeal is to the human race. There is no final mark upon it of any lesser unit than mankind.

To illustrate this, I might refer to that wonderful legend which grew out of the story of the Buddha and is told all over the Far East, how the perfect Bodhisattva, when he had himself attained the threshold of Nirvana, refused to take the final step and cross the threshold so as to enter the haven of bliss and peace, until each and every child of man had reached the same position and could enter into bliss and peace along with himself. Here we have clearly

defined the conception of the human race as an organic whole.

Indeed, we may go further and point out how, in the Hindu legend of the Mahabharata, the aged Yudhishtira refused to enter heaven without his *dog* companion. The Jatakas are full of similar stories, which enlarge the boundaries of service to the animal as well as to the human world. Here, the teaching appears to go even beyond the limits which the Christian Faith explored.

I am quite certain that Mahatma Gandhi in all his actions would be the first person to respond to this universal idealism, both in Buddhism and in Christianity. I can well remember how he rebuked me once, in South Africa, more than eleven years ago, when I spoke of the lower life in nature, as being the necessary food for the higher life in man. He said that I, as a Christian, ought not to countenance such a doctrine; I ought to hold entirely the reverse, namely, that the higher life should yield itself to the lower. It was a rebuke that I could never forget; for it was really embodied in my own religion. Even at the time, I felt certain that his conception of human life and its possibilities was far deeper and wider and higher than my own; and whenever I have had the privilege of being with him in daily companionship, this fact has been borne in overwhelmingly upon me. There is never at such times any doubt or anxiety or fear in my mind; because I have before me an amazingly clear vision of one whose life is wholly filled with a love for mankind that has no limits and with a sacrifice for man that is boundless.

But when I get away from this personality to the definition of Swadeshi which he presents, as a scientific truth, then I confess, with very great misgiving and diffidence that I do not find the same universal note. The tune seems to me to be pitched lower. I find sometimes a jarring and discordant sound.

First of all, I felt this discord in a little book, called "The Gospel of Swadeshi," to which Mahatma Gandhi himself had written a preface.

Romain Rolland's adverse reference drew my attention to this book. The author himself, Mr. Kalekar, has since told me that it is not a true translation, so that we may leave it aside. But we have besides Mahatma Gandhi's own authoritative statement, to which I have already referred, and this needs to be examined at length. It should be understood that he gave the statement to Christian



missionaries in Madras. He appealed at the end of his lecture to their Christian spirit to endorse his teaching. Swadeshi was, therefore, with him no matter of temporary expediency, but a broad religious way of peace and love for mankind. He said as follows :—

"After much thinking I have arrived at a definition of Swadeshi that perhaps best illustrates my meaning. Swadeshi is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote."

He goes on to explain that, in religion, this would involve his restriction of himself to his own ancestral religion and his service of it by purging it of its defects. In the domain of politics, he would make use of indigenous institutions and save them by curing them of their proved mistaken conceptions. In economics, he would use only those things which are produced in his own immediate neighbourhood and serve these industries by making them more efficient and complete. There in outline is his picture.

Such a programme of Swadeshi, the author suggests, would bring into existence an infinitely happier state of human affairs; and even if it cannot be accomplished at once, it must be held up as an ideal. For it ushers in the Millennium.

With regard to the religious side, he urges that the spirit of Christ's words, "Go ye into all the worlds" has been missed by those who are missionaries seeking to convert others in the Christian faith. There should be no conversions.

In politics, he points out the indigenous *Panchayat* system in India, as worthy of revival, and the mother tongue as the language of study that alone can produce satisfactory results in any country.

In economics, he would even go into details and place a stiff protective duty in India upon foreign goods. He would use himself no foreign goods. Each people as far as possible should do the same and be self-supporting.

He emphasises again and again that Swadeshi is with him a religious principle and that all the religious methods may be followed in propagating it. How far he would be prepared to go in this direction in appealing to the popular religion may be seen from the following passage :—

"The hand-loom industry is in a dying condition. I took special care in my wanderings last year to see as many weavers as possible, and my heart ached to find how they had lost, how families had retired from this once flourishing and honourable

occupation. If we follow the Swadeshi doctrine it would be your duty and mine to find out neighbours who can supply our wants. Then every village in India will almost be a self-supporting and self-contained unit, exchanging only such necessary commodities with other villages where they are not locally producible. This may all sound nonsensical. Well, India is a country of nonsense. It is nonsensical to parch one's throat with thirst when a kindly Musalman is ready to offer pure water to drink. And yet thousands of Hindus would rather die of thirst than drink water from a Mohamedan household. These nonsensical men can also, *once they are convinced that their religion demands that they should wear garments manufactured in India only*, and eat food only grown in India, decline to wear any other clothing or eat any other food."

The words, which I have printed in italics, show his religious conception of Swadeshi. I must quote one more paragraph in order to do justice to the picture and to be fair to his meaning :—

"Swadeshi" as defined by me is a religious discipline, undergone in utter disregard of the physical discomfort it may cause to individuals. Under its spell, the deprivation of a pin or needle, because they are not manufactured in India, need cause no terror. A Swadeshist will learn to do without hundreds of things, which to-day he considers necessary. Moreover, those who dismiss Swadeshi from their minds, by arguing the impossible, forget that Swadeshi is after all a goal to be reached by steady effort. And we would be making for the goal, even if we confined our Swadeshi to a given set of articles—I would urge that Swadeshi is the only doctrine consistent with the law of humanity and love. It is arrogance to think of launching out to serve the whole of India, when I am hardly able to serve my own family. It were better to concentrate my effort upon the family and consider that through them I was serving the whole nation and if you will, the whole of humanity. This is humanity and it is love. The motive will determine the quality of the act—I may recognise that God has given me hands and feet only to work with for my sustenance and for those who may be dependent on me. I would then at once simplify my life and that of those whom I can directly reach. In this instance, I would have served the family without causing injury to anyone else. Supposing that everyone followed this course we should have at once an ideal State—Under this plan of life, in seeming to serve India to the exclusion of every other country, I do not harm any other country.

"My patriotism is both exclusive and inclusive. It is exclusive in the sense that in all humility I confine my attention to the land of my birth. But it is inclusive in the sense that my service is not of a competitive or antagonistic nature. *Sic utere tuis, ut alienum non laedas*. (i.e. use what is your own, in such a way that you do not hurt that which is not your own). This is not merely a legal maxim, but a general doctrine of life. It is the way to a proper practice of Ahimsa, or love."

He appealed, in his concluding words, to the Christian Missionaries, as the custodians of a great faith, to set the fashion and to

show that patriotism based on hatred "killeth", but that patriotism based on love "giveth life."

It has been impossible to condense the argument any further than this, because the writer is himself so concise and his thoughts are always so arresting, that it would be only mutilation to deal with them in any shorter form.

We recognise at once that Mahatma Gandhi is very seriously dealing with the problem of the human race as a whole and its future. He is endeavouring at the same time to meet the problem of the misery and inequality present in the world to-day. He believes that what he says is in direct line with the teaching of Jesus, who despised wealth and condemned riches. He suggests that the frightful outrage of the European war has revealed the fact that 'the message of Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Peace, has been little understood in Europe', and that 'light upon it may have to be thrown from the East'. He has his own interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount, and he finds its teaching quite in accord with this definition of Swadeshi, which he himself has arrived at, namely, that "Swadeshi is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings, to the exclusion of the more remote."

As far as I am able to judge, this picture of Swadeshi differs profoundly in many respects from the aggressive 'nationalism' of Europe. It comes much nearer to a new idealist movement started in France and strongly advocated by Professor Geddes, which sometimes goes by the name of 'regionalism'—that is to say, the attempt to get out of every geographical area the spiritual culture which may have become, in the course of history, indigenous in that area. It represents the swing of the pendulum backward against over-centralisation. In the same manner, Mahatma Gandhi's ideal of the

simple life, with each man or woman as far as possible satisfying his or her daily needs by daily labour, is the necessary reaction and protest against that over-centralisation in industry, which has been one of evil effects of the modern age of the Machine.

But while, in the mind of the author of this Swadeshi definition, it appears to bear all these implications; and to be free from any appeal to race-passion or national self-seeking, yet it would hardly be too much to say, that it has lent itself to these two things, in the past few years in India, and is dangerously liable to do so. It seems to me also to account for a very great deal of the extraordinary popularity of Mahatma Gandhi, when he was made, against his will the supreme Nationalist of India in the year 1921. As is usual with prophets, his true message was misunderstood. The absolute and unconditional emphasis, which he placed on non-violence, would have itself acted automatically as a check upon the narrow chauvinistic spirit, if his instructions had been obeyed. For it would have pointed to his real meaning. But Non-violence was reduced to a mere policy by a large number of his followers; and therefore, while violent passions were smothered down for a time, they were not extinguished. The years 1920-1922 were not a fair representation of Mahatma Gandhi's own meaning of the word Swadeshi, as he intended to give it to the world.

It will be impossible to work out any further, in a single article, all the implications of Mahatma Gandhi's definitions. I must, therefore, somewhat unwillingly divide the subject I have chosen into two parts, and conclude it next time in a second article. I shall then try to point out some of the things which I regard as defective and imperfect in this Swadeshi definition, and also to describe some of its positive values.

## ROMANCE OF AN INDIAN QUEEN

By BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI

Our April (1924) number we have described the strange fate of Begam Samru's heir and the dispersion of her rich

heritage. But her whole life was one continuous romance, and we give here one very interesting episode of it, which shows this

elderly Delhi girl got infatuated with a French soldier and how the course of their true love ran.

#### AMOUR BEHIND THE SCREEN.

Of the European military adventurers who took service under the Begam after the death of General Sombre, the names of George Thomas and Levassoult require special mention—the former being an Irishman, tall and handsome, and the latter a cultured young Frenchman of gentlemanly deportment and blessed by nature with a fine physique. Both of them were able generals and vied with each other to win the favour of their mistress by the exhibition of military talents. The feeling of rivalry gradually became intense and the rivals did not feel the least scruple to stoop to all sorts of mean tricks and machinations to bring about each other's ruin. In the end, however, Levassoult by his fascinating manner and personal charm captured the heart of the lady. The Begam's partiality for his rival was a source of mortification to the unfortunate George Thomas who, after 5 or 6 years, quitted the Begam's service (1792) and went to seek his fortune elsewhere.\* At the time of his departure, he "retaliated by plundering two or three villages of the Begam." (*Delhi-yethil Rajkaranen* ii. 105).

Levassoult heaved a sigh of relief on the exit of his rival. The time was opportune for the realization of his dreams and soon he signified to his mistress his desire to marry her. The Begam, who was still of an age to be carried away by the impulse of love, readily consented to his proposal without weighing the consequences, and the marriage was solemnized shortly after by the Rev. Fr. Gregorio, a Carmelite monk, with Roman Catholic rites (1793). On this occasion the Begam "added the name of *Nobilis*" (*N.-W. P. Gaz.* ii. 106*n*) to her Christian name of Joanna.

This marriage was performed with the utmost secrecy and was witnessed only by two brother-officers and countrymen of the bridegroom—Bernier and Saleur. The outside world was kept quite in the dark as the Begam was really ashamed to lower herself in public esteem and compromise her position as Sombre's heiress by openly accepting the Frenchman as her lord. Besides, her soldiery had been devoted to her late husband and they might resent this marriage, rise in revolt, and deprive her of the command.

\* See Appendix A.

But although a marriage might be kept secret, such a clandestine relationship, however carefully guarded, is sure to reveal itself, and it is strange that the Begam, highly intelligent though she was, lost sight of this fact and fondly believed that her love for Levassoult was a sealed book to the outside world. This self-deception on her part might safely be attributed to a lover's delusion, and in the end the deluded lady had to regret it bitterly.

#### PRELUDE TO THE STORM

Levassoult had many good traits of character; compared with the other military officers in the service of the Princess, he was by far the most educated and polished. But he had his faults, the chief of them being his inordinate arrogance, which became unbearable after his marriage. In his antenuptial days, Levassoult could not unreservedly mix with the other officers of the corps, as they were not literate and refined. The Begam, on the other hand, used to treat her officers as friends, as she knew full well that her fortune depended on keeping her army contented and loyal and, to gain this end, she went even so far as to dine at the same table with her principal officers. Levassoult after his marriage objected to this practice as humiliating to her rank and position, and he himself refused to receive them at his table. Even trivial matters did not escape the scrutiny of this vigilant lady, and she now apprehended that her husband's hauteur would lead to disastrous consequences at no distant date. She tried her best to make him realize the gravity of the situation and mend his ways, but all her persuasions fell on deaf ears and Levassoult remained as obdurate as ever.

Coming events cast their shadows before, and unmistakable signs of the dangers which the Begam apprehended soon appeared. The officers and soldiers generally grew more and more insolent, and finally they refused to be commanded by an arrogant upstart. The feelings of these violent spirits were already running very high at the affront to their self-respect and a spark was now furnished to this excitable mass; this was the Begam's close intimacy with Levassoult.

The soldiers, knowing nothing of the Begam's remarriage, suspected Levassoult, their commander-in-chief, to be the paramour of the Begam, and therefore became infuriated. The danger was imminent, and the Begam was in a fix. The very soldiers, who



were her strength and support and upon whose valour and devotion she entirely depended for her safety, were now her and her lover's enemies. Their insolence, their secret councils, their suspicious movements, made her nervous. Sardhana was indeed next to her heart, and she felt disconsolate at the thought of parting with it. But she was convinced that her stay at Sardhana was not safe, and that whatever might be in store for her, it would be impossible to save her lover from the hands of the infuriated soldiery.

"The Begam determined to go off with her husband, and seek an asylum in the Hon'ble Company's territory. . . . Levassoult did not understand English; but with the aid of a grammar and a dictionary he was able to communicate her wishes to Col. McGowan, who commanded at that time (1795) an advanced post of our [British] army at Anupshahr on the Ganges [73 miles s.e. of Delhi]. He proposed that the Colonel should receive them in his cantonments, and assist them in their journey thence to Farrukhabad, where they wished in future to reside, free from the cares and anxieties of such a charge. The Colonel had some scruples, under the impression that he might be censured for aiding in the flight of a public officer of the Emperor." (Sleeman, ii. 279.)

But the situation was growing worse and delay would result in serious consequences. On the very day Levassoult received the Colonel's reply, he addressed him (2nd April 1795) a second letter,\* in conformity with the desire and direction of the Begam, but without success.

"He now addressed the Governor-General of India, Sir John Shore himself, [in] April 1795, † who requested Major Palmer, our [British] accredited agent with [Daulat Rao] Sindhia, § who was then encamped near Delhi, and holding the seals of prime-minister of the empire, to interpose his good offices in favour of the Begam and her husband. Sindhia demanded 12 lakhs of Rupees as the price of the privilege she solicited [namely] to retire; and the Begam, in her turn, demanded over and above the privilege of resigning the command into his hands, the sum of 4 lakhs of Rupees as the price of the arms and accoutrements which had been provided at her own

\* See Appendix B.

† See Appendix B.

§ Mahadji Sindhia died on 12th February, 1794, and was succeeded by his grand-nephew, Daulat Rao Sindhia.

cost and that of her late husband. It was at last settled that she should resign the command, and set out secretly with her husband; and that Sindhia should confer the command of her troops upon one of his own officers, who would pay the son of Sombre Rs. 2000 a month for life. Levassoult was to be received into our [British] territories, treated as a prisoner of war upon parole, and permitted to reside with his wife at the French settlement of Chandernagar. His last letter to Sir John Shore is dated the 30th April, 1795. His last letters describing this final arrangement are addressed to Mr. Even, a French merchant at Mirzapur, and a Mr. Bernier, both personal friends of his, and are dated 18th of May 1795." (Sleeman, ii. 279-80.)

The news of the Begam's projected flight from Sardhana with her lover somehow leaked out at Delhi, and caused great excitement among her contingent stationed there. They went in a body to Zafar Yab, who resided at Delhi, and pressed him to march at their head and occupy the principality which they pointed out was rightfully his, as the son of General Sombre. That young man at first hesitated as he knew he was no match for his sharp-witted stepmother, but on being assured of the loyalty of the army, he could not resist the temptation of the *masnad* and started in hot haste for Sardhana at the head of the disaffected troops to seize the Begam and her husband.

The Begam had by this time obtained the necessary authority from Daulat Rao Sindhia and the Governor-General, and completed all arrangements for her departure. On receiving information of Zafar Yab's advance, she immediately fled, accompanied by Levassoult and a few faithful servants. They left the town secretly at midnight and set out for Anupshahr, taking with them their portable property—one lakh of Rupees in specie and jewellery worth about another lakh. But hardly had they gone far when their flight was discovered by the battalions at Sardhana who, in order to prevent the booty being lost, gave chase and overtook them at Kabri,\* some 3 miles from Sardhana upon the road to Meerut.

On the approach of the pursuers Levassoult, who was accompanying the Begam's

\* According to Thomas (p. 33) "it was their intention to have proceeded directly to the Ganges, and to seek refuge, in the country of the Vizier, Asaf-ud-daula. . . . A party of cavalry which had been detached by Zafar Yab Khan, on the first intimation of their flight, overtook and surrounded them, at the village of Kerwah, in the Begam's jagir, 4 miles distant from her capital."

palanquin on horseback, rode up to her side and told her in a firm voice that he would rather put an end to his life than fall into the hands of the infuriated ruffians. So deeply was the Begam infatuated that she declared she would not be parted from him even in death and, to show her determination, produced a dagger from her bodice. Levassoult felt comforted, and urged the groaning palanquin bearers to hurry, but in vain.

Levassoult was a chivalrous gentleman and was passionately devoted to his wife to whom he owed so much. He could have galloped away and thus saved himself, but it was far from his idea to leave the Begam to her fate. The insurgents came up close behind them, when suddenly a wail was heard. It was the scream of the Begam's female attendants. Levassoult hurried to the spot and, looking into the litter, found the Begam lying unconscious, her clothes stained with blood from a self-inflicted wound.

From this Levassoult inferred that she was dead, and true to his vow fulfilled his part of the compact to the letter. He put a pistol to his temple, pulled the trigger, and fell down lifeless from the saddle (18th October 1795). \* "The villains, who the preceding day had styled themselves, his slaves, now committed every act of insult and indignity upon his corpse! For three days it lay exposed to the insults of the

rabble, and was at length thrown into a ditch." (Thomas, p. 34).

It was now the Begam's turn to suffer at the hands of the rebels. She had stabbed herself, but her stiletto had been turned off by the ribs, without penetrating any vital part, and she had not the courage to repeat the blow. She soon recovered, but it was to find herself a prisoner.

#### REINSTALLATION OF THE BEGAM.

The rebels turned back to Sardhana with the plunder and the captive Begam. She was taken to the old fort, and kept tied under a gun-carriage for seven days exposed to the scorching heat and a victim to the insults and jeers of the mob. She was denied food or drink, and would have perished of starvation but for the *ayas* who continued faithful to her and supplied her wants by stealth. Meanwhile, Zafar Yab Khan had assumed command, and with his ruffianly companions, plunged into debauchery. But there was one among the officers, who had not altogether abandoned his old mistress. This was M. Saleur, through whose intervention the Begam was released from her painful position, although still kept in confinement. Here she endeavoured to find means of regaining her liberty, and thought of appealing to George Thomas, who by dint of his ability had attained to a high position in the service of Appa Khande Rao and subsequently founded a principality of his own. But he had not been favourably disposed towards her and, according to Sleeman (ii. 281), had "instigated the officers to this violence out of pique against the Begam, for her preference of the Frenchman." However, as his rival was no longer in the land of the living, the Begam thought that if she then sought his assistance he could not but respond to her call. She supposed that not only did he still love her but that he might also be grateful to his erstwhile mistress for the many favours received at her hands. "In a manner the most abject and desponding, she addressed Mr. Thomas; she stated her apprehensions of being poisoned, or otherwise put to death; affirmed that her only dependence was on him, implored him to come to her assistance, and, finally, offered to pay any sum of money the Marathas should require, on condition they would reinstate her in her jagir." (Thomas, p. 54).

The Begam was a keen judge of human nature, and her calculations proved correct.

\* According to the *Military Memoirs of Thomas* (p. 34), the Begam "drew a poignard from her side, and running the point of it across her breast, drew a little blood, but with no intention of killing herself." Evidently this remark of Thomas's has misled Archer (i. 139-40), Mundy i. 372-73 and other writers into believing that the mutiny of the troops, the flight from Sardhana and the subsequent death of Levassoult were the outcome of a conspiracy engineered by the Begam to get rid of her husband. Bacon (ii. 41-44) states that it was Sombre and not Levassoult who was thus got rid of by the Begam, but this assertion is not supported by any other writer or document.

In view of the facts recorded by Thomas who rescued the Princess from the hands of the mutineers, these accounts appear quite groundless. If the Begam had been leagued with the rebels, she would not have been imprisoned and dethroned. Besides, if she had wanted to get rid of Levassoult, she could easily have done so at Sardhana, where she was supreme and Court intrigues were quite the order of the day. Had Thomas believed the Begam guilty of such a scandalous conduct he would in all probability have mentioned the fact to his biographer. Atkinson (iii. 109), who has closely studied the various accounts relating to the revolt, thus speaks of the version given by Sir W. H. Sleeman, whom I have followed in the matter,—"On the evidence, as a whole, this may

The chivalrous nature of the General was deeply moved when he learnt from her letters that Levassoult was no more and that she herself was a captive in the hands of the rebels and suffering indignities he had not dreamt of. He brushed away from his mind ancient grudge and "by an offer of Rs. 120,000 prevailed on Bapu Sindhia [the Maratha Governor of the Upper Doab] to make a movement towards Sardhana. Convinced from his former experience, that unless he could gain over a part of the troops under Zafar Yab Khan to the Begam's interest, not only would his exertions be fruitless, but that she herself would be exposed to the greatest personal danger, he set on foot negotiations for this purpose, in which having succeeded, he marched and encamped with his whole force at the village of Khatauli, eight kos to the north-east of Sardhana. Here Mr. Thomas publicly gave out, that unless the Begam was reinstated in her authority, those who resisted must expect no mercy, and to give additional weight to this declaration, he apprized them, that he was acting under the orders of the Maratha chiefs." (Thomas, pp. 54-55). There was still, declared he, an empire, of which they were the servants and Sindhia the master; and should the Begam die, the minister would certainly disband such a disorderly brigade and resume the lands assigned for their payment.

"This intimation was at first attended with the desired effect. Part of the troops belonging to the garrison instantly mutinied, confined Zafar Yab Khan, and declared for the Begam. Mr. Thomas, however, who well knew that no reliance could be placed on the capricious temper of troops accustomed to frequent mutinies, lost no time in advancing to Sardhana, but before he reached that place, a counter revolution had already proclaimed the restoration of Samru's son.

"Escorted by only 50 horse of approved fidelity, Mr. Thomas entered the cantonments, having at the time he set out directed 400 of his infantry to follow him with all possible expedition; the arrival of the latter force was particularly fortunate, as Zafar Yab Khan on Mr. Thomas's first appearance, perceiving him slightly attended, thought he had now got him into his power, and instructed his soldiers to threaten him with instant death, but at that moment the reinforcement above-mentioned arriving, and the mutineers thinking the whole Maratha force was at hand, not only gave over their design, but now became as sub-

missive, as they had before been insolent." (Thomas, pp. 55-56).

"The Begam was resealed on the *masnad*. A paper was drawn up by about 30 European officers, of whom only one, Monsieur Saleur, could sign his own name, swearing in the name of God and Jesus Christ, that they would henceforward obey her with all their hearts and souls, and recognize no other person whomsoever as commander. They all affixed their seals to this *covenant*." (Sleeman, ii. 282-83).

The officer of Sindhia, who was to have commanded these troops on the Begam's abdication, was present at the reinstallation of the Begam, and accepted "as a compensation for his disappointment, the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand Rupees, which the Begam contrived to borrow for him." (Sleeman, ii. 283). Moreover, out of the sum stipulated to be paid to Bapu Sindhia for restoring her to authority, "part was now paid, and the remainder promised." (Thomas, p. 56). The command of the army was entrusted to Monsr. Jean Saleur, who had not taken part in the mutiny but, on the contrary, striven hard to bring his brother-officers to a sense of their duty.

The unfortunate usurper, Zafar Yab, robbed of all his possessions, was sent a prisoner to Delhi, where he died in 1803 (?)—some say, by poison. He was buried beside his father in the graveyard of Agra.

The Begam remembered with gratitude the invaluable services of Geo. Thomas as long as she lived. Later when Thomas, his fortunes wrecked, determined to set out for Europe, he went to Sardhana and left his wife—Maria,\* one daughter, and three sons under the care and protection of the Begam. She gladly accepted the charge and continued to provide for them after his death, which occurred on 22nd August 1802 at Bahrapur, where he was buried in the English cemetery. She took John Thomas, the eldest son of Maria, as one of her adopted sons, and married him to the daughter of Agha Wanus, an Armenian in her service. The Begam also left in her

\* According to Keegan (*Sardhana*, pp. 39, 54) the Begam on the occasion of her reinstallation, gave him a wife, one of her chief maids of honour. This young lady's name was Maria, and her parentage was French.

In the history of her restoration I have followed Thomas (pp. 54-56), as this event has been described by Sleeman very briefly.



will a sum of Rs. 44,000 for the family of George Thomas.\*

The Begam realized that her marriage with Levassoult was the greatest blunder she had ever committed, and on regaining her *masnad* never again did she allow the weakness of her sex to imperil her sovereignty. The revolt of the soldiers was not wholly unwarranted and "the troops in this mutiny pretended nothing more than a desire to vindicate the honour of their old commander, Sombre, which had, they said, been compromised by the illicit intercourse between Levassoult and his widow . . . Some grave old native gentlemen who were long in her service have told me [Sleeman] that they believed there really was too much of truth in the story which excited the troops to mutiny on that occasion—her too great intimacy with the gallant young Frenchman. God forgive them for saying so of a lady whose salt they had eaten for so many years." (Sleeman, ii. 283).

The Begam was really penitent and expiated for her disgraceful conduct in all earnestness and sincerity. After her restoration she did all she could to keep the memory of her first husband ever green in her mind. She retained to the last the name of Sombre, her first husband, and remained silent ever afterwards on the subject of her secret marriage with Levassoult, which was known only to a very few men† of the time. She stipulated in her Deed of Gift that her adopted son and heir—Mr. David Ochterlony Dyce—should identify himself as one of the family of Sombre Sahib.

#### APPENDIX A.

##### THOMAS'S RESIGNATION.

The circumstances attending the resignation of George Thomas are related differently:

According to a letter, dated April 1794, from the Maratha envoy resident at Delhi, addressed to his master at Poona, "the Begam was forced to drive out George Thomas from her territory on account of his loose morals—*batay-baji*. (*Delhi-yellil*, ii. 105.)

\* Maria, wife of Geo. Thomas Rs. 7,000; John Thomas and his wife Joanna [Sohagun Begam] Rs. 18,000 and 7,000; Jacob Thomas and Geo. Thomas Rs. 10,000 and 2,000.

† "The marriage was known only to a few European officers, Sir John Shore, Major Palmer, and the other gentlemen with whom Levassoult corresponded. \* \* \* Levassoult made no mention of the marriage to Col. McGowan; and from the manner in which he mentions it to Sir John Shore it is clear that he, or she, or both, were anxious to conceal it from the troops and from Sindhia before their departure." (Sleeman, ii. 283-84).

But a Lucknow correspondent in his "authentic account of Geo. Thomas" published in the columns of the *Asiatic Annual Register* (1802. "Characters", pp. 55-56) assigns a different cause. Thomas wanted to curtail the number of Frenchmen in the service of the Begam as her expenses exceeded her income. This enraged the Frenchmen and, while Thomas was away on a campaign against the Sikhs, they induced their mistress to believe that he was scheming to rob her of her possessions and that was why he had wished for her dismissal. She vented her displeasure on Thomas's wife. He immediately returned, rescued his wife, and left her service.

Both Sleeman, and Francklin the biographer of Thomas, agree in that the resignation of Thomas was the outcome of his rivalry with Levassoult to gain the Begam's favour. Sleeman observes that "as the best chance of securing his ascendancy against such a rival, Levassoult proposed marriage to the Begam, and was accepted. She was married to him in 1793. Geo. Thomas left her service in consequence, in 1793." But Francklin was clearly under the impression that Thomas had thrown up the Begam's command prior to her marriage which took place in about 1792 (*Thomas*, pp. 3, 31). This seems to be correct. The fact of the Begam's marriage with Levassoult was not known to the soldiery, and this could not have been possible had Thomas left the Begam in consequence of her marriage.

##### CAUSE OF REVOLT, AS NARRATED BY THOMAS.

Having left the Begam's service Thomas joined a Maratha Chief, named Appa Khande Rao. But he was soon able to raise and form some corps and carve out for himself an independent principality of which Hansi [89 m. n.-w. of Delhi] was the capital. According to *Thomas* (pp. 31-33) the Begam "was now trying every means in her power to effect his ruin. She had even gone so far as to bribe the Maratha officers to advise his dismissal; and a body of Marathas having joined her army, she marched from Sirchana, and encamped about 17 coss s.e. of Jyjur, which was Thomas's new district]. This conduct in the Begam Mr. Thomas attributed to the influence of the officers in her service, and more particularly to that of Levasso...Levasso who had the chief command of the Begam's army was jealous of the authority of Liegeois...He had been many years in habits of intimacy and friendship with Mr. Thomas, and on the present occasion, had strenuously dissuaded the Begam from the proposed hostilities. This conduct, having given umbrage to Levasso, he by his influence with the Begam, procured Liegeois' degradation; and to render his disgrace the more mortifying, his place was given to a junior officer. A conduct so inconsistent and unjust, disgusted the soldiers, who for many years had been commanded by Liegeois, with whom also they had often fought and conquered. They remonstrated, but in vain, against the measure; finding there was no hope of altering the Begam's resolution, they suddenly broke out into open mutiny. They invited Zafar Yab Khan, the son of the late Samru, by a former wife, who then resided at Delhi to become their commander. In return, they promised to seat him on the *masnad*. For this purpose, a deputation of the army, in spite of all the exertions of the Begam, repaired to Delhi, and solemnly tendered him the command.

Zafar Yab Khan, fearful of the intrigues of his mother-in-law [step-mother] at last consented. To relieve his apprehension, the deputation, in the name of the army, took an oath of fidelity to him on the spot. On the first intelligence of the conspiracy, the Begam, and Levasso, with a few of their old servants, prepared for flight."

#### APPENDIX B.

COLONEL LEVASSOULT'S LETTER TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL J. M. GOWAN, COMMANDING AT ANOOPSHAIR.

Sirdhanah, April 2nd, 1795.

Sir,

The letter you have been pleased to honour me with has reached this day, and in conformity to the desire and direction of the Begam, I beg leave to trouble you once more on the same subject.

The sole views and motive of the Begam are confined at her strong desire for retirement. Should it have been the same in this country as in Europe, her resignation would have been effected without any bad consequences in asking simply for it; but you cannot but know perfectly well that a Chief in Hindoostan keeps difficulty to himself when he is without soldiers or attendants; hence the danger to let his intention be made public, should it be to retire and serve no more.

Mahratta amity cannot be hurt by the removal of the Begam in British possessions, should they have not the unjust and illegal scheme of spoiling her of her property. The arms, the guns, the whole of the furniture and armament for 5,000 men, are the property not of the Government, but of the Begam. Her wages as a partisan, are fixed lastly by Scindiah at 50,000 rupees by the month, or six lacs for a year; the payment of that allowance is fixed on eight provinces or Purgunnahs, which have been delivered for the purpose of receiving it.

Now the Begam, by her removal, pure and simple, subtracts nothing at the authority or at the property of the Mahrattas Government. Her party is paid regularly each month the recolt is ready; her battalions are upon duty, and the whole are in the best order.

Her property on the vow of a man of honour amounts only at one lac in ready cash. She has but very little jewels; her meuble cannot be either carried away with her or sold; therefore you may judge yourself whether, after a command of eighteen years, the Begam can be called rich; with a capital or property so mediocre, of having frustrated either the Government or any people whatsoever.

She is absolutely fatigued by the duties and cares of the military possession which has been the object of her attendance for a space of eighteen years. She resorts at your friendship, because she cannot by any way whatsoever make her intention known either to the Government to which she is

subordinate, or to her own soldiers, without exposing herself to many dangers.

She cannot employ a Persian writer for the same reason, but if you may be desirous to have the matter plainly and more properly explained, she will do herself the pleasure to send to you a gentleman who shall give you all satisfactory answers you may ask. I cannot myself have this honour, for the place committed to my charges permit not my being absent; and although my writing bad English. I am not able to speak or understand a word of it in conversation, by my being perfectly unacquainted with pronunciation. Were you so good to command him, the above-mentioned gentleman shall be ordered at you from Tupput, where he is upon a command, and as your friendship towards the Begam, contrive some means of serving her desire for retirement. She flatters herself that you will be so kind to communicate the same, and to indicate the measure which shall be taken and the proper persons to which the Begam shall address herself by your friendly assistance and medium. I have the honour to be with respect,

Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,  
Sd. A. Levassoult

(*Refutation*, pp. 443-45).

I have been able to trace from the Imperial Records the translation of a Persian letter from the Begam addressed, no doubt, to Sir John Shore. The remarks underneath the letter appear to have been made by the Calcutta Council before whom the letter must have been placed by the Governor-General for opinion:—

From Zeb-un-nissa Begam,  
Widow of the late Sombre.

(Received 22nd April, 1795).

I am desirous of living under the protection of the English Government and of residing in some assigned place in Bengal or Behar. I will act with the strictest conformity to the orders of the gentlemen of the Council and will demean myself as a subject. My life has hitherto been a scene of difficulties and distress: it is now verging towards the close and thro. age I am unable to support these difficulties any longer, hence I wish to retire and to pass the remainder of my life under the mild protection of the English Government. I ever beseech of God to prosper the English Government and to extend its protection which is my only prospect of support.

Agreed that the Governor-General be requested to inform the widow of the late Sombre in answer to her letter, that she is at liberty to reside with her family and personal attendants at Patna, if she thinks proper, excluding from the permission, any troops or military whatever. (Pol. Prosds. 29-5-1795, No. 37).

## THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S ACHIEVEMENT IN INDIA

THE Labour Party is committed to the principle of self-determination of peoples. Looked at from this point of view, the Indian question is not very intricate, unless the right of Self-determination of subject peoples is hedged around with the theory of "Responsibility" on the part of Imperialism to introduce "good government" into the colonial countries. This theory of responsibility was invented to gild the chain of political slavery and economic exploitation of the subject nations. Nevertheless, the Labour Government, headed by Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, who once upon a time was a severe critic of Imperialism and an advocate of self-government for India, abandoned the principle of Self-determination in favour of the preposterous theory of Responsibility. Instead of recognizing the right of the Indian people to a free national existence in consonance with the principles advocated in the Labour Party's programme, the Labour Government, on the contrary, endorsed the claim of British capital to hold the Indian people in subjection, and as administrators of the Empire, undertook the shameful task of enforcing this subjection. In doing so, the Labour Government talked of Britain's "responsibility" no less hypocritically than the governments of Curzon and Lloyd George. The plea that there was not sufficient time to do anything for India cannot be maintained, because the Labour Party cannot prove that one single step was taken by them to deal with the Indian question according to the principles professed by that party.

Here I do not propose to demonstrate that the conspicuous failure of the Labour Government to stand by its programme is due to the faultiness of its principles, half-heartedly professed. The Wilsonian doctrine of Self-Determination, formulated to deceive the subject nationalities and to aggrandize the Entente Imperialism at the cost of the Central Powers, is mere hypocritical cant. By subscribing to this doctrine, the colonial programme of the Labour Party became a mockery. The Imperialist attitude of the Labour Government was the inevitable result, for the doctrine of Self-determination goes hand in hand with the theory of responsibility.

The following facts will show how the

Labour Government neglected to apply to India a policy remotely approximating even to this equivocal doctrine of Self-determination.

1. The faith that Indian nationalists had in the goodwill and love of freedom of the Labour Party was rudely shaken by the Jingoist message that Mr. MacDonald sent out just on the eve of assuming office. He had not a word of sympathy for the Indian people fighting for the right of Self-determination; on the contrary, forgetting the many acts of despotism, tyranny and brutality committed by the servants of the British Government of India, he valiantly championed the cause of "law and order." May we not ask the Labour Government in conjunction with the British working class;—"Which is lawless? The right to freedom, or Imperialist domination?"

2. The National Demands, formulated by the members of the Indian Legislative assembly elected on the franchise granted under the Constitution sanctioned by the British Parliament, were not heeded. So meagre are these demands that they do not even require anything more than a partial application of the principle of Self-determination. A Round Table Conference of the people's representatives and those of the Government, is the crux of this demand. It was not granted. The Secretary of State for India declared in Parliament that the demand for a Round Table Conference could not be entertained. Why? Was this demand unconstitutional, or lawless, or undemocratic, or contrary to the principle of Self-determination? The Nationalists did not fail to indicate in advance that in the proposed Conference, they would be moderate. The cardinal points of the Nationalist programme in the Conference would be; (a) Provincial autonomy, that is, the provincial governments (still parts of the imperial political organism) to be made fully responsible to the Legislature; (b) Partial responsibility in the Central Government, which would continue to be headed by a British Viceroy; (c) a promise to grant Self-Government, not necessarily with the control over the army, foreign affairs or relations with the Indian States, at the expiry of a fixed period of time; and (d) Indianisation of the public services, that is, to man the latter with more Indians and



fewer English. If the principle of Self-determination meant anything at all, and the Labour Party honestly adhered to it, these demands should have been looked upon as the irreducible minimum, and therefore, granted immediately. A resolution calling for the Round Table Conference and tacitly embodying these demands, was carried through the Legislative Assembly by the elected majority in the face of Government opposition. This voice of the people, expressed through the medium of a constitutional instrument forged by two high British officials and sanctioned by the British Parliament (the Govt. of India Act of 1919), was not heeded. Neither was the resolution acted upon, nor did the Government resign as it should, being directly hostile to the wishes of the electorate.

Precisely in such embarrassing position, the theory of "Responsibility" conveniently comes in. It was maintained that the Nationalists who carried this resolution, were not speaking in behalf of the "dumb millions" having been elected by barely two per cent of the population, and that the British Government could not abandon its sacred responsibility to protect the interest of the illiterate masses. In order to maintain this preposterous position, the Labour Government should have answered two questions ; (1) Who entrusted British Imperialism with this "responsibility" ? and (2) Were the Indian Nationalists ever satisfied with such a limited franchise, which was imposed upon them grudgingly, after one hundred and fifty years of undiluted despotism ? The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, accepted by the British Labour Party (even before it assumed office) as the Magna Charta of India, are either a democratic instrument or an undemocratic one. If it is democratic, the voice of the Legislature elected according to it should determine the governance of the country. If it is undemocratic, then it should be scrapped and replaced by a democratic constitution. The Labour Government did neither the one nor the other. It eagerly sought to maintain the *status quo* of Imperialism.

3. The so-called Indian Deputation which recently visited Britain, presented a Memorandum whose contents are known to all. They are even more moderate than the demands made in India. The eventual grant of Dominion Status was not made a *sine qua non* of the programme of this deputation. Lord Morley's policy of "rallying the Moderates" impelled the Labour Party to extend

semi-official encouragement to this Deputation which represented one-twentieth per cent of the population, if the Nationalists in India represent less than two per cent. But even this Deputation, composed of confirmed loyalists wedded to the doctrine of Imperial Federation, with its ridiculously modest demands, was finally sent home without any official assurance that even this beggarly pittance would be granted. On the contrary, the redoubtable members of the Deputation were obviously instructed to throw mud at the Nationalists at home for obstructing the way to an "honourable compromise."

4. Nationalist leaders in the Indian Legislature, who have sacrificed and suffered imprisonment for advocating the right of Self-determination, were not recognized by the Labour Government as representatives of the people, but the "dumb millions" of India might use as their mouthpiece such a reactionary ex-official as Sir Sankaran Nair, whom the Independent Labour Party put up as their parliamentary candidate !

5. During the last half-year, a resolution demanding the release or trial of political prisoners held indefinitely without even being told what is the character of the evidence against them, has been several times carried through the Central and Provincial Legislatures by the elected majority. The Government disdainfully ignored this resolution, and continued to hold the prisoners in unlawful custody.

6. In two Provinces, (Central Provinces and Bengal) the Governors have unceremoniously dismissed the Legislative Councils and have usurped all the power in their own persons. They did so, because the opposition was in the majority, and refused to sanction supplies to the Government so long as their demands were not considered. In Bengal, a large part of the opposition was directed against the individuality of the Ministers, who are supposed to be responsible to the Legislature, but are appointed and dismissed by the Governor. The latter would not even consent to change the Ministers, who were *persona non grata* to the majority of the Legislature.

This sort of parliamentary deadlock was threatened by the Nationalists when they entered the Legislatures, previously boycotted by them, and it was in this legal parliamentary obstruction that Mr. MacDonald detected "violence" which, he gratuitously warned the Indian public, would not "cow down any party in Britain." If Mr. Baldwin had sought

to remain in office after the last elections, we would have found the same Mr. MacDonald abandoning his pacifism, and leading similar "violent" attacks in the very heart of the British Parliament. Now that the conservatives are in office, would the Labour Party rule out this "violent" method? But what is sauce for the goose is not sauce for the gander, according to the political ethics of the Labour Government and that section of the Labour Party which unconditionally supported that Government.

7. The theory that British Imperialism rules over India for the benefit of the Indian masses, was made its own by the Labour Government. But it was under the Labour regime that socialists and Labour agitators were for the first time prosecuted and sentenced to long terms of hard labour in India. Their "crime" was an unproved connection with the Communist International and to have received letters from Indian communists abroad, advocating the organization of a working class party, having the overthrow of British rule for a point of its programme. The Labour Party is supposed to stand for replacing the capitalist system by a socialist order. Since His Majesty's Government so far is essentially capitalist, the Labour Party, by its desire to put an end to the capitalist system, can also be accused, by the same process of reasoning, of waging war against the King. Therefore Mr. MacDonald and his colleagues should have been residing, not in the mansions of Downing Street, but in the Tower of London! Again the same illogicality;—Democracy at home, Sacred Responsibility in the colonies. The Labour Government believed in this doctrine.

It is maintained that the British Govern-

ment of India must protect the masses from the irresponsible and demagogic nationalist agitators; but even under a Labour regime, Trade Unions are not legalized: there is no limit to the working day; there is not a minimum wage fixed by law, women, and children under twelve years are employed underground in the coal-mines: hundreds of thousands of men, women and children are employed in the plantations practically as bond-slaves; Feudalism is protected by law, any revolt of the exploited peasantry against the intolerable excesses of landlordism is suppressed by the armed forces of the Government: the demand for the abolition or even the curtailment of the privileges of the landed aristocracy are denounced and persecuted as "Red Revolution" and "Bolshevism" and striking workers are shot down at the behest of the employers. What did the Labour Government do to redress these grievances of the Indian masses, the responsibility of protecting whom they inherited from their bourgeois predecessors?

Ever since the Labour Government came into office, these grievances of the Indian working class were repeatedly brought to their notice, but without any favourable response.

The recent arrests in Bengal according to Regulation III of 1818 and the new Bengal ordinance are Labour's parting kick to Indian aspirants for freedom. That the blow is directed against anarchism is only a pretext.

Such, in brief, is the record in India of the Labour Government. That the record of the Conservative Government would in all probability be much worse cannot be placed to the credit of Labour.

N.

## JEWISH SOURCES OF THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

(A. REVIEW)

By MAHESHCHANDRA GHOSE.

THE Jewish sources of the Sermon on the Mount by Gerald Friedlander, Minister of the Western Synagogue, London. Published by George Routledge and Sons, London. Pp. XXX+301. Price 4s. 6d.

It is a criticism of the Sermon on the Mount from the Jewish standpoint. The author is a competent Jewish scholar, and whatever he writes is worth reading. The book under review is a very important publication and should be carefully

studied by all the readers of the Gospels both Christian and non-Christian.

The author raises the question, "Did Jesus really teach what is recorded in the Sermon?" And he answers:—

"Most of the great critics agree that he certainly did not deliver the whole of it on one occasion. They agree generally that the Evangelist has joined together several sayings delivered on several occasions, and has probably added other matter, which may or may not be original. Very few scholars claim that the Sermon is entirely the genuine utterance of Jesus" (p. 16).

The author's estimate here is unbiassed and perfectly reasonable. Competent Christian scholars are also of the same opinion. Wright says: "The Sermon on the Mount is too long and too full of matter to have been delivered at one sitting." (*Composition of the Four Gospels*, p. 75).

Gôdet says, "The report of this discourse in Matthew is a work of a complete order in which have been combined many heterogeneous elements. (*Introduction: N. T.*, pp. 134-135).

Moffat says, "It is a composition rather than an actual address". (*Encyclopædia Biblica*: Col. 4277).

Plummer says, "It is generally agreed that the Sermon on the Mount, as we have it in Matthew is, to some extent, the result of composition." (*Comm. Matt.*, p. 56).

Weizsacher considers the Sermon as "a kind of Catechism," having its "origin in the practical wants of the Church." It "originated in and was designed for the church." (*The Apostolic Age*, Vol. ii., p. 46).

Even Tholuck is constrained to say, "All we admit is, that St. Matthew has perhaps amplified the discourse somewhat." (*Comm. Sermon on the Mount*, p. 30).

So the Sermon on the Mount was not an oration but a composition.

#### MOUNT OR PLAIN?

The Sermon is generally known by the name—"The Sermon on the Mount." But Friedlander says: "Luke's 'Sermon in the Plain' is probably more correct than Matthew's 'Sermon on the Mount.' The Mountain itself is in all probability a fiction, intended to serve as a pendant to Sinai, the scene of the revelation of the Old Law." (p. 168.)

Many Christian scholars are of the same opinion. Fleiderer says that the Sermon on the Mount is "the counterpart, expanded by numerous interpolations, of the Lucan 'Sermon on the Plain'." This seems to have been delivered on the plain at the foot of the mountain. Matthew, however, transfers the scene of it to the mountain itself. For this deliberate alteration he had, doubtless, a deeper reason. This mountain recalls at once Mount Sinai from which in the times of old, Moses had proclaimed to the people the Law of God. Thus the Sermon on the Mount is marked out by its very scene as the antithesis of the Old Testament-giving of the Law, as the giving of the true Law of the New Covenant." (*Primitive Christianity*, Vol. ii, p. 316).

#### JEWISH IN SPIRIT.

The author raises the question—"Does the Sermon teach new truths which the Jew cannot find in his own literature?" His answer is "Israel finds nothing new here." (p. 23).

In another place he writes, "According to Tertulian (one of the old church fathers) the Sermon on the Mount was believed to be in agreement with the spirit and teaching of the Hebrew scriptures. He quotes (*Adv. Marcion*, IV. 14) verses from the Old Testament to illustrate and explain the Sermon. He clearly indicates that it contains nothing new. It seems to him that it is really a condensed summary of the Old Testament teaching. We think that this is a fair criticism and it appears to be correct." (p. 16).

The author has quoted many passages from the O. T., the pre-Christian and the contemporary Hebrew literature to shew that what was the finest in the Sermon, was known to the Jews. According to his estimate, "Four-fifths of the Sermon on the Mount is exclusively Jewish". (p. 266).

Let us now consider some parallel passages quoted by our author. We can here quote only a very few of them.

The most important saying of Jesus is: "Be ye therefore perfect as your Father which is in heaven is perfect" (Matt. 5-48). Our author says that it is practically a direct quotation from the Old Testament, "Thou shalt be perfect with the Lord thy God" (Deut. XVIII, 13) is undoubtedly the source, although the form of the wording is borrowed from Lev. XIX, 2: "Ye shall be holy for I, the Lord your God, am holy" (pp. 84-85). In place of "Be ye perfect" of Matt. Luke has "Be ye merciful even as your father is merciful" (VI. 36). Even this version has its parallel in Jewish thought: "With the merciful thou, O God, wilt show thyself merciful" "with the perfect man thou wilt show thyself perfect." (Ps. XVIII)

The first part of the passage gave rise to the reading of Luke and the second part to that of Matthew. (Vide p. 88).

Another important passage is Matt., v. 44, in which Jesus says: "Love your enemies and pray for them that persecute you." (R. V.) We quote below a few parallels from our author's book:—

"In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* we find, 'If any one seeketh to do evil unto you' do you in well-doing pray for him," (Joseph, XVIII. 2) (p. 72).

"Love one another and with long suffering hide ye one another's faults" (Ibid, XVII. 2) (p. 72).

The Book of the Secrets of Enoch says:—

"When you might have vengeance, do not repay, either your neighbour nor your enemy" (1-4) (p. 72-73).

Philo has: "Bestow benefits on your enemy and then will follow of necessity the end of enmity." (*On Humanity*) (p. 73).

"If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat, and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink". (Proverbs, XXV. 21) (p. 73).

With a view to shewing that "the Mosaic Law explains how we are to love our neighbour, even though he be our enemy," our author quotes the following passage:

"If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again, If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee, lying under his burden and wouldst forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him" (Exod. xxiii, 4-5) (p. 83).

#### THE GOLDEN RULE.

The Golden Rule in Matthew (7-12) is—"All things therefore whatsoever ye would that men



should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them." Luke's parallel is slightly different. "And ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise" (VI. 31).

Friedlander says "the Golden Rule is an interpolation or paraphrase (Targum) of the Old Testament Law of Love in Leviticus (XIX., 18) 'Love thy neighbour as thyself.' (p. 230-231).

In Tobit (IV. 15) we find :—

"And what thou thyself hatest, do to no man." (p. 231.)

Hillel's dictum is :—"What is hateful to thee, do not to thy neighbours" (Sabbath, 31 a) (p. 231).

The positive form of the Golden Rule is found in the Targum pseudo-Jonathan ben Uzziel : "A man should show love to his fellow by not doing to him what he dislikes when done to himself" (p. 231).

Rabbi Elazar said, "Let thy neighbour's honour be as dear to thee as thine own" (Aboth II., 15) p. 232.

Another paraphrase of the Jewish Law of Love is :—"Let the property of thy neighbour be as dear to thee as thine own (Aboth ii. 17) (p. 232).

The following is another positive form :—

"Just as a man looks [with a good eye] upon his own home, so let him look upon the home of his neighbour (Aboth de Rabbi Nathan, XVI., p. 62) (p. 232).

Again we have "consider thy neighbour's liking by thine own" (Ecclus. XXXI., 15). (p. 232).

Now let us consider the Lord's Prayer.

#### THE LORD'S PRAYER.

The Lord's Prayer is a part of the Sermon on the Mount. According to our author this prayer was not uttered by Jesus but was interpolated into the Sermon on the Mount. He has discussed the point in chapters X and XI and has substantiated his position by quoting the opinion of Johannes Weiss and J. E. Carpenter. According to Weiss, the L. P. in Matt. is a liturgical piece of the established Christian community" (*N. T. Comm.* p. 266. quoted by our author; p. 124).

According to Carpenter it is "the voice of later ecclesiastical usage" (*the First Three Gospels*, p. 52) (pp. 112 and 132).

Pfleiderer says, "Obviously, Matthew vi is an interpolation into the frame-work of the original discourse as preserved by Luke" (*Primitive Christianity*, ii. 326).

Tholuck says :—

"Bruno Bauer held that the more elaborate form in which the Lord's Prayer occurs in St. Matthew is a proof that this prayer grew up in degrees in the Church." (*Comm : Sermon on the Mount*, Eng. Tr., p. 315).

Even many Christian scholars think that the L. P. was not of Jesus.

Friedlander has quoted many parallel passages to show that there is nothing new in the L. P. and his conclusion is that "the L. P. is lacking in originality. There is not a single idea or expression which cannot be found in pre-Christian literature of Israel" (p. 163). According to him the L. P. is quite Jewish, but he has adversely criticised the fourth petition.

#### The Fourth Petition.

The fourth petition has been differently translated by different scholars.

(i) A. V. has "Give us this day our daily bread."

(ii) R. V. has in the margin, "Our bread for the coming day."

(iii) "Give us today our bread for the morrow" (Moffat : N. T.)

(iv) Meyer writes :—

"After all this we must, for reasons derived from grammatical consideration,.... interpret the words as meaning—"tomorrow's bread" (Italics author's). So Ar. Aeth. Copt., Sahid., Erasmus, Annot., Scaliger, Salmasius, Grotius, Wolf, Bengel, Wetstein, Valckenaer; Schol. i, p. 190 and v; also Winer, p. 92 (E. T. 120), Fritzsche, Kauffer, Schegg, Dollinger, Hilgenfeld, Holtzmann, Schenkel, Wittenberg" (*Comm. Matt.* 209).

Then he says that this explanation is furnished historically by the "Gospel according to the Hebrews" (p. 209).

In a note Meyer writes :—"Baumgarten-Crusius : Correctly today, what we need to-morrow," (Italics author's, p. 209). He further says :—"the granting today of to-morrow's bread is according to the narrow limit which Christ here assigns to prayers for earthly objects." (Italics author's, p. 209).

(v) Jerome says that in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the word used is "mchar" which means "of the morrow," or "for the coming day" (*vide* Plummer, Matt. 101; Allen, Matt., 59). In that case the meaning of the petition would be—"Give us today our bread for to-morrow" Friedlander, 153; (Plummer : Matt., 101).

(vi) Gore says : "No one can be quite certain what it means, but probably it means, "The bread for the coming day." (*Sermon on the Mt.* 132).

(vii) Plummer says—"In Matt. we pray—Give us today our bread for the coming day"...In Luke we pray—"continually give us day by day our bread for the coming day" (*Comm : Lk.* 286).

(viii) According to Renan also the petition is for "bread for the morrow" (*Life of Jesus : chap. x.*)

(ix) Bishop Lightfoot has also taken the same view (*Fresh Revision*, pp. 195-242).

So the L. P. means "Give us today our bread for the morrow."

Friedlander quotes two passages in this connection.

(1)

The first passage is :

"The needs of Thy people Israel are many, but their wisdom is little. May it be thy will, O Lord, our God, to grant to each one his sustenance and to every creature sufficient for its needs. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hearest prayer" (p. 149).

Our author remarks :—"The Lord's Prayer asks only for the needs of the disciples, whereas this Talmudic prayer asks on behalf of every creature." (Berachoth, 29b, and Tosephta Berachoth. III. 7.) (p. 149).

(2)

The second passage is quoted by way of contrast : "Who-so-ever has a bit of bread in his basket and says 'what shall I eat to-morrow?' Must be reckoned among those of little faith." (Sota. 48b.) (p. 133).

This passage is quoted also by J. Abraham in his *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels* (second series, p. 106) by the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (column 2823) and the Century Bible, Matt. VI., if Comm.

#### OVER-WORLDLY.

Man will instinctively pray. So long as he is on a lower level, his prayer will be for material things. But when he reaches a higher level, he

will ignore physical wants and material prosperity; and his prayer will be purely spiritual. The fourth petition will be appreciated only by those whose spiritual level is low. But such a prayer has been considered unspiritual by many devout men and women.

The strangest thing in the fourth petition is asking *today* for *tomorrow's* meal. How can I ask today for tomorrow's meal when I know that many of His children have not got food (or sufficient food) even for this morning? Such a prayer is intensely selfish, over-worldly. The utmost that may be allowed is praying in the morning for the morning's bread and in the evening for the evening's bread.

#### UNACCEPTABLE DOCTRINES.

According to Jesus, "many are called but few are chosen (Matt., 22., 14). The Kingdom of God is the heritage of those blessed ones only for whom it has been prepared from the foundation of the world" (Mt. 25. 34). Our author has rejected this doctrine of predestination (pp. 239-251).

The principle of having no care for worldly things (Matt. vi, 25-34) is considered by our author un-Jewish, unworkable and unacceptable (chapter xiv and p. 264).

Our author has condemned the ascetic principles of Jesus. "A man must surrender all his possessions to follow Jesus. (Matt., 19-21). He must renounce father, mother, wife and children. (Matt. 10-57). Jesus denies a disciple permission to bid farewell to his relatives (Lk. 9-62). Jesus denies his own mother and brothers and refuses to see them or speak with them (Mk 3-33). All this and much more of Jesus' ascetic teaching is foreign to the Jewish religious thought and practice. The doctrine of self-mutilation. (Matt. XIX. 12.)—\* 'There are eunuchs for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven'—is an abomination according to the Mosaic Law (Deu. XXIII. 1; cf. Lev. XXII, 23 ff)" (p. 75).

There are other doctrines also which have been rejected by our author.

#### REWARD AND PUNISHMENT.

Our author says:—

"Jesus quite naively assures his disciples that God rewards man's righteousness. He does not tell his followers to act righteously for righteousness' sake, but encourages them to do good by promising them a divine reward" (pp. 94-95).

We give below some instances.

A man is not to be angry with his brother, not because anger degrades a man but because he shall be in danger of the Judgment (*vide* Matt. 5-22).

A man must not call his brother 'Raca'—not because it is unbrotherly and unfriendly but because he shall be in danger of the council (*vide* v. 22).

A man must not say to his brother, "Thou fool," not because such a conduct is unkind and unloving but because he shall be in danger of hell-fire (*vide* v. 22).

A man must be reconciled to his brother and agree with his adversary. Why? Not because love and fellow-feeling are good in themselves but because they might otherwise deliver him to the Judge and the Judge deliver him to the officer and the officer cast him into prison (*vide*, v. 25).

\* This is also the interpretation of Origen who castrated himself (Euseb. HE. vi, viii, 1 f). The majority of the Christian commentators have however, explained the passage metaphorically.

A man must not lust with eyes. Why? Not because it is immoral in itself but because he shall be thrown into hell-fire. (*vide* v. 29).

A man must love his enemy? But why? Jesus says—"If you love them which love you, what reward have ye?" (v. 46).

'Judge not'. But why? Because you will then be judged. (*vide* 7. 2).

The meek are blessed. But why? Because they will inherit the earth. (v. 5).

Blessed are the persecuted. Why? Because great is their reward in heaven. (*vide* v. 11, 12).

Blessed are the poor. Why? Because they will enter the Kingdom of heaven (*vide* v. 3).

You are to fast in secret,—because your father will reward thee open (v. 18).

You are to do your alms in secret. Why? Because your father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee open. (vi. 4).

You are to pray in secret.—Why? Because your father which seeth in secret shall reward thee open. (vi. 6).

To crown all, he asks his disciples to seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness and adds—that *all the earthly things shall be added unto them* (*vide* Matt. vi. 33). Even righteousness requires compensation.

The whole system of the Gospel morality may be summed in two sentences.

- (i) Do no evil or you will be punished.
- (ii) Do good, for then great will be your reward.

#### PRECEPTS AND EXAMPLES.

Jesus said, "Swear not at all." "Jesus, however," says our author, "did not always refrain from swearing. He frequently emphasises his statements by the phrase—'Amen, I say unto you.' The English Bible renders this by 'Verily, I say to you' 'Amen' in this connexion is simply an oath. This was the opinion of the old church Father Origen. Modern critics, (e.g., Hatzmann, Achelis) say that Jesus took an oath at his trial (Matt. xxvi. 63, 64). Paul also swore (2. Cor 1. 23 and Rom. IX. 1f) (p. 60).

Meyer also says:—

"Christ himself has sworn (Matt. xxvi. 63 f); Paul has frequently sworn (Rom 1. 9; 2 Cor. 1.23; xi. 3f; Gal. ii. 20; Phil 1. 8); nay, God swears to his own people (Luke 1. 73; Acts, VII. 17; Heb. VI. 13; O. T. references are omitted). Comm. Matt. p. 188.

The *Encyclopaedia Biblica* says:—

"The most solemn oath [oath by the living God] indeed Jesus himself, according to Mtt., recognised in his trial (Matt. 26. 63 f)", Column 3453.

#### "VERILY, VERILY."

In the Sermon on the Mount and S. on the Plain, Jesus used 'verily' five times and in all the Gospels 72 times. In the Synoptic Gospels the usual form of expression is "Verily, I say unto you (or unto thee)." But in the fourth Gospel the favourite form is "Verily, verily," etc.

This use of "verily" or "verily, verily" does not seem to redound to the credit of Jesus. Suppose a timid man says—I have killed a tiger, I am not timid; no one will believe him. He will, in that case, try to convince the people and establish his reputation by saying—"Verily, verily, I say unto you, I have killed a tiger; I am not timid." But if Hercules simply said, "I have killed a lion", that would be enough.

Similarly in the case of Jesus, when he says,

'Verily, verily, I say unto you,' that very assertion presupposes his consciousness of the possibility of others ascribing untrustworthiness to him. When a man is fully established in truth, he simply says what he believes and there ends the matter. He can never think of making his truth truer by repeating the formula "Verily, verily."

We deprecate the use of "verily" or 'verily, verily'. It is akin to taking an oath.

#### MISREPRESENTATION.

Our author quotes the following passage from Matt. "Ye have heard that it was said, thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy" (v. 43). Then he remarks:—"It is a fine example of deliberate invention. The first half of the quotation is true (Lev. xix, 18), the second half is false. In no part of the Law, or Prophets, or writings, or in any book of the Rabbis, do we find the law "hate thine enemy" (p. 69-70).

"Jesus says that the Pharisees display their ostentation and hypocrisy by sounding a trumpet before themselves in the synagogues and in the streets when distributing their alms. (Matt. v, 2). Is this a fact? We cannot do better than quote Lightfoot (*in loco*) whose *Horae Hebraicae Talmudicae* are invaluable even in these later days of critical research. He says—"I have not found, although I have sought for it much and seriously, even the least mention of a trumpet in connexion with almsgiving". This opinion is also shared by the learned Hebraist Schottgen and many other modern scholars who find themselves in a quandary (p. 95).

The author further says: "Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that the account of occasional Pharisaic almsgiving is correct; is it then proper to stigmatize the entire community as hypocrites? ... Jesus calls all the Pharisees hypocrites" (p. 99). And Philo and Hillel were Pharisees. (*Vide* p. 37).

The author has given many other instances of misrepresentation.

#### LOVE TO ENEMIES.

Jesus said, "Love your enemies" (v. 44).

Mr. Friedlander writes:—"If Jesus said these words, which is doubtful, he certainly did not practise what he taught. We are told by the New Testament that the Pharisees, the Sadducees and the scribes attacked Jesus, but we are not told that he loved them or prayed for them. He condemned them to everlasting damnation and called them "a

generation of vipers" and "children of the devil" (p. 72; *vide* also p. 99).

Here we may quote the opinion of Mr. Montefiore whom no one can accuse of anti-christian bias. In his Jowett Lectures he says: "He (Jesus) urged his disciples to love their enemies, but so far as we can judge, he showed little love to those who opposed him. He urged that the lost sheep should be actively sought out; but except in the way of sheer abuse and bitter vituperation, he did nothing to win over, to his own conception of religion, the Pharisees and Rabbis who ventured to criticise and dislike him. To the hardest excellence of all even Jesus could not attain". (*The Religious Teaching of Jesus*, p. 53.)

Mr. Friedlander truly says:—

"Vituperation seems to be a marked characteristic of the Gospel teaching." (p. 234.)

#### CONCLUSION.

By analysing the Sermon on the Mount and other important passages of the Gospels, our author has arrived at the following conclusions:—

(i) All the good which can be found in the Gospels or in other books of the N. T., are to be found either in the O. T., or else in Jewish or Rabbinic Literature (p. XXVII: p. 45, 105, *ibid.*)

(ii) Jesus has falsified the Torah to preach the Gospel (chap. vi).

(iii) The Pharisees were misrepresented, falsely accused and unjustly denounced (chap. V. p. 99, 77 etc.)

(iv) The Gospel is characterised by vituperation (p. 264, 219 etc.).

(v) Jesus's personal example fell far short of his precepts (chap. ix: pp. 60, 72, 77, etc.)

(vi) Even his precepts did not rise to the highest moral standard (pp. 94-95: pp. 153-154 etc.)

(vii) Jesus was not a prophet (chap. i). He was not more inspired than Hillel (p. 231). But he was a preacher and teacher (p. 11).

In all that has been said above, in the present article by "Jesus" is meant "Jesus as described, reported or represented in the Gospels." Critics are not to blame if he has been misreported or misrepresented in them.

Our author's criticism of the Sermon on the Mount is scholarly. We generally read the Bible from the Christian standpoint and the view we get is necessarily one-sided. This defect will be partially remedied by a perusal of this book. It is indispensable to Biblical students.

## THE CONFERENCE OF GERMAN ORIENTALISTS AT MUNICH IN OCTOBER 1924

By DR. M. WINTERNIIZ

AS a kind of substitute for the International Congresses of Orientalists which ceased with the war, the German Oriental Society has begun to arrange Con-

ferences of German Orientalists (Orientalistentage), the first of which took place at Leipzig in 1921, and the second at Berlin in 1923. The third Conference has just been



held at Munich from October 1st to 4th. About 300 scholars from all parts of Germany, a few from Austria, Switzerland, and Czechoslovakia, were present. The local committee, especially Professor *Wilhelm Geiger*, the well-known Pali scholar, and Professor *Lucian Scherman*, the energetic Curator of the Ethnological Museum, had done everything to make the Conference a success. In connection with the Conference an *Exhibition of Asiatic Art* was opened in the rooms of the National museum. Here the most characteristic specimens of Oriental, especially of Buddhist, art from India, China, and Japan, had been carefully selected and arranged by Professor Scherman out of the treasures of the Ethnological museum at Munich with some additions from private collections.

A great number of interesting papers were read both at general meetings and in the four sections, into which the Conference was divided. At the opening ceremony a paper of general interest was read by Professor *E. Littmann* of Tuebingen on "*Germany and the East in the Light of the Loan-Words.*" There are, as the lecturer showed, in the German language about 1100 loan-words taken from different Oriental languages. They refer to things connected with all departments of culture, religion, art, science, economy, technics, and literature. These Oriental words, and the ideas and things which they designate, reached Germany by many different roads at various times. Some of them were brought to Germany by the ancient Romans who had obtained them from the Greeks. Others were borrowed, during the middle ages, by Italians and Spaniards from the Mohammedan peoples settled around the Mediterranean, and handed over to French and Germans. In modern times many words came immediately from Hebrew into German, while others became known to the Germans through the Portuguese, Dutch and English from India and the Far East. The great importance of these linguistic studies lies in this that they enable us to reconstruct some of the oldest relations between Eastern and Western mankind and their civilisations.

A paper of very general interest was read by Dr. *Oswald Spengler*, whose book "*Der Untergang des Abendlandes*" (the Decline of the West) created great sensation all over Germany a couple of years ago. He pointed out the necessity of a new "*Atlas Antiquus*", marking out a scheme on which it should be produced. This should be a huge collection

of maps, in which all the different geological and cultural periods of the earth and all migrations of races and peoples, as well as all historical and political events from pre-historic times downwards should be represented in pictures.

Great general interest was also roused by a paper of Professor *E. Kornemann* on the "*Position of Woman in pre-Greek Mediterranean Culture.*" An investigation of the marriage relations among the pre-Greek Mediterranean peoples of the period from 2000 to 800 B. C. shows an unusual prevalence of marriage between brothers and sisters. Though originally permitted to members of royal families only, the custom of marriage between near kindred became more and more general. Woman in those times had absolutely equal rights with man, and motherhood was highly respected. It was only after the Indo-European immigration that the subjection of woman set in which afterwards was confirmed by the Christian church.

A public lecture was given by Professor *A. von Le Coq* on "*Central Asia as a Centre for Transmission of Culture.*" Prof. von Le Coq who himself was the leader of two archaeological expeditions to Turfan (Eastern Turkestan) in 1904-5 and 1913-14, showed, with the help of numerous lantern slides, how in the works of art from Eastern Turkestan, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Tibet, styles, subject-matters, motives and cultural elements from East and West meet together. In the early centuries of our era a constant stream of late Hellenic art and culture, mixed with Iranian and Indian elements, was flowing across Central Asia to China and the Far East, and in later centuries another stream flowed back from China to Persia, Western Asia and Europe. It is chiefly Buddhist art, the art of Gandhara, which thus exercised the greatest influence on the art of China, Korea and Japan. All this is illustrated by sculptures and wall paintings found in the ruins excavated by Dr. von Le Coq and his assistants.

Other papers which were read at the Conference are of interest to the specialists only. I can only report on those read in the section for India and the Far East. The archaeological expeditions to Turfan, one led by Dr. *A. Gruenwedel* and the two led by Dr. von Le Coq, are of importance not only for their archaeological, but also for their literary, results. Many hundreds of manuscripts (in 24 scripts and in 16 languages) were found, amongst these there being a great number of Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts, or rather fragments of manus-

cripts. Important texts have been discovered in these fragments, sometimes tiny bits of palm-leaves which had to be pieced together, by Professor Lueders and others. At the Conference H. Lueders reported on his latest discoveries of *canonical and non-canonical texts of the Sarvastivadin Buddhists*. Of canonical texts he found the Pratimoksasutra and the Udanavarga. These texts are, as Prof. Lueders showed highly important both for the linguistic and the literary history of India. The language of these fragments is Sanskrit but the manuscripts differ very much in their readings, which Lueders explains as the result of the constant efforts of the monks at improving the Sanskrit. For the Sanskrit is translated from the Prakrit, and retained many Prakriticisms which were gradually Sanskritized. From the language of these texts and the corresponding texts in the Pali canon Lueders made it probable, that both the Sanskrit and the Pali canons are translations from an older dialect. Lueders has also found fragments of non-canonical poetical works. Among these there is a manuscript in old Gupta script which Lueders dates between 300 and 350 A. D., and which contains fragments of a collection of Buddhist legends hitherto only known in its Chinese version (translated into French by Ed. Huber) where it bears the title Sutralamkara, and is ascribed to Asvaghosa. In the manuscript, discovered by Lueders, however, a colophon is preserved, in which the title Kalpanamanditika is given and from the same colophon it appears that the author is not Asvaghosa, but his contemporary Kumaralata, the originator of the Sautrantika system of Buddhism.

The present writer gave a short account of the work done at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, in connection with the *Critical Edition of the Mahabharata*, as he saw it during his two visits to Poona in 1922 and 1923. He referred to the excellent work done by the then chief editor Mr. Utgikar and his assistants, and to his own work at Santiniketan, where he collated Mahabharata manuscripts with his pupils, in order to initiate them in critical editorial work. He insisted on the necessity of a co-operation between Indian and Western scholars at the Munich Conference, as he had done last year at Poona and at Bombay. There are numerous valuable manuscripts of the Mahabharata in Indian libraries, without which Western scholars will never be able to produce a critical edition, and there are a great many important manuscripts in

European libraries, without which an edition made by Indian scholars will be imperfect. It is a great pity that neither on the Indian, nor on the Western side there seems to be at present much inclination to co-operate in a work which is beset with such enormous difficulties and requires so much patient labour, that it will never be done satisfactorily except by the combined efforts of Eastern and Western scholars. In the discussion which followed, Professor E. Leumann drew the attention of the Indian section to the fact, that collations of Mahabharata manuscripts had already been made by the late Dr. Goldstuecker a generation ago. These collations are preserved in the University Library of Strassburg.

A detailed scheme of an *Encyclopedia of Buddhism* was laid before the Conference by Dr. Fritz Trautz, who tried to interest the German Oriental Society in this work. It was urged against the scheme, that the funds for such a gigantic scheme were not available in Germany, and that such a work could only be accomplished by the co-operation of scholars of all countries, including Japan. Some doubts were also raised, whether the time was already ripe for such a scheme, as our knowledge of Buddhism was still very imperfect.

An interesting paper was read by H. von Glasenapp on the "Position of Jinism in the History of Indian Religions and the Relation of Jinism to other Faiths." Though Jinism is heterodox, as it denies the authority of the Veda and the supremacy of the Brahmins, and though its philosophy differs essentially from the Hindu systems of metaphysics, it has yet been greatly influenced by Hinduism, especially as regards religious cult and social institutions. On the other hand Jaina influences can be traced to a great extent in the ideas of Hindu sects. Glasenapp also pointed out what Jinism and Buddhism have in common and how they differ in other respects, especially with regard to the doctrine of soul. Islam and Jinism have influenced each other in art. In modern times Jinism has adopted missionary methods under the influence of Christianity. In the discussion that followed, the present writer referred to the Pratistha ceremonies in honour of the late Acarya Vijaya Dharma Suri which he witnessed last year, and in which Hindus of all sects took active part. The sympathy, with which Brahmins and Hindu Sadhus, and the whole non-Jaina population of Shivrpi in Gwalior honoured the memory of the great Jaina

saint was as remarkable as the close similarity between the Jaina and Hindu ceremonies (e. g. the arati ceremony) in the cult. Professor Schrader remarked, that such friendly relations as existed between Jainas and Vaisnavas would not be found between Jainas and Saivas who offered bloody sacrifices.

Professor *E. Haenisch*, the Berlin Sinologist, read a paper on the *anti-Buddhist Literature of China*. In the fifth and again in the eighth century A. D., there was a strong anti-Buddhist movement in China. It was, at one time, even proposed to abolish all Buddhist monasteries and to force Buddhist monks and nuns to marry. Buddhism was attacked as hostile to the political and moral system of Confucius.

Of great interest was a paper read by *Dr. H. Goetz* (Berlin) on *Indian Miniature Painting and its Importance for the History of Indian Culture*. Miniature painting is chiefly the work of craftsmen, hence naive and popular, and thus throwing much light on the life of the people. It is interesting to see, how in miniature painting the changing attitude of Islam to Hinduism is reflected. In times of great tolerance (Akbar, Jehangir) Hindu subjects, especially those referring to the god Krisna, are very frequent, while at other times Islamitic elements prevail.

Professor *F. Otto Schrader* of Kiel, late librarian of Adyar, Madras, read an interesting paper on *Dravidian Elements in Sanskrit*. He tried to trace such elements in some of the most common Sanskrit words, and even in the Vedic language. Doubts were raised by several scholars against the assumption that Vedic words should have Dravidian origin.

The last paper read in the Indian Section was one by *P. J. Abs* on *Atheism in Indian Systems of Thought*. He objects to calling Buddhism or Samkhya atheistic. Real atheism was only taught by the materialistic school of Carvaka or the Lokayata system.

Interesting and suggestive as many of these papers were, the real value of such gatherings as that at Munich lies in the fact, that it is an occasion, and very often the only occasion for poor scholars who cannot spend much in travelling, when one meets friends and fellow-workers and can exchange ideas with them by personal intercourse. For this reason, it is much to be regretted that the time has not yet come for reviving the old *international* Congresses of Orientalists which used to take place at intervals of two or three years.

## GOOD EFFECTS OF DEMOCRATIZATION OF MUSIC

By DILIP KUMAR ROY

IN my last article I set forth my reasons which led me to welcome the prospective democratization of our classical music. By this term I did not have in view the lowering of the standard of our classical music for the sake of popular comprehension. For, evidently such a procedure cannot but bode ill for the preservation—not to speak of further evolution—of all highly evolved arts. What I meant thereby was simply the making of high-class music easier of reach to the layman, who has so far been looked down upon by musicians and connoisseurs alike. The temple of music must be thrown open to any one who may want to attend the worship. It has been a vicious custom of ours to

reserve our classical music for the unimaginative aristocracy and self-sufficient upstarts, who hardly ever appreciated it as a devotee of music should have done. The only defence of such a practice was, as I have already pointed out, that it was necessary in the then order of society. The new order of society which is going gradually to supplant the old, will, however, necessitate a profound alteration or modification of our outlook on music. It cannot but be so. For no art can be completely independent of its environments. I have discussed at some length how the change of environments is going to be a profound one in the new social order that shows unmistakable signs of overtaking our



civilization. I pointed out specifically in my last article why our music, like other arts, would have to orientate towards democratization as it is going to be the spirit of democracy all the world over for some time to come. There are many who have lost heart at the sad devastation of Europe and the awful muddle it has brought in its train all the world over. Some thinkers of Europe are in gloomy despair over the none-too-rosy future of their democracy. There are however reasons to believe that their despair is due to their near-sightedness. For it is difficult to opine that the age of democracy is past. The hopeful augury of the great thinker Arabindo in this respect seems to be much nearer the truth than the black forebodings of some European thinkers whose minds are naturally a little unhinged by too close a view of the terrible aftermath of the Great War.\*

I have suggested why the democratization of our heritage of music is all but certain. I have pointed out also the lines which this democratization is likely to pursue in its onward evolution. I have tried roundly to advocate its desirability. I propose now to point out some of the concrete good effects which such a development is likely to entail.

Self-sufficient princes and the lack-lustre lords could hardly ever assign to music its proper value as a human activity. They regarded it at most as a pleasurable hobby, as something which helped to break their intermittent *ennui* due to satiety. Clearly this is not the proper way of looking at music. Music is—as philosophers, scientists and humanitarians like Schopenhauer, Hegel, Croce, Einstein, Gandhi etc. have concurred in regarding—one of the greatest arts, a flower of life, a supreme consolation in our most tragic hours. Her sweets however can hardly be appreciated fully by one who has not learnt to approach her shrine in a spirit of worship. The music

sung to order at the revelries of the frivolous and the rich is scarcely worthy of the name. Consequently, the latter type of patrons could hardly ever give the musicians in their pay the requisite inspiration for their best possible expression. Even if these so-called patrons had tried to invite real music-lovers to enjoy the exhibition of their musicians, there might be *some* show of justification for their posing as such. But by their very nature and outlook on music, they could hardly be expected to ask anybody but their hangers-on, who cared only to sponge on the former. Nevertheless it was precisely such people who mostly used to provide the audience of the classical artist.\* Could such a state of affairs possibly have been as it should be for music? Would it not be a thousand times better for musical art if real lovers of music could enjoy the same, instead of those on whom its deepest appeal could not but be lost? I hardly need emphasize further that it is lovers of arts for whom all lofty arts are intended.

By making musical soirees public it is precisely the music-lovers who will profit most and that will be a great service done to the cause of music for another powerful reason. It is this, that music cannot fail to lose in expression if it be required to give of its best in an uncongenial atmosphere. For the inspiration of the musician is damped directly it feels any apathy or insensibility of the audience to beauty. Any musician must know the truth of this statement. It is not so, properly speaking, in the case arts like painting, sculpture, architecture or literature, where the artist has not to reckon with the immediate response of his appreciators. For when a litterateur or a painter creates, he can afford to—as he generally does—dispense with all thoughts of how his productions will be received. With arts like music or histrionism it is different in that here the artistic effect is directly dependent on the bond of sympathy being established between the artist and the audience. Consequently music has everything to gain by such publicity as will secure a larger number of true appreciators.

Another good result of the democratization of music will consist in the gain in self-respect

\* It may be interesting to quote the exact words of Arabindo. He writes in his book "The Renaissance in India": "We should not allow our cultural independence to be paralysed by the accident that at the moment that Europe came in upon us, we were in a state of ebb and weakness, such as comes some day upon all civilizations. That no more proves that our spirituality, our culture our leading ideas were entirely mistaken ..... than the great catastrophe of the war proves that Europe's science, her democracy, her progress were all wrong and that she should return to the Middle Age or imitate the culture of China or Turkey or Tibet. (The italics are mine.)"

\* It is to be noticed that I refer to classical music here. For popular music like *kir-an*, *baul*, *jatra* etc. in Bengal, as well as *Ghazl*, *Kajri* etc. in North India enjoyed the audience of the people. High-class music however like *Dhrupad*, *Kheyal*, *Tappa* and *Thumri* used to be sung mostly at the private soirees of the rich.

that will accrue to the musician thereby. It is often unthinkingly contended that after all the patronage of the rich is about the best solution of the problem of encouragement of art. Art, it is true, must have patronage in order that it may live. But few have any idea of what our unfortunate musicians have to pay for the same when they are forced to depend on the sweet will of their rich masters, simply to keep the wolf from the door. I have at least some experience of what the modern patronage of the musical aristocracy is like. I desist from citing instances of their haughty and inappreciative conduct towards their court-musicians because that would make the present article very long. Suffice it to say therefore that the insight of these patrons of ours is hardly ever more than skin-deep and that I have seldom found their treatment of musicians such as a man of self-respect could stand. And then such musicians are often forced to stoop so low for a mess of pottage that the spectacle is, to say the least, distressing. It is very seldom indeed that one meets with a generous connoisseur of art—like Asoka, Harsha or Akbar—among the princes. And then a Sanskrit adage says that even the favours of the fickle-minded are dangerous.\* An artist, however, must feel the ground a little sure under his feet if he is to give of his very best; and it is not the favours of the fickle aristocracy which are calculated to give him the sense of security so necessary to the full blossoming of his artistic creativeness.

Besides it is a great mistake to suppose that art can be separated from life. I mean to say that to say meanness, servility, absence of self-respect—can hardly fail to reflect on the artist's works, particularly in the case of an art like music or acting in which the appeal of his art has much more direct bearing on the artist's personality than in the case of other arts. The musician can command proper respect only when he finds the opportunity of dealing with those who really care for and respect his art. For it must never be forgotten that it is *not* money which gives direct impetus to an art; it is sincere appreciation which does. For money helps art only indirectly in that it provides facilities for the artist. The great German musician Beethoven wrote once to a friend of his: "Könige und Fürsten können wohl Professoren machen und Geheimräte und Titel und Ordensbänder anhängen; aber grosse Menschen können

sie nicht machen. '... und wenn so zwei zusammenkommen wie ich und der Goethe, da müssen diese grossen Herren merken, was bei unsreinem gross gelten kann.'"\* Too true. Every artist must needs feel the shallowness of condescending patronage compared with the uplifting effect of true appreciation which invigorates both the artist and the appreciator by uniting them in a higher bond of sympathy. This is the only bond which inspires and elevates just as every material bond hampers and holds down. Thus the emancipation of music from aristocratic patronage can well expect to gain this additional advantage among others.

There will be another service rendered to the cause of our music by making it easier of reach to the public at large, viz. that this will purge the bodily expression of our musicians of a host of their usual mannerisms which are, to say the least, anything but stimulating. For, otherwise they will find to their cost that they cannot command public esteem. It is well known that in public meetings, places of amusement etc., anything that borders on the grotesque or unseemly almost invariably sends a titter of laughter (which is very contagious) through the whole audience, particularly if such an effect was not deliberately sought. And nothing is so inimical to artistic effect as laughter. Consequently the European musician, who has to sing to public audiences, thinks it worth while to take the pains of cultivating grace of execution in voice-production or playing. This will be the case with our musicians as well as soon as they will have to deal with a public which refuses to look upon want of grace in execution as unimportant in musical performance.

Another happy result of helping the public to be able to judge right of good music will be this that the musicians will not then need to run down one another with the ardour with which they do so to-day. I will explain what I mean. Anybody who knows anything of the unfortunate mentality of our professionals cannot have omitted to notice how unusual it is for one musician to praise another musician, however great, especially if the latter happens to be in the land of the living. I mean thereby to say that a musician of our

\* True kings and prince can confer Professorships, titles orders etc. but they cannot make great men of the mediocre... When men like Goethe and I are together these big guns should realise what our values of greatness are.

\* *Avyavasthāchittasya prasādopi bhayankarah.*

country may sometimes praise a dead musician—perhaps only to try to prove all the living performers (excepting himself, of course) of little worth in comparison; but he will hardly bring himself to admit that any of his contemporaries can ever have the capacity to rise to such heights to which he has risen. Every professional musician looks upon it as a sort of religious duty to run down all the other artists with an immaculate impartiality. This statement may perhaps smack somewhat of exaggeration, but anybody who has come into intimate contact with our musicians must subscribe to my characterization of their mentality. Things will however be different when our musician will be a little more cultivated—as he can surely be expected to become gradually on coming in contact with a truly civilized public as opposed to the depraved rich. Besides, when he will see that the public knows how to tell good music from bad, no matter how eloquent he waxes about the irreclaimable nature of all music but his own, he cannot, I think, help becoming a little more sensible. No one who has had the misfortune to listen to the tiresome mutual recriminations of our professional musicians can fail to rejoice in such a prospect. It is really a "consummation devoutly to be wished." The way in which the great German songstress Lily Lehmann panegyricizes the late Adelina Patti\* should prove an eye-opener to our musicians how to appreciate real greatness in other artists. But alas! this can come only of real culture of which our musicians are so refreshingly innocent!

Lastly, I will dwell on one more question that may naturally arise in this connection. It may be very pertinently asked if the standard of music is not likely to be lowered by making it dependent on popular patronage. It may be argued that musicians had of yore to serve one master after all. Now he will have to serve many at a time. Is this desirable on the balance? Then again, one may reasonably wonder if there is no ground for the apprehension that the dictates of the many may perhaps prove to be even more tyrannical than the dictates of one! Besides, is not popular support as well a little too precarious in its very nature and have we not known such a thing as pandering to low public tastes for the sake of lucre or popularity?

\* .....war sie sozusagen die grösste italienische Gesangskünstlerin meiner Zeit....."Meine Gesangskunst" by Lily Lehmann (It means "she was, so to say, the greatest artist-singer of my time.")

I must admit that such misgivings cannot be summarily dismissed as altogether unfounded. And for the sake of truth I have also to confess that they are to a certain extent even justified. For a remoulding of stable public opinion in artistic appreciation requires time and while such opinion is still in an inchoate state of formation the artist may often be hard put to it to resist the tyranny of necessity. That is, he may sometimes be constrained to debase his art—because of his great distress. But tragedies cannot be ruled out in a day. The artist must needs struggle and that hard too, so long as public opinion is still in the process of formation. He will perhaps fail more often than would be quite heartening to him or to his sympathisers. If however there be any truth in the ultimate unifying power of all great arts, every succeeding artist will reap the harvest of the seeds sown by his predecessors. Such it has often been in the case of artists all the world over. The real merit of the artist has as often as not met with but little recognition during his life-time. But even such failures always paved the way for recognition of succeeding generations. The true artist must learn to be inspired by this faith. For when all is said and done, no great achievement is possible without a living faith in spite of odds. Unless he has this faith the artist cannot possibly keep the standard of his art high. But when one comes to think a little deeply, one finds that the true artist does in the end succeed in bequeathing to the world at least something of his artistic ideal, even though he may have stooped low occasionally owing to pressure of circumstances or other unfortunate factors. Take the case of painting or literature or sculpture for instance. Here, it is true, the artist has often been obliged, much against his will, to create to order—which is another name for stooping low for material considerations. (After all, a life cannot be lived, unfortunately, without any compromises whatsoever with one's ideals.) But one may look at the other side of the picture, and find food for optimism in the inspiring examples of heroism of the artist in rising repeatedly after his falls. That he succeeds thereby in leaving at least some lasting works of art to posterity cannot be denied. And this fact might well prove a source of comfort even to those who would fain lose heart in pessimistic prognostications. Raphael had to paint some silly mistocrats no doubt, but did he not paint the Madonnas



as well? Shakespeare wrote some unquestionably poor plays, but did that prevent him from writing his tragedies? Michel Angelo, it is true, wasted a lot of his time in propitiating the Pope; but can that ever take away from his deathless glory in having created the statue of David or having painted the Sixtine Chapel? Thus when the artist has to depend on popular patronage for subsistence he may have to reconcile himself more than once to compromises with his ideal, but he rises almost invariably more fortified than ever from such ordeals if he has an in-born instinct for artistic creation. It must be admitted that an art which is truly great hardly ever meets with the full appreciation it deserves from the general public. I have dealt with the why and wherefore of this tragedy in a previous article where I pointed out that a *certain amount* of initiation is after all necessary to any true appreciation of a great art. And inasmuch as few can afford this initiation—in the present state of our social evolution anyway—our great arts must be reconciled to only a moderate amount popularity, at least for a long time to come. A deep change in human outlook on life or its ideals cannot be brought about in a day. So a general and real appreciation of truly great arts can be ensured only by patient education and a preaching of the proper ideals. What can, however, be done immediately in the meanwhile is only his that opportunities of first-hand acquaintance with the finest works of art may be greatly increased. The effect will be that people will learn to care for them more and more as acquaintance increases, even though they may not like them much at first. This is

no mere theory. Such a thing has been effected in Germany, Austria, France and most other musically-advanced countries of Europe where high-class concerts are well attended, even to-day. So about our high-class music too, I think it can be reasonably expected that it will gain in public esteem more and more if our public may only have the opportunities of hearing it oftener. For it must not be forgotten that the best musical education consists in hearing the best types of music as often as possible.

It is the master-pieces of great artists which have always proved the touchstones of art.\* They will also be the models for humanity to adjust itself to. After all, when one comes to reflect, one finds that it does not matter *so much*, if the loftiest arts cannot be properly appreciated by *all* here and now, provided the inappreciation is not so universal as to force the artists to languish and die of sheer starvation. Because if the great arts can only live for some time, they succeed eventually in making their way and in securing the nourishment they require from the patronage of *some* if not all. In the realm of music this end can be better secured by helping musicians to choose patrons from the public rather than from individual aristocrats. For our high-class music is so beautiful that to be loved it needs only to be heard. Only, in order that this appeal may move us deeply, one must have frequent opportunities of making the acquaintance of really great arts. And the more the opportunities, the better the result.

\* Matthew Arnold in his *Essays in Criticism* said this of poetry.

## IN THE EVENING

(From the Original Hindi.)

By HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

Dim evening shades descend,  
The crowds disperse, the colours pale,  
The wayside fair doth end.

You lost the day in running after  
Fruitless love and fleeting laughter,  
You played a hundred games but missed  
The real game, my friend!

And all the while the daylight burned  
Great fame and wealth you sought and earned,  
Now at its close you find you have  
Not even a pie to spend.

Dim evening dies and night comes on,  
Where has your last companion gone?  
You are alone and you have now  
A lonely way to wend.

# LIFE AND ITS MECHANISM

BY PROF. SIR J. C. BOSE, F. R. S.

*Seventh Anniversary Address, Bose Institute, Calcutta.*

THE fuller investigations of the nascent science which includes both Life and Non-Life have been the object of the Institute ever since its foundation seven years ago. These inquiries are more extensive than those customary either among physicists or physiologists, since they demand interests and aptitudes hitherto divided among them. Investigations of a wider scope have been undertaken here to bridge the gulf which separated the Inorganic from the Organic life, further the Animal from the Plant life. For exploration into the realm of the unknown, new enthusiasm and subtler instruments became necessary, also unremitting perseverance and patience. For my disciples I called on those who would devote their whole life with strengthened character and determined purpose to take part in the infinite struggle to gain knowledge for its own sake and see truth face to face. It has also been my aspiration to revive the great traditions of our ancient seats of learning and to win recognition, that the world's advance in knowledge would be incomplete without India's contributions. I hoped that the results of special training given, and the work achieved in the Institute, would afford ample proof of the capacity for discovery and great power of invention latent amongst the people and thus counteract the paralysis of all efforts for the scientific utilisation of the vast and undeveloped resources of the country.

## RESEARCHES AND INVENTIONS.

The excessive specialization in modern science has led to the danger of losing sight of the fundamental fact that there can be but one truth, one science, which includes all the branches of knowledge. Extension of knowledge can only be secured by new inventions for exploring regions that had been closed to us through the imperfection of our senses. Mere speculation, unsupported by demonstrated facts, has little use in the advance of exact knowledge. The special difficulties which I had repeatedly to encounter and overcome, arose from wrong specula-

tions held specially in regard to the functioning of plant life. In the short time available it is impossible to give a short account of even a few, out of a large number of investigations, that have been carried to a successful conclusion. These will be found fully described in nine large volumes \* published by Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co. In Physics, the shortest electric waves to bridge the gulf between visible and invisible lights, were produced in my laboratory more than thirty years ago; this was followed by accurate investigations of the optical properties of electric radiation. My invention of galena receiver rendered possible the reception of wireless message from the longest distance. My discovery of the Response of Inorganic Matter was announced in 1900 before the International Science Congress in Paris. The most astonishing manifestation of inorganic response was its exaltation under stimulants and abolition under poisons. My Radiograph enables continuous and automatic record of fluctuating daylight every minute throughout the day. Microscopic method of magnification is limited by the wave length of light. But no such limit exists in the Magnetic method which I devised by which magnification can easily be produced exceeding 50 million times, thus opening new fields of investigation in the realm of the invisible. The micro-radiometer constructed in my laboratory measures the energy of every ray in the spectrum, and its relative absorption by the atmosphere. The Resonant Recorder devised on a new principle gives direct record of time as short as a thousandth part of a second. In Chemistry a new method has been elaborated for continuous record of the rate of chemical reaction, and the change in the rate under different conditions. The immediate effect and after-effect of light and darkness,

\* Response in the Living and Non-Living 1902, Plant Response (1906), Comparative Electrophysiology (1907), Irritability of Plants (1913), Life Movements of Plants, 3 volumes (1918-23), Physiology of Ascent of Sap (1923), Physiology of Photosynthesis (1924)

and of intermittent illumination on the rate of starch formation under photosynthesis has also been discovered.

The reaction of living matter is infinitely more complex than that of inorganic matter, and a very large number of instruments of extreme delicacy and sensitiveness had to be devised for exploring the inner activities of life. Among these may be mentioned the Mechanical, the Electrical and the Magnetic Recorders for response of plants; the Oscillating Recorder for the inscription of automatic pulsations, the High Magnifications Crescograph for instantaneous record of growth; the Balanced Crescograph for studying the effects of electric and chemical stimulants in acceleration of growth; the Death-recorder for exact determination of the critical point of death; the Mechanical and Electric Recorders for measurement of the rate of Ascent of Sap; the automatic transpirograph; the Electric Probe for the localisation of sense organs and for the determination of specific activities of different tissues in the interior of the tree, hidden from view; the Automatic Recorder for carbon-assimilation in plants; the Apparatus for determination of speed of nervous impulse; the Conductivity Balance for the study of the effect of narcotics and drugs on the nervous reaction. Long and most painstaking investigations had to be pursued with these and other devices, before the great generalisation of fundamental unity of life mechanism of plant and animal could be firmly established. Investigations of the simpler life of plants thus hold out the possibility of explaining the most complex and intricate mechanism of animal life.

#### DO PLANTS FEEL?

One cannot give a direct answer to this question without being a plant. The problem may however be indirectly approached in three different ways, (1) through sentiment, (2) through philosophic speculation and (3) through scientific investigations of the behaviour of plants subjected to shocks from outside. As regards sentiment, sympathy is very unequal in different individuals. One who loves his dog believes that it has feelings and emotions which are almost human; but when he goes out hunting he refuses to believe that the hunted creature could have any feeling when done to death. Some would extend consciousness and feeling to the quadruped but not to the fish. In regard to metaphysical speculation, I had M. Bergson,

the foremost philosopher among my audience in Paris. In his published works he says, "It by no means follows that a brain is indispensable to consciousness. The lower we go in the animal series, the more the nervous centres are simplified and separate from one another. If then at the top of the scale of living beings, consciousness is attached to very complicated nervous centres, must we not suppose that it accompanies the nervous system down its whole descent?" Consciousness and sensation are thus regarded as inseparably associated with nervous system and nervous reaction. If this be so, then my recent scientific results prove beyond a shadow of doubt that many plants possess not merely a rudimentary, but a highly elaborated nervous system. I have, however, to do, nothing with metaphysical speculations, but only with the behaviour of plants, and their muscular and nervous mechanisms. I have been able to show that the mechanics of the motile organ of the plant are in every way similar to those of the muscular mechanism in the animal; that various poisons throw out of gear the motor organs of the animal and the plant in an identical manner. When the plant is subjected to the action of poison or to scalding in a heating bath, a violent death spasm is found to occur at the exact moment of death. In regard to the nervous system I have been able to localise the nerve strand in plants, and trace the fibres which innervate the motor organ. I have been able to paralyse these nerve strands by the action of various narcotics or render them extraordinarily irritable by the action of certain specific drugs. It was after the successful invention of instruments of very high delicacy and precision that these very significant discoveries could be made. The absence of exact methods of inquiry led to the speculation that the movement of plants in response to transmitted excitation was caused by water-movement. This theory, as grotesque as it is unfounded, was propounded by certain German physiologists some thirty years ago and has been slavishly followed ever since. Professor Kôketsu of the Imperial University of Japan, has been the first to follow my methods, and fully confirm some of my important results. The new methods are now being pursued in German Universities, and German editions of my works will shortly be published in Berlin. In Paris also Gauthier-Villars, the eminent scientific publishers, are bringing out French editions to meet the demand in Latin countries.



## CARBON ASSIMILATION IN PLANTS.

Everything living, animal or plant, is in incessant movement, external or internal. No movement is however possible in an engine without combustion. Something must burn to produce motion, and this internal combustion in a living machine is known as respiration. Carbonic acid is given out in this process of break-down, of combustion and of run-down of energy. The opposite process of building up, of assimilation of food and accumulation of energy is therefore necessary for making up the loss. All creatures are incessantly engaged in this struggle for food; carnivores live on herbivores, who in their turn subsist on living plants. In the experiment depicted in the luminous disc on the screen, a fish apparently of gigantic proportions, is seen to attack another writhing creature. The struggling prey is being devoured slowly but relentlessly. There need be no compunction at this sight, for the fish is really a little minnow, highly magnified by the optical lantern, and the struggling prey is the larva of mosquito, which spreads the scourge of malaria. In the case just shown, it is sight that guides the hunter to its prey. As we go down to the lowest scale in animal life, the amoeba sends out its pseudopodia, actuated by the chemical effluvium given out by the food material. The fact that all physiological actions are to be traced ultimately to physico-chemical forces, is illustrated by the striking experiment where a piece of inorganic matter is seen to dash forward repeatedly and with extraordinary violence to engulf another piece of matter within itself. Nothing could be more vividly life-like than this extraordinary spectacle.

We next come to the plant which by virtue of its green colouring matter absorbs both solar energy and carbon dioxide and builds up organic matter charged with latent energy, the process being known as photosynthesis. To stand before a coal fire is to bask in the sun which shone millions of years ago. The most important source of food for the plant is carbonic acid present in air or dissolved in water. It is the simplest type of assimilation, and its study is of supreme interest. The difficulties of investigation are, however, extremely great, since the gaseous carbonic acid and the process of its assimilation are all invisible. For solving the problem it is necessary to make the phenomena in the realm of the invisible, visible—to make the plant itself write down in a visible

script its assimilative activity, and the changes in that activity under shocks and changes from outside.

The carbon-assimilation in plants may be measured in two different ways: first, by finding out the rate at which the carbonic acid is disappearing from a space in which the plant is enclosed. This requires a most complicated and prolonged process of chemical analysis making it impossible to detect any immediate change in assimilation. There is, however, another method by which the rate of assimilation can be immediately ascertained. The assimilating plant, under the action of light, decomposes carbonic acid and gives out, under normal conditions, an equal volume of oxygen. Hence the activity of assimilation may be ascertained from the rate in which the oxygen is being evolved. If we take a cut stem of water plant, *Hydrilla Verticilla*, and place it upside down in a glass vessel filled with ordinary tank water, (which contains carbonic acid gas in solution,) and expose the plant to bright light from the sky, it would be found that bubbles of oxygen gas are given out at the cut end of the stem. If the light becomes dim, the evolution of oxygen becomes enfeebled. Stronger light and greater assimilation, on the other hand, gives rise to a more active evolution of the gas. This method of measuring the activity of carbon assimilation by counting the number of bubbles, so promising at first sight, is however most untrustworthy; for the size of each bubble does not remain the same, but undergoes change. A larger number of bubbles evolved in a given time does not therefore indicate an increased activity of assimilation since the size of the bubbles may have become smaller.

The essential condition for accurate measurement is not the counting of bubbles but finding out the rate at which *equal volumes* of oxygen are given out.

## AUTOMATIC RECORDER FOR CARBON ASSIMILATION.

I have succeeded in overcoming the numerous difficulties which at first appeared insurmountable. The bottle containing the plant and water charged with carbonic acid is closed by a special Bubbler which has a drop of mercury to act as a valve (fig. 1). When a definite volume of oxygen is produced by photosynthesis, the pressure exerted by the gas lifts up the mercury valve and the oxygen escapes into the air. The lifting up of the valve thus represents the evolution of an equal volume of gas. Again, the mercury valve, as it rises to the highest position, completes

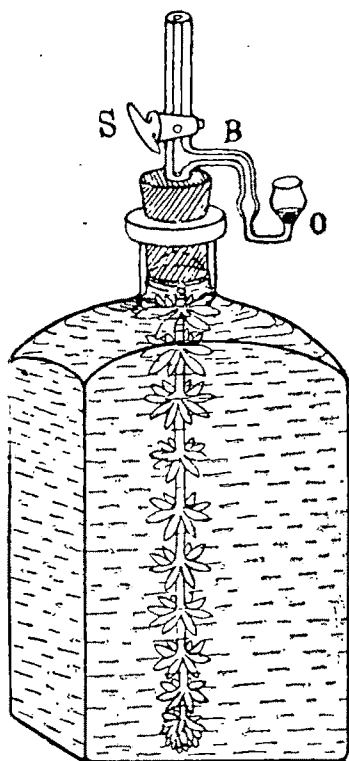


Fig. 1. The Plant-Vessel and the Bubbler.  
S, stop-cock ; B, Bubbler ; O, mercury-valve

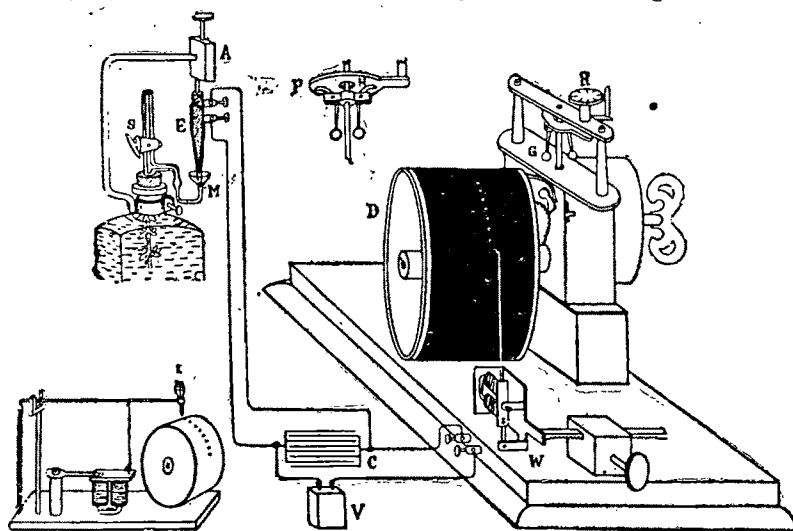


Fig. 2. The Automatic Recorder for Photosynthesis.

S, bubbler with stopcock ; E, the electric pencil for completing electric contact through drop of mercury ; A, adjusting screw ; V, voltaic cell ; C, condenser ; D, revolving drum ; W, electromagnetic writer ; G, governor, shown separately at P with pair of hinged levers ; I, ink-recorder.

an electrical circuit by coming in contact with two platinum wires carried by an

electric pencil. An Electromagnetic Writer inscribes successive dots on a revolving drum, round which is wrapped the recording paper. (fig. 2). Each dot indicates, as it were, a gulp of carbonic acid assimilated by the plant. The apparatus also gives independent audible signals, an electric bell striking at every successive evolution of equal volumes of gas. The inner activities of the plant thus become revealed by the plant's own script. The apparatus is so sensitive that it records the production of carbohydrates as minute as a millionth of a gram.

#### RATE OF ASSIMILATION AT DIFFERENT PERIODS OF THE DAY.

Is the assimilation of gaseous food by the plant the same throughout the day or does it vary? This interesting question was solved by the automatic records given by the plant when exposed in the open. I reproduce (fig. 3) the successive records lasting for five minutes at different hours of the day. It will be seen that the plant's power of assimilation was very sluggish early in the morning at 7-30 a. m. There are only four spacings in the record in the course of five minutes at that hour. We may say that it took four gulps of carbonic acid gas in that time. With the progress of the day, its activity increased, being at its maximum at 1 p. m.; there are

18 spacings in five minutes, the rate of assimilation being therefore four and a half times as rapid as earlier in the morning. It is curious that the plant should be so hungry at our lunch time! After 1 p. m., its activity declined and almost disappeared after 5 p. m. The true explanation of this variation is to be found in the fact that carbon-assimilation being dependent on sun-light, its activity is the greatest when the light of the sun is most intense at or about midday.

The sensitiveness of the plant to variation of light is extraordinarily great. It is affected by changes in the intensity of light which cannot be detected by the human eye. The slightest fluctuation in the light of day is

thus unerringly detected in the record given by the plant. It can therefore be used as a very sensitive photometer. I have also succeeded in devising a contrivance by which the plant can be employed to turn on a light when it is dark, and turn it off when it is daylight. The only enticement to make the plant consent to do this work is to "stand it a drink",--which is not alcohol but a little soda-water; this, as everyone knows, contains carbonic acid for assimilation.

#### EFFECT OF IRRITATION ON ASSIMILATION.

Another very remarkable result which I obtained is the effect of shocks on the power of assimilation. We take the normal record under uniform light, the recorder dotting the rate uniformly. We now give it a pinch or an electrical shock. The record becomes arrested, showing that the plant is "off feed" as a result of the irritation; if the shock be slight, then the normal power of assimilation is restored within a short time. But after more intense irritation the normal power is not restored till after a very long period. The moral is obvious. We should be as cheerful as we can at meal-time, and forget all worries. It is still better to have half an hour's quiet rest before meals.

#### EFFICIENCY OF GREEN PLANTS IN STORAGE OF SOLAR ENERGY.

The sun has been shining on the earth for countless ages and nearly all the inpouring energy appears to have been more or less wasted. There were however enormous forests in the carboniferous epoch and the green leaves as we know stored a portion of that energy. The efficiency of green plants has, however, been regarded as extremely low,

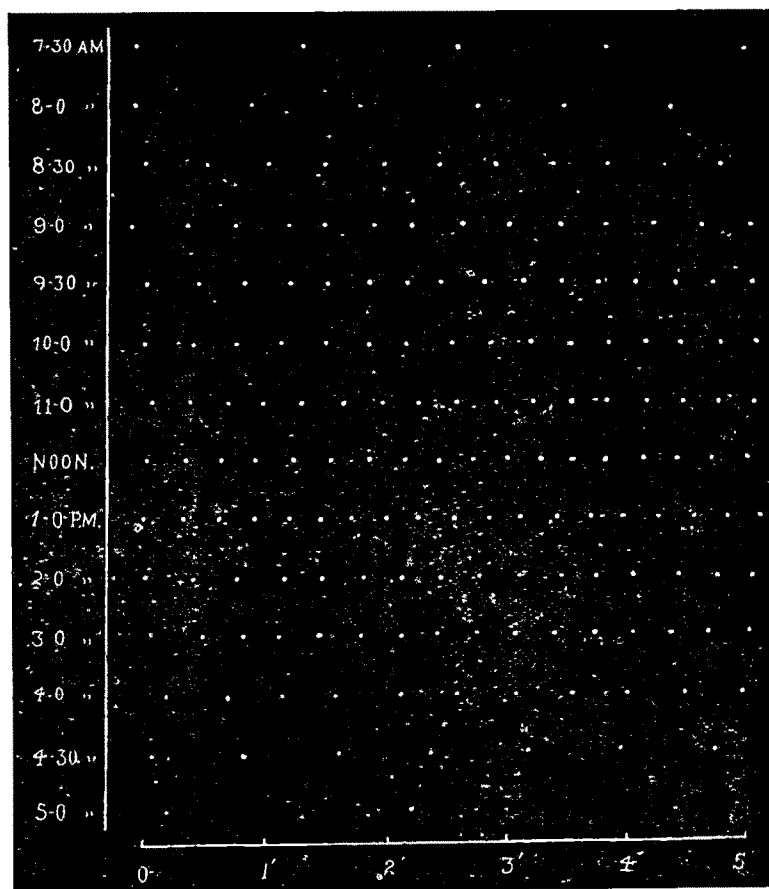


Fig. 3. Automatic Records of successive Bubbblings for five minutes during different periods of the Day. Note the slow rate at 7-30 A.M. and 4-30 P.M. and the quick rate at midday.

being about 0.6 per cent. This subject however required re-investigation by means of more accurate and sensitive appliances. For this, it is necessary to measure the energy of light that is absorbed by the plant, and the energy that becomes stored up. I have been able to measure the energy of light by means of my Magnetic Radiometer which is so sensitive that it measures the intensity of each ray in the solar spectrum. The energy stored by the plant is simultaneously measured by the automatic recorder for carbon assimilation. The efficiency, thus found is fairly high, being half that of an ordinary steam-engine. As the sources of power, at present available, are becoming depleted, the problem will have to be faced sooner or later of storage and utilisation of solar energy. The efficiency of the chlorophyll mechanism encourages the hope that a



chemical trap will be devised for storing and utilizing the energy of the rays of the sun.

#### EFFECT OF INFINITESIMAL TRACES OF CHEMICAL SUBSTANCE ON ASSIMILATION.

Alcohol, ether and other narcotics are not helpful to assimilation. They rather produce a great depression; this depression is greatly accentuated under agents which are more or less poisonous. In this investigation, I, however, came across the very striking result that certain substances which in large doses act as poison, have a stimulatory effect, nevertheless, in doses sufficiently minute, which is most remarkable. I have before you the plant in which, owing to internal causes, the power of assimilation has become almost extinct. I add the minutest trace of poison and you note how magical is the effect, the power of assimilation being enhanced to an extraordinary degree. The dilution employed must be infinitesimal, such as one part in a billion (billion in French measure means 1000 millions). This produced an increase of activity of more than 200 per cent. The activity declined when the strength of the solution was raised above a critical dose. Dilute extract of thyroid gland, in a dilution of one part in a billion, produced a maximum increase in activity of about 70 per cent. The noticeable fact in the action of thyroid extract is that no diminution of activity, below normal, took place in a considerable range in the dilution. The effect of traces of iodine was more or less similar. At first sight it is inconceivable that infinitesimal traces of certain chemical substances should have such a potent effect on life-activity; there is, however, no doubt about the reality of the phenomenon. The immediate and concrete demonstration of the effect of minute traces of chemicals on assimilation is of special interest since it enables us to understand the effects of ultra-measurable quantities of vitamin on general assimilation and of hormones on physiological reaction.

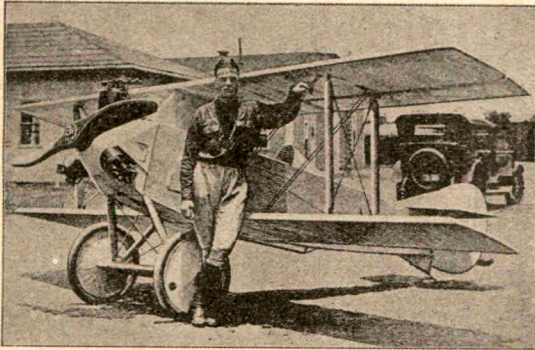
#### THE FUTURE

After years of persistent efforts the hope cherished about the Institute and its activities has been amply fulfilled. It has won full recognition as an important centre where some of the most difficult problems in science have been pursued with unusual success. Post-graduate scholars from foreign universities have applied for admission for receiving a training in the new methods of investigation originated at the Institute. The discoveries made here are not only of much scientific importance but also of great practical utility in the immediate future. This was found to be the case in the invention, made here many years ago, of one of the most sensitive receivers for wireless communication. The recent discoveries of the specific action of drugs, which is found to be similar in plant and animal tissues, have been regarded as of much promise for the advance of scientific medicine. The discoveries in the laws of growth hold out great possibilities in increasing growth in plants on which the food supply of the world depends. The invention of numerous instruments of extraordinary sensitiveness have opened out new fields for scientific exploration. These instruments, which could not be repeated in any other part of the world, were all made by Indian mechanics whose latent power has been raised by training to the highest pitch of constructive skill. The future prosperity of a country depends greatly on the capacity of discovery and invention among the people, and this has been proved to be not wanting in India. The present economic crisis, which threatens the very existence of the people, cannot but create unrest and set free forces of destruction. The hope of salvation lies in the utilisation, through science, of the vast natural resources of the country. But this can never be secured by any half-hearted or tentative efforts but by persistently following a consistent and far-sighted policy.

## GLEANINGS

### World's Smallest Plane Has 18-Foot Spread

The world's smallest airplane, christened the "Fly," is the prized possession of the Army Aviation Corps at Kelly Field, Tex. Though the wing spread is only 18 feet, it develops a speed of 115 miles an hour.

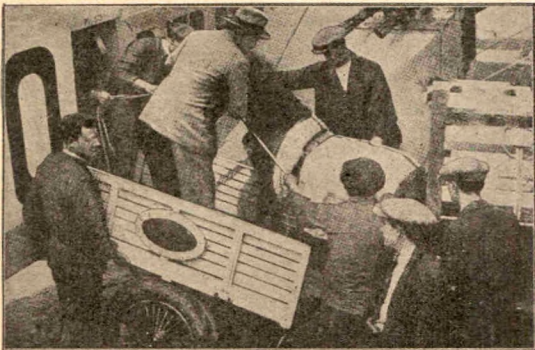


The smallest air-plane in the world

The machine is equipped with a three cylinder motor of 60 horsepower. It is of the radial type. The cruising radius of the plane is 500 miles and sufficient fuel can be carried for four hours' flying at full speed, or  $5\frac{1}{2}$  at cruising speed. The plane stands no higher than a man. Lieutenant D. Philips, one of army's pilots, is shown standing beside the midjet at Kelly Field.

### Racehorse Flies from France to Holland

A French yearling colt owned by an attache of the Dutch legation in Paris holds the distinction of

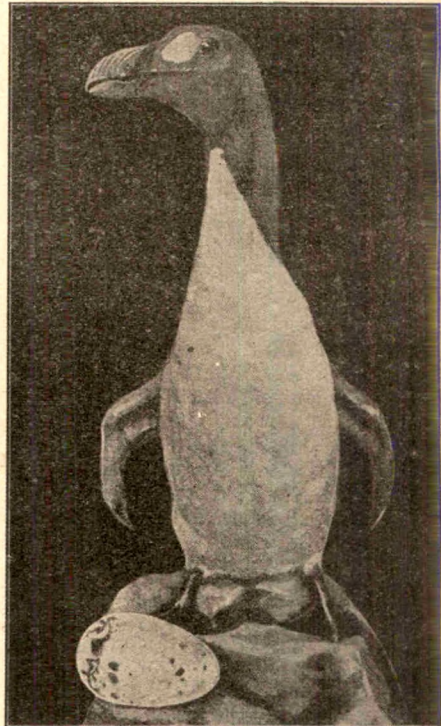


The racehorse boarding the airship for a trip

being the first racehorse ever shipped by airplane from one country to another. The colt was transported from Paris to the owner's farm in Holland on a plane of the French Air Union especially fitted with an aerial horse stall.

### The Most Valuable Egg

The most valued egg in the world is that of the great auk, a bird that once abounded in the regions of the North Atlantic, but that is now extinct. The last auk egg sold brought a price of about \$2500.



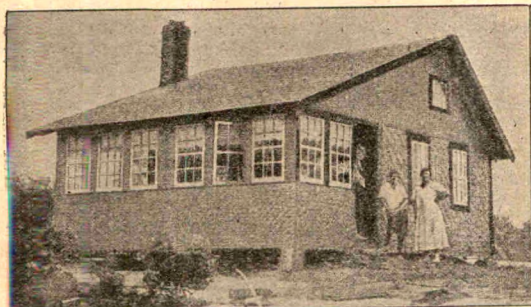
The most valuable egg in the world with its "mother"

The auk was a diving bird, about the size of a duck, but was unable to fly because of its small wings. It laid one egg at a time. The birds and their eggs were used largely for food among seafaring folk. So many of them were killed that the species has entirely disappeared.



## Sturdy Bungalow Made of Old Newspapers

A house of cards is proverbial for instability, but that a house can be made of old newspapers, and still serve as a durable dwelling has been demonstrated by Ellis Stenman, at Rockport, Mass.



Sturdy bungalow made of old newspaper

With the aid of his wife and daughter, Stenman built a bungalow entirely of shingles made of old newspapers compressed and glued together. The house is shingled both inside and out with this odd material, which is covered with waterproof varnish. A number of windows are provided making the "newspaper home" light and airy.

## The World's Greatest Adventure, a Triumph for the Airplane

In 1911 Cal Rodgers made the first Airplane flight across the American continent. His trip—from New York to Pasadena, Calif.—took 54 days and was accomplished only by the most amazing exertions and ingenuities. For miles and miles at certain stages of his journey, for example, it was necessary to guide himself by following railroad cars, the roofs of which were painted with symbols that he could recognize from the air. Here and there he had to place his craft on a flat car to be transported for a few miles over territory that seemed to offer especial hazards to an airman. His longest continuous flight was 133 miles. So many repairs were made to his craft at his innumerable forced landings that it was in a virtually rebuilt plane that he finished his flight.

That Rodgers triumphed over such difficulties and reached his destination is to his everlasting credit. He was a path-finder, a pioneer, and as such, richly deserves his place in aviation history.

The modern airplane has already left the locomotive far

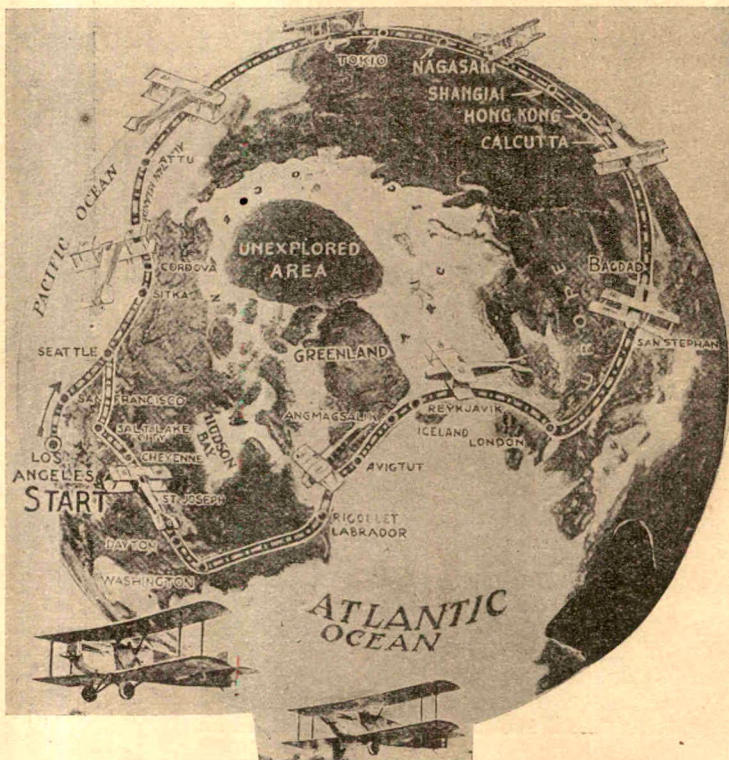
behind. To a skilled airman today a transcontinental flight means scarcely more than a trip of 100 miles over concrete highways does to the owner of a well-conditioned automobile. Every day mail is carried by airplane between New York and San Francisco.

Only a few weeks ago Lieutenant Maughan flew from the Atlantic to the Pacific between daylight and dark—the time that would be consumed by a fast rail-road train in crossing a couple of states. And even a round-the-world flight is essayed by the present-day aviator with no misgivings.

A development in one single phase of aviation, more than any other factor, has been responsible for the really amazing success of the round-the-world flight. This development, which foreshadows a speedy utilization of the airplane for general commercial purposes is the Liberty Motor.

The Liberty motor was developed first as a war measure, and was built in large quantity during the intensive effort to equip the American Expeditionary Forces. To say that the motor was unsatisfactory to Government aviation experts is to express the thing mildly. New flaws and defects in the apparatus were discovered almost daily.

At a casual glance the Liberty motor used in the round-the-world flight today is the same motor that was turned out in huge quantities during the war. And yet it is a different motor in more than 600 vital particulars. Little refinements have transformed it from a mechanism of questionable value



This map shows the path of the American world-fliers—a distance of 25,000 to 26,000 miles



into an internal combustion engine of the highest efficiency ever attained.

New equipment of many sorts contributes to the comfort and efficiency of the modern air pilot. The earth inductor compass, for example, with which the round-the-world planes were equipped, enables a pilot to maintain his course independent of fog, snow, rain, or hail.

Similarly, the condenser altimeter, an ingenious apparatus that employs static electricity to enable

hearth fires, for those ancient men knew many uses of fire. A few crudely engraved objects are mixed with the char and ashes. Then an empty stratum occurs. During the period of its formation evidently the encampment was not used. Possibly a great migration emptied the region, the emigrants lured by tales of teeming hunting grounds elsewhere.



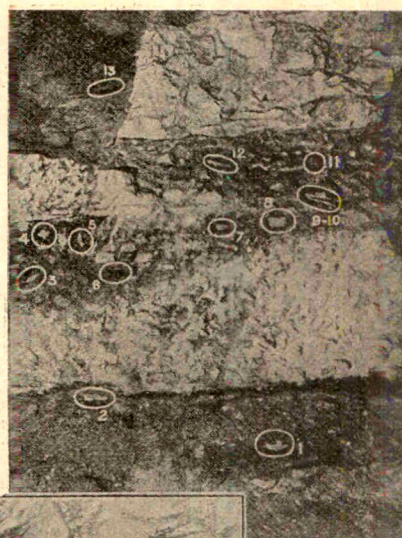
Lieut. Lowell H. Smith, Flight Commander

a pilot always to determine his exact height or his exact distance from any object he may be approaching, is of prime importance in so venturesome an undertaking as a world-flight, in which the pilot is almost constantly flying over strange country.

### Stories Revealed by Earth Strata

A story that began 15,000 years ago, far back in those dim times before men emerged from the shadows of prehistory, is written in these earth strata. They were found at Laugerie Basse, France, in a spot where, ages ago, primitive men encamped often and in great numbers. A huge, overhanging cliff that gave shelter, and a stream, probably attracted them.

The oldest stratum contains the residue of



The prehistoric objects bedded in the rock strata shown above are, as numbered: 1, 2, 3 and 4, bits of reindeer jaw, 5—animal joints, 6 and 8 bits of reindeer shoulder blade, 7 Horse's tooth, 9 and 10 bits of reindeer jaw and spearpoint, 11 flints, 12 double-barbed harpoon, 13 reindeer antler pierced.

The next stratum reveals that the returned men had achieved a higher civilization during their absence. A sculptured reindeer head, amulets and other proofs that art had been born, were found. So too were flint graving tools.

In the next stratum, fine, barbed harpoons appear. More and better carvings on animal bones were left here.



Then for nearly 3000 years no human traces are left. A thick layer of natural rubbish overlays the older records of progress. Then a new race established itself—the Neolithic men. Their polished axes and pottery far excel the handiwork of their predecessors. Dog and pig bones reveal probable domestication of these animals. A crude but sturdy civilization had arrived. Shortly after this period, the record ends.

### Swarm of Bees—His Bonnet

The latest thing in daring styles in headgear is a bee bonnet and chin strap of live bees. The brave wearer is Frank Bornhofer, of Tobasco, Ohio, a raiser of honey bees, who gathers them about him in this strange manner just to show on what friendly terms he is with them.



Swarm of Bees as Bonnet

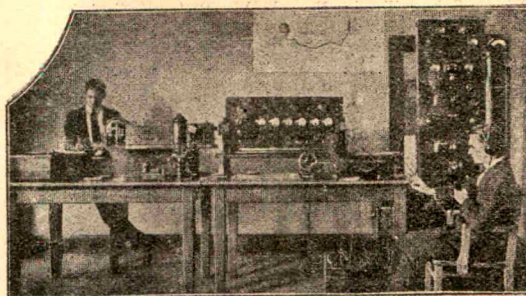
He performs this feat, he says, without suffering a single sting. All this would seem to indicate that bees are not likely to molest a person who knows how to handle them.

### New Uses for Photo-Telegraphy

Many attempts have been made to transmit pictures by wire, and several different methods have been devised. This system is the first, though, that has proved practicable both technically and commercially.

The method is so simple that a positive film, made from any photographic negative, is suitable

for transmission. The apparatus transmits a picture five by seven inches in a little less than five minutes, and the picture is received in such form that after the usual process of photographic development



The Sending Apparatus used in transmitting pictures and finger-prints by wire

it is ready for reproduction. Line drawings, handwriting, and printing, provided it is not too small, can also be transmitted.

The film is inserted in the transmitter by rolling it up in cylindrical form. During operation, a very



This picture of a young American Telephone Operator was sent from Cleveland to New York

small and intense beam of light shines through the film on to a photo-electric cell within. The film is rotated at a uniform speed, and by means of a screw mechanism is caused to advance parallel to the axis of the cylinder. The motion of the light



relative to the cylinder consequently is the same as that of a phonograph needle relative to a cylindrical record. Thus, each minute portion of the picture affects the intensity of the light reaching the photo-electric cell.

A photo-electric cell is a device the electrical conductivity of which varies according to the intensity of light directed upon it. In the photographic transmission process, the variation in the amount of light striking the sensitive surface of the cell, caused by the lights and shadows of the picture gives rise to a current. Through the agency of a vacuum-tube amplifier and modulator, this current controls the telephone line current.

At the receiving end an unexposed photographic film is rotated under a beam of light in a manner similar to that at the transmitting end. Both films rotate at exactly the same speed, and by means of a new device known as a "light valve", the impulses starting from the photo-electric cell at the transmitter, control the amount of light reaching the film at the receiver.

The system has been demonstrated to be applicable to radio when atmospheric conditions are such that steadiness of transmission and freedom from interference can be assured.

### How You Can Learn Secrets of Mimicry

Mr. Girard is the "phonograph menagerie." He supplies the bird and animal sounds for the records of many of the leading recording companies. He is the particular favourite of children all over the



Mr. Girard in addressing apes makes this kind of facial contortion

country, for he has made "bedtime records" of the best loved nursery stories and rhymes, and he makes the animals in these stories speak their own language.

He has made a serious study of the language and habits of these furred and feathered folk, and from

his experience says, any one with ordinary vocal powers can learn how to imitate them.

The say but friendly robin in your back-yard or that cheery busybody, the squirrel in the park, will respond to your comradely call and soon you will have a circle of furred and feathered friends.



Feeding an Animal of the Zoo while speaking to it

The first step in learning mimicry is to watch the bird or animal as it gives its call. The position of the head usually will tell you whether the sound is made with a contracted or expanded throat. The head up and the neck stretched indicate an open throat and sound produced with exaltation.



Making a soothing purr, the cat can be taken into confidence to sit before the Camera



Animals whose language is guttural almost invariably speak with lowered head. This means that to imitate their sounds you will have to contract your throat and practise your imitation with an inhalation. The lion's roar is an exception, because he gets his guttural sound from the stomach and diaphragm as he exhales. After you have an animal's "formula," it is only a matter of practice for you to be able to answer him correctly. Do not be afraid of the sound of your own voice.



The Squirrel is invited by the little girl to luncheon

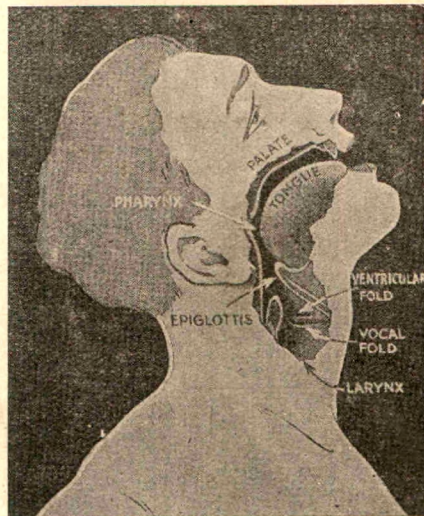
The animal usually is puzzled by the sound of his own kind coming from the throat of a man. Your dog, for example, will be frightened by this power of yours to make sounds that indicate the presence of another dog, when none is in sight. But an ingratiating whine, such as he uses to win your attention, will reassure him and he will be overjoyed.

The popular conception of the sound of the dog-bark is a "bow-wow." As a matter of fact, what the dog really says is "wow."

A study of the habits of animals will give you an understanding of the meaning of their various cries that will repay you generously. You have heard squirrels whistle many times, yet if you imitate that call while you are trying to coax a little fellow to take your offering of food, he will make for the treetops. For that whistle is the squirrel's warning call.

Of all animals the cat is one of the easiest to imitate. The sound "me-ow" begins with a long

drawn-out "me" with the throat contracted. For the "ow" the throat is opened and the sound is thrown through the nasal passages, producing a head tone. When the cat is pleased, the "me-ow" is very soft. When it is hurt, the sound is loud and long drawn, with a heavy, open tone for the "ow."



The mechanism of the throat and mouth with which it is possible to imitate the widely varied sounds of animals and birds

An offer of food is the token of friendship, all animals and birds understand. Feed them while you coax them to speak and they will lose their natural distrust. The curiosity of birds will draw them nearer and nearer to you. But, if you are carrying a walking stick, an umbrella, or anything else that may remotely resemble a gun, birds will remain at a safe distance and let you keep the food.

Always bear in mind that animals are subject to headaches, toothaches, dyspepsia and corns just as man is, and are affected with the same grouchy moods that accompany these ailments in human beings. Because an animal is crabbed and uncommunicative today does not justify us in assuming that he has a naturally mean disposition. Leave him alone and then try to make friends with him another day; you may find him a genial, responsive creature after all.

Imitating the sheep is good training for the beginner. Let the tongue relax at the bottom of the mouth. Then say "ba-a-a," making it a throaty sound with exhalation and tapping the Adam's apple gently.



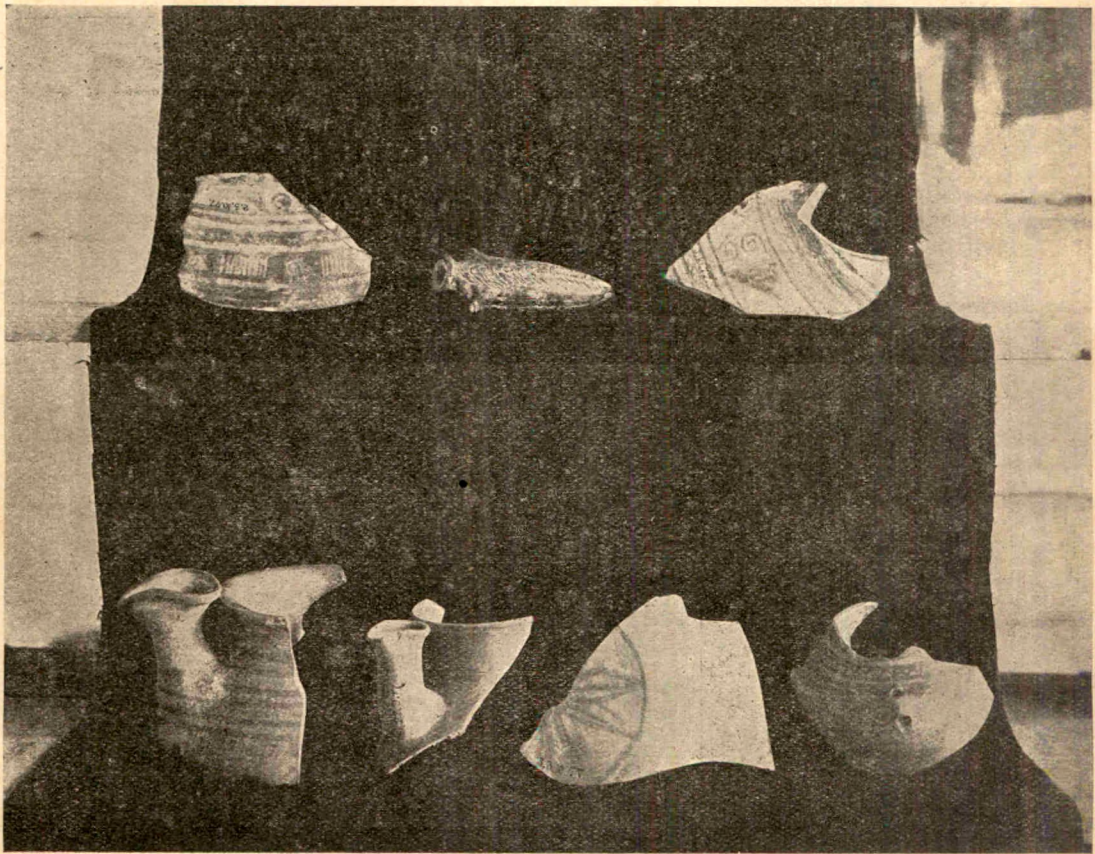
# DRAVIDIAN ORIGINS AND THE BEGINNINGS OF INDIAN CIVILISATION

BY DR. SUNTI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M. A., D. LIT.

*Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics, Calcutta University*

SOME two or three thousands years before Christ, India was inhabited by dark-skinned aborigines, ancestors of the present-day non-Aryan peoples the 'Kolarians' and the Dravidians. India was a land of barbarism without any culture, material or intellectual. At that time was living in Central

Celts and Italians, Germans and Slavs and Greeks and other peoples. Other bands came down south into Eastern Persia, whence one group came into India, bringing the light of civilisation and organisation. The earlier inhabitants of India, barbarians if not actual savages, offered some resist-



Painted and Glazed Suspension Vessels from the Prehistoric Tombs of Beluchistan

Asia, a land of romantic mystery, a white race, cultured, reasonable, more advanced in civilisation than many peoples,—a civilisation of a pastoral type, simple and idyllic and noble in comparison with the barbaric splendour of Egypt or Babylon. This white race was the Aryan race. Bands of them went west to Europe and became the ancestors of

ance, but they submitted to the superior Aryans, as a matter of course, and accepted their rule. Then the wise men of the Aryans, the Brahmans, after the conquest of Northern India had been effected and the barbarians had been enslaved and civilised, gradually evolved the religion and system of society known as Hindu. The nobler elements mostly came

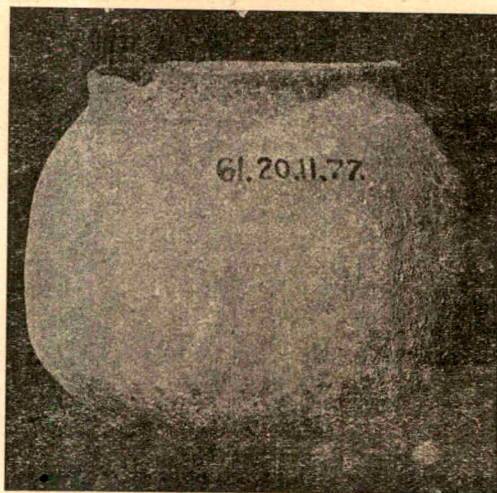




The Islands in the Ancient River Bed—Mahenjo-Daro excavated by Mr. Panerjee in 1922-23

from the Aryans; and whatever was dark, vile and degrading, superstitious and cruel, was naturally the outcome of the suppressed non-Aryan mentality.

Such in brief outline was the history of cultural origins and of the birth of civilisation in India which was evolved by scholars during the last century and is still inculcated in our text-books. Too much weight placed on scriptural evidence alone, on the sacred texts written in the Aryan's language, Sanskrit, could only produce this pro-Aryan bias. Nothing or next to nothing was as yet known about the ancient history of the world. Assyriology and Egyptology were just essaying their first steps haltingly. Evidence from archaeology was just beginning to be gathered, in Egypt and the Aegean area, in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, in Persia and in India. There was no other alternative but to accept what our only source of information for India—the literature of the Brahmans—had to say. Much of it as history remained obscure, but the



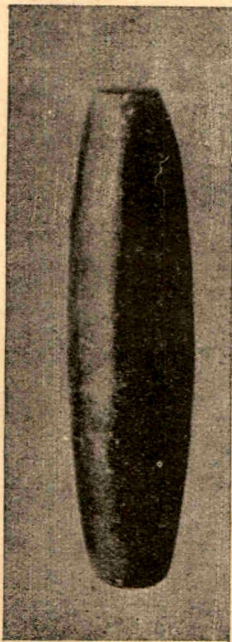
A Hand-made Burial Urn from Prehistoric Tombs of Beluchistan

main outlines were reconstructed in the above way; and these fitted in well both with the facts of cultural and political expansion known in history and with the universally accepted Hindu notions about the origin of their culture with the great Aryans of Northern India and with the Brahmans. And so this reconstruction was not questioned; and when the educated people acquired it as boys from their text-books, it became (in India, with some at least) a heresy to question the superiority of Aryas in any wake of life.

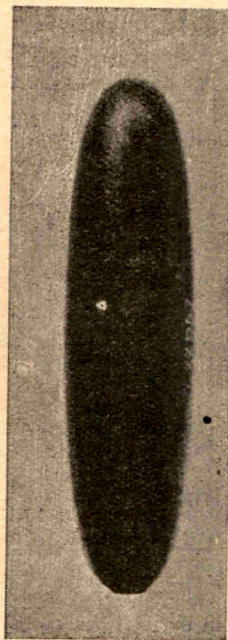
But facts in India itself seemed to tally ill with this reconstruction, but these facts were faced tardily and late. The most important fact was the presence of the great Dravidian languages in the South. Here was something at least which did not succumb to that all-enveloping symbol of Aryan cultural excellence—the Aryan language. They outwardly put on the yoke of this language by large borrowings from it, but the Dravidian speech has had vitality enough to offer resistance all these many hundreds of years. One sole Hindu garb



now covers up all the diversities of culture in India, but differences between the old Aryan world, and the old Dravidian world, not much apparent now, sharpened themselves into outline when the older Tamil literature was contrasted with the Rig-Veda. In 1856 Bishop Caldwell in his epoch-making work, the 'Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages', deduced from the evidence of pure Dravidian words that the non-Aryan had a culture, and that of a high standard too, independent of the Aryan one. The other great fact which was established after the Asoka inscriptions were deciphered was that there was no archaeological evidence for a high material civilisation in India before as late as the 3rd century B.C.,—whereas Egyptian and Babylonian civilisations showed actual remains in the shape of buildings and objects of art that went back to 3000 B.C., although Indian literature dating undoubtedly from the closing centuries of the second millennium B.C.—the Rig-Veda—offered ample indications of a high type of material culture.



Described as an Indian "Pestle" of Black Haematite



A Babylonian Stone Weight of B. C. 2300

Meanwhile, linguistic palaeontology or philological research into the culture of the ancient peoples speaking the Indo-European tongues—the Vedic Aryans, the Avestic Iranians, the Greeks of the time of Homer, the Scandinavians of the Edda, the Old Slavs etc.,—was being pushed on apace, and this, coupled with archaeological finds in Northern and Central Europe, in the Aegean area and elsewhere, yielded some definite results. The reconstruction of the old Indo-European (i.e. pre-Indian and pre-Iranian 'Aryan') milieu—the material, social, intellectual and religious environment of the primitive Indo-Europeans—was accomplished. The

consensus of opinion among scholars is this: some when in the third millennium B.C., when civilisation of an advanced type had already evolved in Egypt and Mesopotamia, lived a race of splendid barbarians in the wide forests and grass-lands of Eurasia, probably in Western Russia, Poland, or Central Europe, or even in North Germany, who were still in the Stone Age. Their culture was of a very modest type, and most



A Complete Painted Vase of the Prehistoric Period found during the excavation at Harappa

of the advance they made was through impetus from the more cultured peoples of the South, in the Aegean area, which reached them through traders. The only notable contribution they made to the advancement of civilisation was that they were the first to tame the horse. They had a beautiful language, which later became Sanskrit in India, Greek in Greece, and Latin and Teutonic and the other speeches of Europe. They were open to ideas, and had a strong sense of social organisation; and their religion consisted in the worship of a Sky-father and of the spirits of the forces of nature, Sun, Fire, Wind, Water etc. personified as men and women of more than human beauty, strength and powers. But they did not of their own initiative make any great advance in intellectual and material culture.

Considering ourselves more or less as the inheritors of the mentality and culture of the Indo-Europeans, we, people of North (and even of South) India as well as of Europe, have a consciousness that they were superior in mental calibre to the other peoples, like the Egyptians, the Semites, and the peoples of Asia Minor and the Aegean islands with whom they came in contact and from whom they learnt a great many essentials of progress. However that may be, the net fact remains that the old Indo-Europeans were culturally a backward race when they are first found at the threshold of history in the beginning of the second millennium B. C.

Thus the Indo-Europeans were a comparatively backward race, when they came in touch with the peoples of the Aegean, Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia and when they came into India as Aryans. And in India, apparently, the Dravidians had some independent culture of their own, as well



could see from their language. Now with a closer study of the Vedas, and by comparing the Vedic world with the later Hindu world, say as in the Mahabharata, we find that in many respects the Vedic world and the Hindu outlook are rather apart from that of later Hindu times. Vedic culture resembles that of the Homeric Greeks, of the Celtic Irish of the beginning of the Christian era, of the pre-Christian Teutons and Slavs more than its own later development and modification in India—namely, Hindu culture. We find that most of the common religious and other notions which dominate the Hindu world are absent in the Veda. Old Aryan ideas and institutions as in the Vedas give place to something new and different in India in course of time. Thus the Aryan idea of worship was to call

even these latter, for the last two thousand years at least, have been neglecting it. And *pūja*, together with the great Gods to whom it is now offered in India, namely Siva and Uma and Vishnu (in his new form), is in all likelihood a pre-Aryan, a Dravidian ritual; the word certainly is non-Aryan in origin—there is no cognate of this root in other Indo-European languages, but it at once recalls the Dravidian *pu* 'flower' and it reappears in Sanskrit words like *pushkara* 'lotus,' or *pushpa* 'flower'. (Cf. M. Collins, 'Madras University Dravidian Studies' III, pp. 60-61.)

That there was in this way a profound influence exerted by the non-Aryans in the evolution of the Hindu culture and ideas is now gradually becoming a matter of general admission and acceptance. The



Closely resembling that from Ur shown below: Early Indian miniature Funeral Pottery found at Mahenjo-Daro



Miniature Funeral Pottery from Ur of the Chaldees of about B. C. 2300—closely resembling that from India shown above

on the Sky-dwelling God to look from on high upon the sacrificer, to receive through the fire the offering of flesh (of a cow or a sheep or a horse), of fat, of butter, of cakes, of spirituous drink: the *homa*. It is a ritual which originated in a cold northern land where the fire and the hearth easily became sacrosanct, where people who indulged in meat and in strong drink offered them in a friendly spirit as the best things they could offer to their anthropomorphic Gods. But this ritual is changed. *Homa* gives place to *pūja*, the ordinary Hindu ritual of worship, in which libations of water, flowers, leaves, and fruits of trees, of grain and vegetarian cooked food, incense and perfume are offered to the God who is actually present in his or her symbol or image before the worshippers, and this symbol or image is treated as if it were endowed with reason, and were a living being. *Pūja* is unknown to the Aryan world of the Veda: *homa* has taken only a secondary place in Hindu ritual, being confined only to those castes which claim descent from the Aryan invaders, and

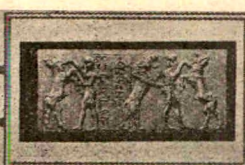
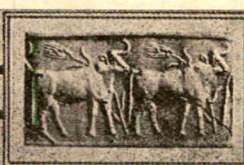
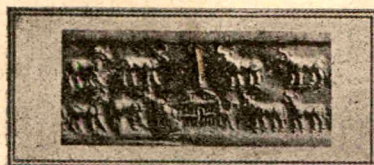
non-Aryans in India as is well known fall under three main ethnico-linguistic groups—(1) Dravidian (2) Kol or Munda and (3) Tibeto-Chinese. The last may be dismissed from a study of the cultural origins of India, as they came late into the field and were confined only to the Himalayan and sub-Himalayan and easternmost tracts: they came in contact with the Hindus after Hindu culture had been fully characterised and established. The Kol (or Munda) people are now found in Chota-Nagpur and in Central India, but there are reasons to suppose that at one time their language was spoken from Western Himalayas to Gujarat and Maharashtra in the West, and in the East they were spread over Bengal up to the Burma frontier, where they were contiguous to their kinsmen the Mons, the Khmers and other peoples who at one time peopled the whole of Indo-China. It is also likely that they occupied the Deccan and South India. The Kols probably came into India from Indo-China, through Assam and Bengal, if they were not the first inhabitants of the Upper Indian plains. It is surmised, however,



that they were in India before the advent of the Dravidians. The culture of the Kols as represented by their present-day descendants (the Santals and other peoples) is distinctly of a very primitive type. Masses of them like other non-Aryans have now been merged into an Aryan-speaking, Hindu people. It cannot be determined how much was the contribution of the Kol element in Northern India (now submerged by the Aryan speech and customs) in the evolution of 'Hindu Civilisation': but it can reasonably be supposed that they had some share. Investigation in this line is now proceeding, in the brilliant linguistic researches of J. Przyluski of Paris who has demonstrated how a large element of the *desi* or non-Aryan vocabulary of Sanskrit is

less of a puzzle, and indeed as far as India is concerned, it is not a problem at all. But the Dravidians—they are a mystery people of the world. With their language, they remain isolated. Are they related to any race outside India? It is a problem which has baffled us. But a great many dark corners in ancient Indian history and in the story of the development of Hindu culture will be illumined with the solution of the question—who were the Original Dravidians, and whence did they come?

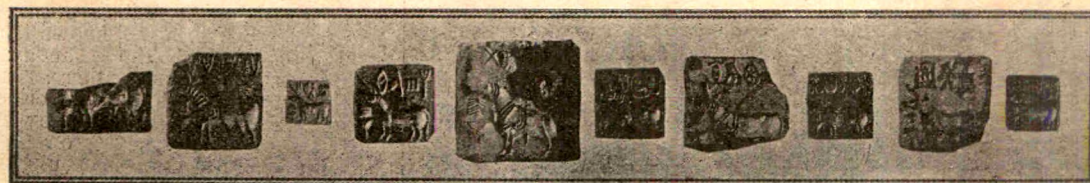
Besides the above peoples, or rather, ethnolinguistic groups, there are evidences of the presence in the coast lands of India (in South Baluchistan and in South India, and in the Andamans)



Impressions of Two Cylinder Seals in the Louvre showing Sumerian representation of Bulls. Cf. Indian Pictographic Bulls below

A Babylonian Seal of about B. C. 2000 with Bulls' Necks as in Indian Pictographs

Inlay of a Bull from Tell El-Obeid B. C. 3300



Prehistoric Indian Seals from Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. Cf. Sumerian representations of Bulls Shown Above

of Kol origin, e. g., words like *kambala*, *sarkara*, *kadali*, *langula*, *linga*, *langala*, *laguda* and *tambula* (see 'Memoires de la Société de Linguistique', Paris, for 1922-1924); and Sylvain Lévi, in 'Pre-Aryan et Pre-Dravidien dans l'Inde' (in the 'Journal Asiatique' for 1923), has sought to indicate how from ancient and modern Indian place-names the presence of the Kol element all over Northern India can be demonstrated, and how it is extremely likely that a Kol culture which did exist and which consisted apparently in maritime commerce and adventure in Indo-China and Insulinidia (Malaya and the Archipelago) has been absorbed in the civilisation and movements known as Hindu.

The Dravidians, however, were on far higher cultural level than the Kols, and it is they, more than any other people in India, who have contributed elements in synthesis of Hindu culture on its Aryan basis. The Kols are a people of a definite language and culture-type which has its affinities outside India, in the North-east, in Indo-China, and in Insulinidia and ramifications of it extend into Melanesia and Polynesia. The Aryans are well known in their affinities, and if their original home is problematic, their connexion with other known peoples render this problem

of a Negrito people who probably were the original inhabitants of India, and who were either killed off or absorbed by the Kols and Dravidians. Besides, some anthropologists have presumed the presence in Northern Central India in prehistoric times of another race, a broad-headed people, about whose language and culture we know nothing.

There has been quite an amount of speculation, about the origin of the Dravidians. (See the resume in M. Srinivas Aiyangar's 'Tamil Studies,' Madras, 1914). They have been declared to be autochthonous in India; they have been connected with the Australian savages on the one hand, and with the South-eastern Hamites on the other; and again, vaguely with the 'Turanian' peoples of Northern and Central Asia. The Brahuis in Baluchistan are Dravidian speakers, and their presence seemed to indicate the line of march of the Dravidians into India. But from whence? It has remained unanswered.

India enters her historical period after the advent of the Aryans, when the Vedic compilations were made. Brahmana speculations were started, and Aryan tribes in Northern India began to expand and to conquer: roughly, from B.C. 1000. (Cf. H. C. Raychaudhuri's Paper in the 'Calcutta



review, for October 1924, on 'the Antiquity of the Rig Veda'). But it is not until some six or seven centuries later that we receive any actual remains of the historical, Aryan period of Indian history, in the inscriptions of Asoka and in some statues in the round ascribed to the pre-Maurya period, and in some architectural fragments. All these show that there were long centuries of development behind them—the writing, the sculpture, the buildings. It is rue that some of the older sites connected with early Aryan movements in Northern India have not

pottery, beads, cave paintings, cromlechs, dolmens, as well as indications of burial customs from the burial sites and from bones of the dead. Some copper implements and ornaments have also been found. These have been collected in the various museums and properly catalogued. They only revealed to us that India like other countries possessed a Palaeolithic and a Neo-lithic Age, and that there was also an Age of Copper Implements: For a long time there was no evidence to prove a Bronze Age in India, and the Iron Age was thought to follow the Copper Age.

These primitive cultures of the stone and the copper weapons we do not know for certain to what people to ascribe. It has been surmised that the Old Stone Age weapons belong to the oldest people of India, the Negritos, now mostly extinct or absorbed; and that the New Stone Age implements were the work of the ancestors of the Kols, who made this advance. The copper implements and ornaments can be ascribed equally to the Kols and to the Dravidians.

Bronze articles, however, have been found in different parts of India, and the most important find was at Adittanallur in Tinnevely district in the extreme South of India. A long primitive cemetery, locally known as *Pandukuli* or 'the Pandavas' Graves,' was found there, and this was excavated and described by A. Rea in 1902-3. There were tombs of the Early Iron Age, with beautiful vases and utensils of pure bronze, bronze cult figures of animals, iron weapons, entire skeletons in oblong terracotta sarcophagi with golden masks inside, and food and garments were found to have been placed with the dead in bronze vessels. The culture type presented by the finds in these tombs, as well as the burial customs indicated, formed no isolated thing,—they have their counterparts in the old tombs of Crete, Cyprus, Anatolia and to some extent of Babylonia (at Gehareh near Babylon). Affinities with Crete and Cyprus seem to be greater, in the crouching position of the dead body, in the sarcophagi and in the golden masks and ornaments (head-bands).

The tombs at Adittanallur are in the Dravidian country: and by measurement, Adittanallur skulls have been found to agree with the typical Tamil skull. The presumption, naturally was that the Bronze and Iron Age culture of Adittanallur was that of early Dravidians in South India, before they obtained North Indian Aryan ideas and religion. Here, thus, we have something definite going back by several centuries from the oldest Aryan remains of the 3rd century B. C. to the beginning of the Iron Age, which was certainly before 1000 B. C. And this culture



The Prehistoric Brick Tomb in Shrine No. 1 with the Body in Position

yet been explored: but what little of the 3rd and 4th centuries B. C. we have gleaned are all that we have as actual material remains of early Indo-Aryan culture.

But a large mass of materials of a different kind, belonging apparently to pre-Aryan times, have come to light. We have received from different parts of India, from Assam and Chota-Nagpur and Central India to the Deccan and South India, Sindh and Baluchistan, the usual pre-historic objects in plenty—palaeolithic and neo-lithic implements, crude



recalls that found in the Eastern Mediterranean area, and in Mesopotamia.

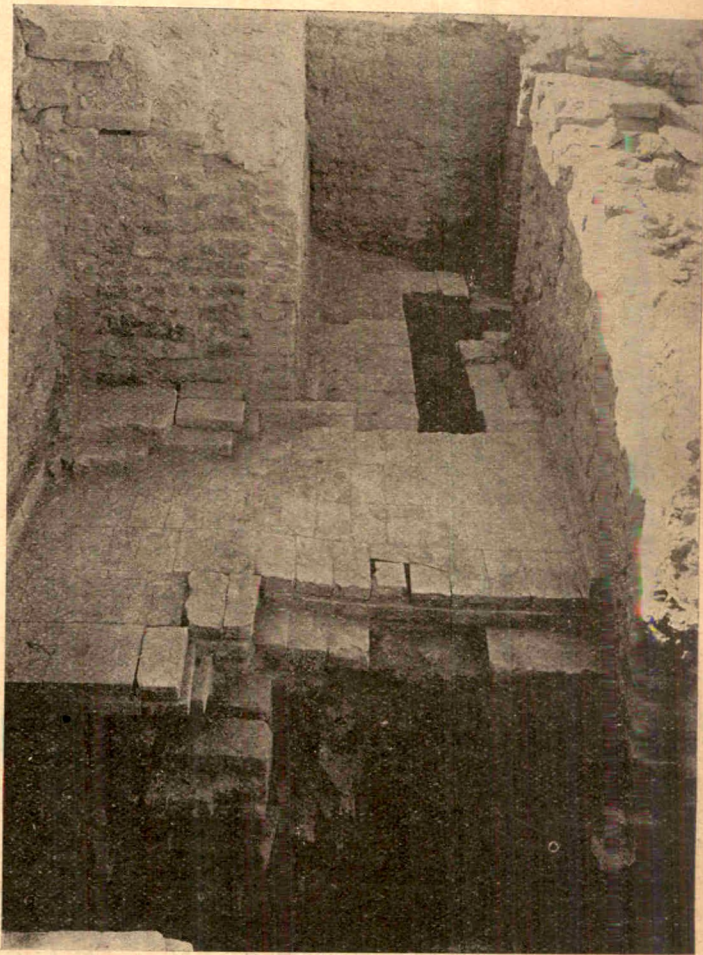
The Adittanallur finds remained up till now the most considerable and important remnants of prehistoric culture in India that we possessed. But recently a number of new discoveries have been made, in the Panjab and in Sindh, which have revealed to us quite unexpectedly a new chapter of pre-historic India, a chapter which has its bearings undoubtedly on the subsequent ones.

The town of Harappa (Harappa—the foot of Siva) in Montgomery District in South Panjab has some old mounds and ruins in its neighbourhood, and from this spot, as early as 1853, Cunningham obtained without any excavation a few seals of soft white stone with figures of a bull without the hump, standing before some object like a basket or sheaf on a pole, and with inscriptions in some characters which could not be deciphered. These were published by Cunningham in 1875, and subsequently as late as 1912 Fleet wrote on the character of these inscriptions, but they remained a puzzle, nor did they attract sufficient attention. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, M. A. (Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, Indian Archaeological Survey) excavated the Harappa site in 1920-21, and found three more seals of the same type, and some painted pottery. The Harappa mound was utilised for its bricks by railway contractors, and this ancient place has consequently suffered great damage. Further excavations were conducted by Mr. Sahni in 1923-24, and he obtained some large painted jars, and eleven more seals. Evidence of a distinct type of culture was thus accumulating from Harappa.

In the meanwhile, Mr. Rakhal Das Banerji, M.A. (then Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, now of the Eastern Circle) was surveying along the old dried up channels of the Satlaj and the Indus, in South Panjab, Bikaner, Bahawalpur and Sindh, during the five winters of 1918-1922. His great object was to discover, if possible, the twelve stone altars with Greek and Indian inscriptions which were erected by Alexander the Great when he commenced his retreat from the Satlaj. He followed the dried up course of the lost Hakra river in Bahawalpur State, up to the town of Reti in Sukkur District in Sindh. Here he found and surveyed numerous old beds of the Indus, which numbered as many as 17; and he noted remains of 27 big towns and of some 53 small ones in Upper Sindh Frontier, Sukkur and Larkana. The ruin-mounds of these sites are known among archaeologists as 'Buddhist

Cities.' Finally in 1922 (in Larkana District) he selected the spot called Mohen-jo-Daro as a place to excavate.

Here he found the remains of a town which was abandoned in the second century A.D., as could be seen from Kushana coins of that date found in the uppermost stratum. While carrying on the excavations, he came across traces of a city of the 3rd century B.C., and further deep were obtained finds going back to the Neolithic Period. In the



An Indian Shrine at Mohenjo-Daro with a Floor and Conduit of Glazed bricks resembling those at Ur shown at the Bottom of p. 674

various strata were found four kinds of burial—in kennel-like tombs (*tholos burial*), in terracotta chests containing the entire body (*larnax burial*) similar to those found at Adittanallur; besides what has been called *jar burial* in which an unburnt bone was placed in a small jar placed inside a big one with food, drink and garments in small pots also placed inside; and *urn burial*, with ashes and burnt bones together with stone implements within urns. The last is the latest method of disposal of the dead in this site—it was found on the uppermost stratum,

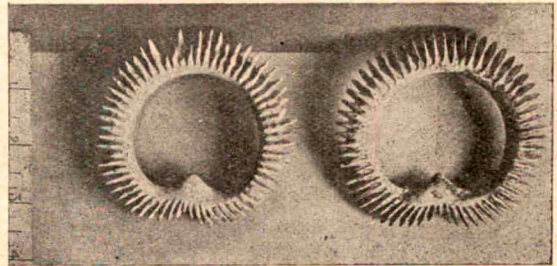


when the people apparently had learnt to burn their dead, but kept up old tradition in burying the burnt bones, placing with them the traditional stone implements long fallen into disuse through the general use of metal. The other kinds of burial, without burning the body at all, are found in the other

apparel and weapons for their service. It employed a system of writing, and used figures of animals in religious ritual, and quite a variety of utensils of worship. It probably had coins of copper with writing on them, which would be the oldest coins in existence.



Prehistoric Painted Pottery—a Table of Oblation

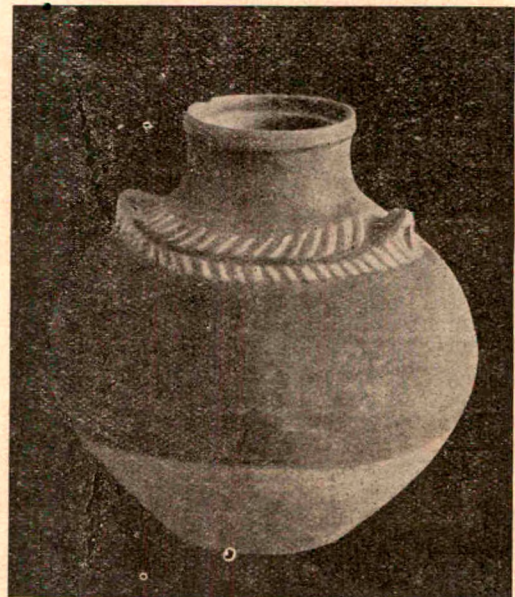


Glass Bangles, worn on the Wrists of Prehistoric Indian Beauties, found at Harappa

The question naturally arises—who were the people among whom the Harappa and Mohen-jodaro culture existed? The Aryans in India burned their dead, their ancestors certainly did it in their primitive home, and we find their kinsmen (at least those who inherited the same culture and language with them) in Europe—the Old Greeks, the Teutons and the Slavs and others doing the same thing. Mr. Banerji himself is inclined to connect this culture with that of the Mediterranean peoples, the Cretans and others. Thanks to the labours of Sir Arthur Evans and his associates, we have been enabled now to form a clear idea about the various stages through which the pre-Greek civilisation of Greece and the Greek islands had progressed from the oldest Palaeo-

strata—dating from the sub-neolithic stage to historical or post-Buddhic times. In addition to these were found some painted pottery, beautifully executed, as at Harappa, but in a better style. Similar painted pottery was found in Baluchistan, and in Mesopotamia and the Aegean lands. There were other objects also, like ivory inlay work, conch-shell ornaments, glass pottery and bangles, neolithic stone implements, and axes and net-weights, besides some fine thin pottery known as egg-shell pottery. But the most important articles were a number of seals, found in the oldest stratum, of exactly the same type and character as those from Harappa. This at once linked up conclusively the Mohen-jodaro culture with that of Harappa, 400 miles distant. And one other important item among the Mohen-jodaro finds is a few small oblong pieces of copper, with figures and writing on them in the same characters as in the seals: and these pieces could very well have been coins.

In short, it was a civilisation, dating from the sub-neolithic age, which had some unique features of its own, and which flourished along the Southern Indus and Satlaj valleys, and in all likelihood extended also to Baluchistan (judging from the fact that similar pottery has been found there). It was a culture which agreed with that of Adittanallur in burying the dead in a crouching position in terracotta coffins, and in placing food, drink, wearing



A Prehistoric Painted Vase from Baluchistan



lithic times. (Sir Arthur's discoveries and researches, periodically published, have at last been issued in a handy form in the monumental 'Palace of Minos at Knossos in Crete', 1921). It is now possible to compare the Mohen-jo-Daro, Harappa, Adittanallur and other finds with the remains of Cretan culture, as well as with those of the oldest Babylonian-Sumerian.

The importance of the finds of Mr. Banerji, especially of the seals, was announced in a very brief form in India in the press. In June 1924, Mr. Banerji who had been collecting his finds and comparing them with antiquities from Crete and other places (so far as they could be studied from books and plates) went to Simla, and Sir John Marshall, Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, at once realised the importance of the discoveries. Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni's further finds came up at that time. Sir John as a member of the British School of Archaeology in Greece had his training in archaeological excavation there, and was familiar with Cretan and Mycenaean antiquities, but he has proceeded with great caution in the matter of theorising. He wrote a paper illustrated with numerous photographs on these new finds in the 'Illustrated London News' for September 20, 1924, sufficiently emphasising the importance of the matter. He compared this discovery to the work of Schliemann at Tiryns and Mycenae, where for the first time we obtained our glimpses into the glorious pre-Hellenic or 'pre-Aryan' culture of the Aegean area. "It looks at this moment," wrote Sir John Marshall, "that we are on the threshold of such a discovery in India."

Sir John's article at once attracted attention in proper quarters in England. Prof. A. H. Sayce, the eminent Assyriologist, wrote to the 'Illustrated London News' of the 27th September, pointing out the close resemblance between the seals and plaques found in India and those previously found at Susa—a resemblance indicating intercourse between North-western India and Susa as far back as the 3rd millennium B.C. 'The discovery,' wrote Professor Sayce, 'opens up a new

the British Museum, compared the Indian finds with similar antiquities from Babylon, dating from Sumerian, i.e., pre-Semitic times, and in their exceedingly important paper in the 'Illustrated London News' of October 4, 1924, demonstrated, by placing photographs of the Indian things side by side with those of Sumerian articles, how similar were the two—pottery, seals, figures of the bull design, ornaments, and even brick-work of buildings, and general structure of some glazed brick constructions: and what is most important, they have sought to establish by placing both side by side, the identity of most of the Indian characters in the Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro seals with Sumerian characters dating from 3000 to 2400 B.C. We thus find in India the actual remains of a culture dating from the beginning of the 3rd



The Excavators of Mohen-jo-Daro

millennium B.C., possibly earlier: at one bound, the material remains of civilisation in India take us from 300 B.C. to 3000 B.C.

About the antecedents of the people connected with this culture, with its strong proto-Mesopotamian affinities, Messrs. Gadd and Smith have not ventured any definite opinion, whether they were Aryans who were affected by Mesopotamian culture during their sojourn in Western Asia before their advent in India (various facts are going to establish that the Aryans came into India by way of Western Iran and Mesopotamia, and possibly also Asia Minor—rather than from Central Asia), or whether they were 'a separate and distinguishable race' (obviously Dravidian).

A connexion, and that a very ancient one, between India and Babylon can easily be admitted. The late B. G. Tilak showed how some Babylonian (Sumerian) names for Serpents as malevolent spirits are found in the Atharva Veda ritual (Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, Poona, 1917). Mr. H. R. Hall had suggested in his 'Ancient History of the Near East' (1913) that the Sumerians, who had laid the foundations of Mesopotamian civilisation long before 3000 B.C., could well be a branch of the Primitive Dravidians



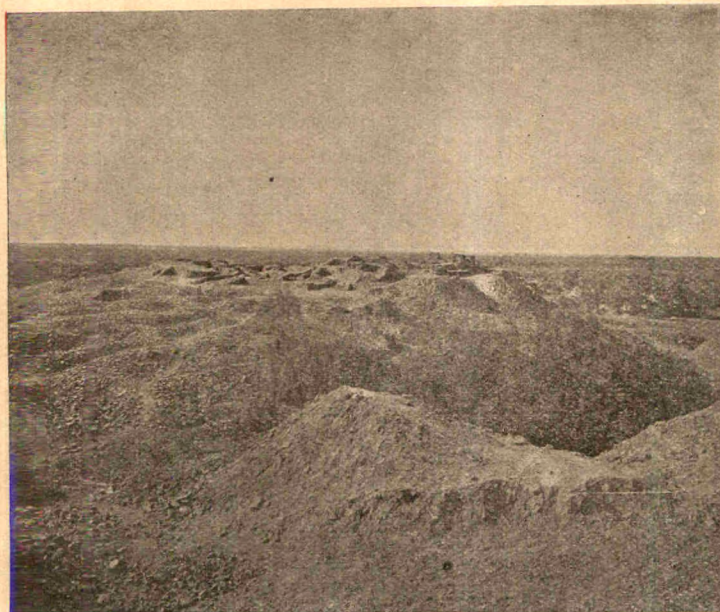
Potteries found in the Ruins of Sind Excavations

historical vista, and is likely to revolutionise our ideas of the age and origin of Indian civilisation.

Messrs. C. J. Gadd and Sidney Smith, of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in



from the Indus valley. The present discoveries and Messrs. Gadd and Smith's demonstration of the connexion between ancient Sumerian and Indus valley cultures would at first sight make Hall's theory a plausible one. But until more ancient cultural remains are further discovered in India, this view cannot be accepted.



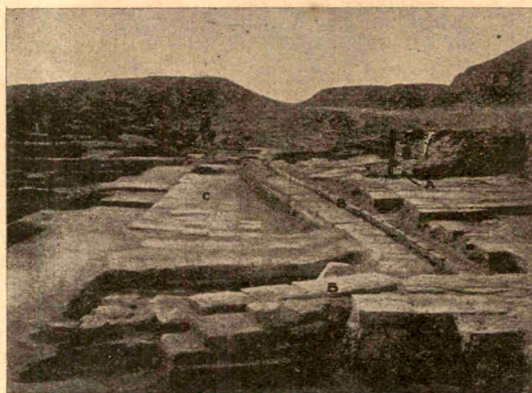
Shrine no. 2 on the First Island after Excavation—  
"The Shrine of the Sacred Fire."

The question now stands at that. But Mr. Banerji has some views on this matter, and I believe they bear giving out. He is inclined to connect the Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa people with the Dravidians, as Sir John has noted in his article. The Brahui people of Baluchistan are Dravidian speakers. The Iranian Baluches obviously are late new-comers. The presence of similar painted pottery and other antiquities in Baluchistan is a strong evidence for connecting its old culture and old people with those of the contiguous Indus valley and the Panjab. Again, evidence indicating similarity of ritual and religious notions, of burial customs, of pottery, of ornaments, of similar art and cult objects (e.g. double-spouted libation vessels, the cult of a snake-deity indicated by images of snakes, the double-axe symbol in a Mohen-jo-Daro copper token or coin discovered in 1923-24, fine egg-shell pottery which is absent in Susa and Babylon, and polychrome painting on pottery) incline him to connect the Indian cultures—earlier Sindh-Panjab and the later Adittanallur—with Crete and the Aegean region. Mesopotamia only formed, according to him, a link in an Indo-Cretan cultural homogeneity at about 3000 B.C. Here, of course, not being an expert in pre-Hellenic or Mesopotamian archaeology, he cannot definitely put forward his views. The symbols in the Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa excavations are all to be found in Old Cretan writing. These Indian symbols

present three distinct stages in their forms: (i) hieroglyphic, where the figures of objects are quite clear: (ii) syllabic, and (iii) later, possibly alphabetic which is linear and not pictogrammatic in shape. In Crete linear script had already developed by 2000 B.C. from an earlier hieroglyphic one. The agreements between known Sumerian symbols and those of Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa, as demonstrated by Messrs. Gadd and Smith, still seem to leave the question open. Further discoveries and researches alone can throw light on the problem.

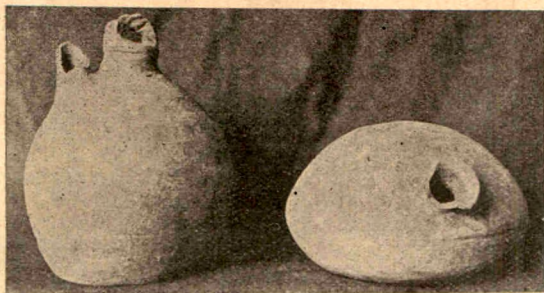
There are other evidences for connecting the original Dravidians with Mesopotamia as well as with the Mediterranean. Mr. James Hornell, from a study of the boats and nautical appliances in South India, has come to the conclusion that the Proto-Dravidians were a Mediterranean people who brought into India from their original home certain boat-types found in Egypt and the Levant, and who migrated East and were settled for some time in Mesopotamia where they borrowed or invented the circular coracle and the reed raft; then they, through pressure either of the Semites from Arabia or of some Alpine or Mongoloid race (Akkads) from the North, were forced to leave Mesopotamia and to migrate eastwards, coming ultimately to India the Brahui language in Baluchistan marking their presence there at one time. In India they spread along the Ganges and Indus valleys,

introducing the irrigation system, and then they came to South India, where the original peoples were the Negritos and a Proto-Polynesian stock, with their own types of aquatic craft; these peoples



A Babylonian Sanctuary at Ur, paved with Bricks and having a Conduit (B) resembling the Indian Work shown at p. 671 (A)  
The Altar of Blood Sacrifice (C)  
The Upper Court





Large Wine-coolers from the Prehistoric Tombs of Baluchistan.

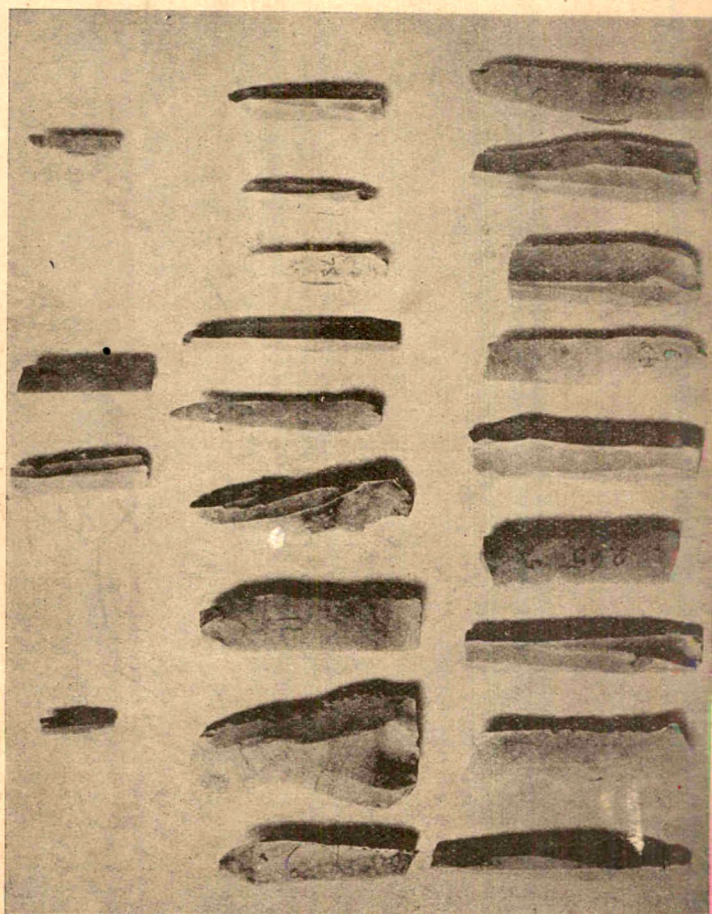
were entirely absorbed politically and linguistically by the Proto-Dravidians; and the result of all this fusion is the present-day Dravidians of South India ('The Origins and Ethnological Significance of Indian Boat Designs,' Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VII, No. 13, 1920, pp. 225-226).

In addition to this, we may note that there are certain striking similarities between the Indian religion (not found among the Vedic Aryans) and those of Crete and Asia Minor: the worship of a great Mother-goddess, for instance. (Cf. W. Crooke on 'Hinduism,' in Hastings' Cyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VI., p. 688). And Ananda Coomaraswamy has shown (in 'Some Ancient Elements in Indian Decorative Art,' in the 'Ostasiatische Zeitschrift' quoted in the 'Modern Review' for August 1914) that a number of decorative motifs and cult figures from the Aegean region are found even now in both Northern India and Southern India in a way which is quite striking.

Another point in which a connexion can be looked for is probably the name 'Dravidian' itself. It was believed that Old Tamil with its rather simple sound system represented most faithfully that of the Primitive Dravidian speech (which is now lost and which is the ultimate source of Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Gondi, Oraon, Kandh, Brahui and the rest). But Prof. Jules Bloch of Paris in an important paper has questioned this (cf. 'Indian Antiquary' for 1919, p. 191). The word *Tamil* occurs in Pali and in Sinhalese as *Damila*, and the Greeks apparently wrote as *Damirike* the word '\**Damilakam*' 'Tamil land'. Thus about the beginning of the Christian era and earlier, the word was undoubtedly *Damila* which subsequently in Tamil had the *d* hardened to *t*—a characteristic

of Old Tamil pronunciation which certainly was not present about the first century A.D. (Although much of the extant Old Tamil literature is ascribed to this period, the current redactions of works like the *Manimekalai* and *Silappathikaram* *Ettutthokai* and *Patthupattu* and the rest must be considerably later). \**Damila* then, was the word: it is apparently the same as the Sanskrit *Dramida* or *Dravida* found in the Aitareya Brahmana, of about the 8th century B.C. *Dramida* rests on a contemporary Dravidian form like \**Dramila*: as in the Aryan dialects in the Middle Indo-Aryan or Prakrit stage, groups like *dr*, *kr*, *tr* of Primitive Dravidian were in all likelihood simplified to *d*, *k*, *t* etc. in later Dravidian—the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages in most respects show parallel developments. We could therefore confidently restore a form \**Dramila* as a national name in Proto-Dravidian, or Primitive Dravidian of the early centuries of the first millennium B. C.

Herodotus tells us (I. 173) that the people of Lycia (in South Asia Minor coast) were originally from Crete. They settled in pre-Hellenic times in



Implements used by a Prehistoric Indian People—in the remains of whose Buildings there is no sign of Iron—found during the Excavations of the Earlier Buildings at Mohenjo-Daro





Ruins of the 3rd Century B. C. where Relics of prehistoric Times have been unearthed

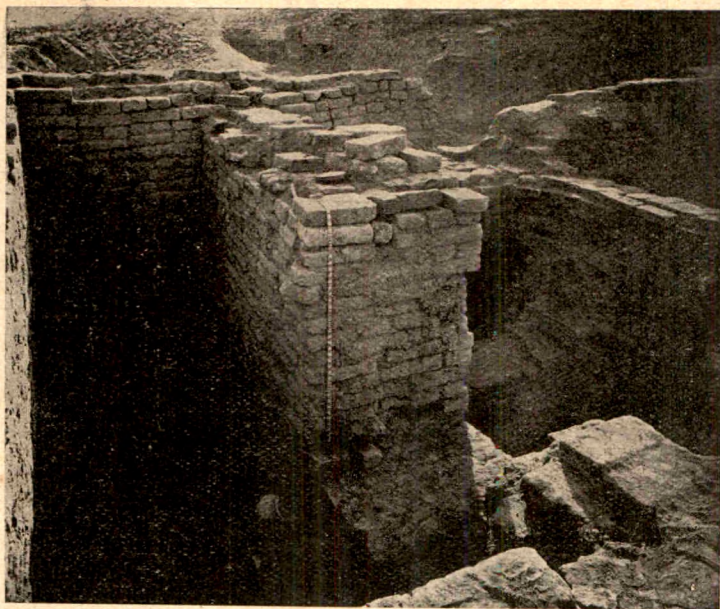
Asia Minor, leaving their original home. From Crete they brought their national name, which was *Termilai*. Now the Lycians have left behind them a number of very short funerary inscriptions in their rock-cut tombs dating from the time of Herodotos. These inscriptions are written in an alphabet allied to the Greek, and are in a few instances accompanied by Greek versions, which has enabled us to read them. In these inscriptions the Lycians call themselves *Trmmili*, which is the same word as *Termilai*. *Termilai* or *Trmmili* therefore was an old name which was used in Crete to denote at least one section or tribe of the Cretan people. Now, if there is any truth in the theory of Mediterranean origin of the Dravidians which ethnology and archæology would seem to indicate, if the connection between Cretan culture and that of pre-historic or pre-Aryan India is plausible, then certainly one would be justified in connecting the Proto-Dravidian \**Dramila* with *Termilai-Trmmili*. The original Dravidians could in this way very well be a ramification of the old Aegean race, which came into India in pre-historic times, by way of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, Persia and Baluchistan. The original Cretan source form of this name, *Dravida-Dramila*—

*Trmmili-Termilai*, is of course unknown.†

The Sumerian people with whose culture the Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa finds have been shown to have such a striking similarity, are of unknown origin, and so are the Elamites of Susa. The languages of these peoples are but partially known; and although they have not been proved to be of the same stock, they have certain resemblances in phonetics and in structure—in Vocalic Harmony and Agglutination, for instance. In these they agree with Dravidian on the one hand and with Lycian on the other. Points of agreement between Susian (or Elamite) and Dravidian, as regards structure, have already been noticed by Caldwell in his 'Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages.' We know nothing of the old Cretan language, and there are hundreds of inscriptions in the as yet undeciphered Cretan script tantalising us with their mystery. Can it be that Cretan and Lycian (apparently a form of the Old Cretan), Sumerian and Elamite, and Dravidian are mutually related? Linguistic researches into these problems have not yet been commenced. But cannot the Dravidian speeches be taken into consideration in discussing the Cretan Asianic, Sumerian and Elamite question, more seriously than perhaps it has been done? Before the irruption of the Semitic barbarians from the South into the Fertile Crescent of Syria and Mesopotamia which overwhelmed Sumer, and formed a barrier towards Asia Minor and the Mediterranean, the Aegean islands, Asia Minor and Mesopotamia might well have formed one cultural area. The irruption of the Indo-European barbarians from the North, (either as the 'Wiros' or as the 'Aryas') further destroyed the continuity of a possible Indo-Cretan domain through the intermediate Mesopotamian world.

† A friend draws my attention to the fact that Mr. J. C. Chatterji, late of the Archaeological Department of Kashmir, proposed to connect the *Termilai* with the Dravidians, in a paper read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal and published in the *Bengalee* of Calcutta of April 9, 1916. He has proposed this identification, among quite a number of others, without any statement of reasons except the similarity of the names, his thesis being that the whole of Indo-Aryan culture and epic legends was evolved in Mesopotamia and Armenia; and he does not take into the least consideration racial and linguistic groupements, affiliating the *Pancalas* to the Phœnicians, the *Gujars* to some unknown tribe in Caucasia, and identifying the places and peoples in the Rig-Veda and other ancient Indian works with those in the Armenian region.





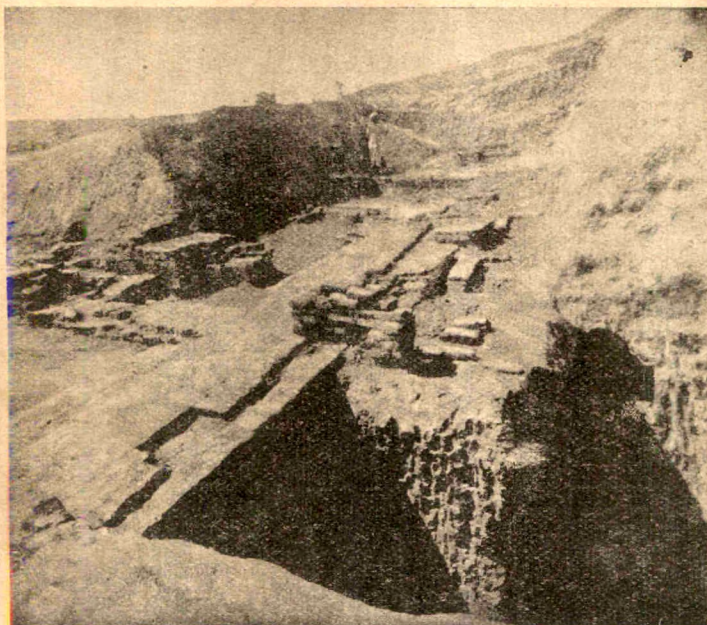
The Discovery of Prehistoric Painted Pottery showing  
the Crosswalls of different Periods under which  
lie the Remains of 3000 B. C.



Shrine no. 1 on the First Island after excavation—The  
Buddhist Stupa of the 2nd Century A. D.



It is merely a layman's suggestion to connect the *Termilai-Dramida* peoples, as a possible line of closer scrutiny by specialists. The few words we can glean of Lycian again; one would be tempted to compare with Indian words of obvious Dravidian origin: and one ventures to hazard these conjectures in a domain where everything is dark, and everyone is trying to find a way out. Thus we have,



Excavations at Harappa



Suspension Vessels and Miniature Wine-cooler from the Prehistoric Tombs of Baluchistan

- | Lycian                                   | Indian                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (i) <i>xupo</i> ( <i>khupo</i> ) 'grave' | —Skt. <i>kupa</i> 'well', <i>guha</i> 'cave'; Hindi, Bengali <i>gopha</i> 'cave'; Bengali <i>ghopa</i> 'nook'.                                                                                     |
| (ii) <i>kvatr</i> 'daughter'             | —Proto-Dravidian * <i>kodr-</i> ; Telugu <i>koḍu-gu</i> 'son'; Panjabi <i>Kuri</i> 'girl', and Kol (Santali) <i>kora</i> , <i>kuri</i> boy, 'girl' seems to have been borrowed from the Dravidian. |
| (iii) <i>Trqqas</i> 'a divinity'         | —Indian <i>Durga</i> (?): the Mother-goddess is Asianic, not Aryan: her name <i>Uma</i> is                                                                                                         |

- | Lycian                       | Indian                                                                                                                                                       |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (iii) <i>Trqqas</i> (contd.) | 'a divinity'—the Asianic <i>Ma</i> , and <i>Durga</i> can well be non-Sanskritic.                                                                            |
| (iv) <i>prnnawate</i>        | 'made'—Cf. Tamil <i>ver-</i> ; Kannada built (=excavated, cut?) <i>bar</i> ; Telugu <i>vra</i> 'to write,' obviously from the idea of 'scratching, cutting.' |

(I find however, that an eminent French scholar who is working on the Mediterranean and Asianic question takes the word *prnnawate* as a noun, and not as a verb.)

Guesses in the dark are always hazardous, and these are made for what they are worth. If these equations have any value, it will be seen that *surd+r* (*tr, pr*), of Lycian agrees with sonant *+r* (*dr, br*) in Proto-Dravidian.

The Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa culture does not seem to be Aryan. The burial customs are distinctly un-Aryan, they show a deep-rooted difference in racial and cultural origins. When the half-pastoral half-agricultural Aryan barbarians were invading and fighting in North Mesopotamia and then later were settling in Eastern Iran, Gandhara and the Panjab, the Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa people were a flourishing community in the fertile valley of the lower Indus. The Aryans came into India, and as we see from the Rig-Veda and other literature, they expanded East into the Ganges valley, and South-east into the Vidarbha country on the eastern side of the desert. It is strange that no Aryan states grew up in Sindh in the Vedic and Brahmana periods, that there was no early expansion of the Aryans southwards along the Indus. The desert kept them back from Rajputana, where only the Rajputs retired rather than submit to the Turk. There seems to have been present some other factors to hold them back from South-western Panjab and Sindh and to force them to direct their conquering, colonising and state-building energies to the East and the South-east. It is very likely that it was a strong, and well-organised non-Aryan people in the South, such as the Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa people would seem to have been. And they could have been Dravidians only. The Brahuis are a direct evidence. And Alexander the Great met with a tribe called the *Arabitai* in South Baluchistan. This name recalls the name given by the Telugus to the Tamils, *Arava*†.

† It has been suggested that *Arava* is the Skt. *a-rava* 'speechless,' a term of contempt for the Southern Dravidians, like the Slav name for Germans, *niemets*: but it is only a fanciful explanation. The



These non-Aryans—Dravidians of Sindh—seem mostly to have been conquered and Aryanised in course of time,—perhaps long before Alexander the Great. Gradually the western group of these Sindh-Baluchistan Dravidians, the ancestors of the Brahuis, had to yield to the pressure of Iranians, the Baluches, and they have in course of time been reduced to their present numerical, and cultural inferiority in Baluchistan.

With our present evidences, the Dravidians look like being a Mediterranean people, coming out of Crete, and passing through Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, where they were in close touch with the Sumerians and the Elamites: and possibly these latter were related to them and the Cretans. Then they came by the southern part of the Iranian plateau into Sindh, whence they spread into the interior of India. This must have happened long before 3000 B.C. Even if the

Kannadas, whose language is equally unintelligible to the Telugus, are not so called, nor the Oriyas; and the use of a Sanskrit word would be rather strange in a popular appellation of contempt.

Cretan connexion cannot be satisfactorily demonstrated, Sumerian affinities are certain. India is thus linked more closely than ever to the Western world, through both the Aryans and the Dravidians.

Further discoveries might even demonstrate that Hall's theory, noted above, is true, and that the Sumerians were but Dravidians from India. In that case it would be established that civilisation first arose in India, and was associated probably with the Primitive Dravidians. Then it was taken to Mesopotamia, to become the source of the Babylonian and other ancient cultures which form the basis of modern civilisation.

The Mohen-jo-Daro excavations inaugurated by Mr. R. D. Banerji and the curiosity awakened by his discoveries can thus lead to great ultimate results. The work begun by him, we may confidently expect, will be continued by the Archaeological Department, and scholars competent to discuss the question will be coming forward; and this may usher in a true knowledge of the ancient race and culture movements which are at the basis of Indian civilisation, and thus win for us from Oblivion another chapter in the history of human cultural endeavour.

## THE THREAT TO BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

By LORD SYDENHAM OF COMBE

THE grave situation which has arisen in India may primarily concern the British Empire; but it suggests possibilities which would directly and indirectly affect the civilized world. Since the assumption of authority by the Crown in 1858 following the great mutiny, the advance of India has been extraordinary. That an eastern sub-continent, with a population exceeding 300,000,000, should, until recent years, have been orderly and progressive was an international factor of extreme importance, and if it were now to disappear, there would be repercussions certain to be felt far and wide.

To Americans, faced by Pacific problems of which no one can foresee the issue, the stabilizing influence which India under British rule has hitherto exercised, has been an advantage perhaps insufficiently recognized. While the British people were engaged in the tremendous task of rescuing India from the blood-stained anarchy which followed the fall of the Mogul Empire, in arresting the devastating activities of Marathas, Rohillas and Pindaris, in abolishing the enormities of Suttee and Thagi, and in gradually building up a pure administration capable of giving peace and equal justice to the millions of India, Americans were too much preoccupied to realize the vast magnitude of an undertaking unparalleled in history. If the great structure which we have created at a sacrifice of innumerable British lives and with infinite effort, were now to collapse, there would be a reversion to the anarchy of eighteenth century India, which could not be confined to her borders, and would react upon the Western nations.

Since President Roosevelt paid his notable and

generous tribute to the most wonderful civilizing work ever accomplished, there have been persistent and organized efforts in the United States to vitiate British rule in India. The wildest falsehoods have obtained circulation, so that it is difficult for Americans to ascertain the truth. American missionaries, whose excellent work I had opportunities of judging, are best able to appreciate the benefits of the mildest Government that Eastern peoples ever possessed, and it is significant that, during the dangerous rebellion of 1919 in Northern India, the staff and pupils of the Forman College at Lahore ranged themselves on the side of that Government and were helpful to the authorities at a time of terrible strain.

India comprises an area of 1,800,000 square miles, of which a little less than two-fifths, with one quarter of a total population of 320,000,000, consists of 700 self-governing native States. In extent, therefore, India equals all Europe with the exception of Russia. The climate shows immense differences, and the rainfall varies from three to 400 inches. There are 130 dialects, deriving from six different root languages, and nine religions, of which two, Hinduism and Islam, are dominant and perennially in conflict for reasons ineffaceably traced in the pages of history. The former embraces more than 1,800 castes and sub-castes, carrying deep lines of cleavage throughout the whole community, while the latter is divided into several sections, mutually hostile upon occasion. The "untouchables" number nearly 50,000,000, and in Southern India are regarded as capable of polluting a high-caste man at a range of sixty-four feet. Seven millions still live



# CURRENT HISTORY

*A Magazine Issued Monthly by  
The New York Times Company*

TIMES SQUARE, NEW YORK

September 27, 1924.

Dear Sir:

We have an extraordinary article in the October number of Current History Magazine, written by Lord Sydenham of Combe, Former Governor of Bombay, on THE SITUATION IN INDIA.

Lord Sydenham makes a very bitter attack on the Coalition Government; he denounces the new constitution of India as provocative of civil war and the cause of all the disturbance; he justifies the repressive measures that have been taken; he says the country is going to be deluged in blood unless the new constitution is abolished; and he pays his respects in no uncertain terms to the Former Secretary of State Montagu. In fact, the article is one of the most candid, the frankest, and yet most startling statements of the situation in India that has been published, and coming from the high authority that it does, from one who is recognized as one of the "great pro-consuls of Empire", it has a special significance.

We would like to circularize this article among people who are interested in Indian affairs in the United States. Could you give us a list of names with addresses, as few or as many as you prefer? We could use as many as 25,000 names, with addresses, but only of people in the United States of course. We would pay for the list at the usual rate, or would have the names copied if this is necessary.

Thanking you for any information you might give us on the subject, we remain

Very truly yours,

*[Signature]*  
The Editors of Current History.

GWO:NC



in tribal conditions. Some tribes who are professional criminals by caste, the Government, with the valued assistance of the Salvation Army, is seeking gradually to redeem.

#### AN AGRICULTURAL PEOPLE

The census classes 90 per cent of the Indian peoples as rural (which compares with 20 per cent in England and Wales), while at least 72 per cent, are dependent entirely on agriculture. The taxation after the war was about 4s. 9½d. (about \$1.16) per head, including land revenue. The spinning, weaving and other industries were introduced by British pioneers, but are now almost wholly in Indian hands, except in the case of the jute industry of Bengal. Capitalists in India are thus mainly Indians who have risen to wealth owing to the security afforded by British rule. The stories of heartless exploitation which have been circulated in America are deliberate falsehoods. India is only at the beginning of industrialization and for many reasons it is desirable that the pace should not be quickened. The British Government in India not only carries on all the work which Western Governments perform, but in the words of Lord Ronaldshay, a former Governor of Bengal in his book, "India: A Bird's-Eye View":

It constructs and runs railways; it undertakes huge irrigation works; it organizes famine relief; it fights pestilence and plague; it doctors and it sanitates; it undertakes the exploitation and scientific treatment of the immense forests scattered over the land; it monopolizes the manufacture of salt; it runs schools and colleges; it makes its influence felt, in other words, in every department of the people's life.

The inspiration and the driving power which initiated and have carried on all this work and more are supplied by only 5,000 British officials, while the major administration rests upon the Indian Civil Service of a little over 900, of whom, owing to climate and strain, not more than 800 are normally at their posts. As pointed out by Lord Ronaldshay, it has happened to a single Englishman to be responsible for order and good government over an area larger than that of New Zealand and a population of 47,000,000. Tourists travelling by well-managed railways and visiting the great towns of India can form no idea of the real conditions of a mainly rural population, or of the work carried on in remote districts by little groups of British officials in smoothing down internecine feuds and in administering impartial justice to all castes and creeds. All such work depends entirely on character and upon the confidence which it has won in the past. Left to themselves, Indians will invariably seek the adjudication of a Briton, just as they will travel long distances to obtain the aid of a British doctor. I earnestly beg Americans to consider the few facts I have mentioned and to remember that more than 93 per cent of Indians are wholly illiterate and that perhaps 1,000,000 have command of English, which is the language of the political organizations now laboring to destroy our rule. If further they will reflect that the masses of India are credulous to the last degree, while many elements are intensely fanatical, they will understand the difficulties of the task we have undertaken and the dangers of the present situation.

The huge population of India has been held together and has made amazing progress only by reason of British rule backed by military force relatively insignificant. Prestige, the most potent factor in the East, sufficed for many years to enable force to be dispensed with except on rare occasions.

The visible signs of progress must strike every visitor to India, but may naturally induce oblivion of the explosive forces apparently dormant, but ready to assert themselves directly the controlling authority shows symptoms of weakening. The Moguls at the zenith of their power never created machinery of government comparable to that which, in Lord Ronaldshay's words, "Makes its influence felt in every department of the people's life," but anarchy followed their decline and fall. Deeper and darker would be the calamity which would afflict the millions of India if British authority were to lapse and could not be replaced by another power able to carry on our task with the acquiescence and the trust of the complex medley of jarring races, creeds, languages and castes which constitutes the population of India. There is not and there cannot be for many years anything resembling an Indian nation. What is called for political purposes "Indian opinion" represents the views of an infinitesimal minority in temporary agreement only with the object of destroying British rule, but sharply divided as to methods and policy.

#### TOWARD SELF-GOVERNMENT

For some years at least it has been the British aim to lead India gradually toward self-government. In my five and a half years of office in Bombay, this aim was never absent from my mind. Indians are eligible for and many occupy every post in India except that of Viceroy and Provincial Governor. The experiment of appointing a very able Bengali lawyer Governor of Bihar and Orissa was lately tried and failed, leading to his resignation after a few months. Indians dominate the whole subordinate judiciary, supervised by the high courts, in which British influence is now declining. They have provided valuable officials in all capacities after being trained in Western methods of administration. To a great extent they control education in all its branches. All local government is in their hands, with results that in some cases have been disastrous. (For example, I was forced to suspend two municipalities for shocking proceedings, and no resentment was forthcoming. The Bombay Municipality, now converted into a political body, has boycotted all British goods.) In the legislative sphere, the reforms of Lord Morley and Lord Minto in 1909 conferred large powers, making it possible for Indian views to have the fullest expression. So far as Bombay is concerned, I can testify that no legislation was passed without the concurrence of a council in which Indians held a large majority. The liberality of these reforms was regarded at the time with astonishment by Indian politicians. They worked well in spite of certain defects which could easily have been remedied, and they provided a basis for further progress in the direction of self-government. They were swept away before the opportunities they afforded were understood or realized, and in 1919 India was suddenly presented with a crazy Constitution which is already proving harmful to the vital interests of the Indian peoples.

Americans should know some of the facts of how the political movement was engineered during the great war, in which Indian troops served gallantly in every theatre of operations, while the Indian Princes and Chiefs were lavish in contributions of men and treasure to the cause of the Empire. The war threw a heavy strain on the whole Indian administration which the "political-minded" group



turned to full account. It obstructed the Government so far as it was able and sought to bargain for its support. It strengthened and spread its organization and established close connections with the politicians in England who were known to favour Home Rule. It stimulated the secret societies in Bengal and the Punjab, some of which had ramifications in America, where, as in England and other countries, an active propaganda was developed. When the war ended, the talking men demanded power for themselves because the fighting men, who held them in contempt, had contributed to victory!

The chessboard was already partly set when Mr. E. S. Montagu was appointed Secretary of State for India and took upon himself the task of setting up Western democracy in India, which he himself acknowledged to be a "very dangerous experiment." He proceeded to India, visited a few great cities, was deeply impressed and perhaps alarmed by the representations of the little group of English-speaking intelligentsia, omitted to consult the classes on which the life of India depends and produced a report in which he stated his intention of deliberately disturbing the placid, pathetic contentment of the people. This report is an interesting study in contradictions. Parts of it, evidently written by an experienced official, accurately describe conditions and violently conflict with the political proposals supplied by theorists and doctrinaires. The report was embodied in a bill which went further in weakening the authority of the Government, more pressure having been brought to bear on Mr. Montagu. A joint committee of both houses of Parliament was set up to take evidence from the numerous political organizations whose delegates had hastened to London, and the Secretary and the Under-Secretary of State appointed themselves judges of their own case. No non-English-speaking Indians out of more than 318,000,000, nor any representative of the martial classes was heard, and the bill emerged with more concessions (especially in the direction of weakening the Central Government) to the delegations engaged in working up support in England. (This aspect of the proceedings is admirably presented in "The Lost Dominion".)

#### THE ACT OF 1919.

The bill was then rushed through Parliament with the aid of the "kangaroo closure," and as the Coalition Government was in power, there was no opposition except from the small number of members of both houses who knew and loved India. In normal times there would have been strong opposition, and adequate discussion would at least have been insisted upon. Public opinion, confused and distracted by the war and its aftermath, was not in a position to form calm judgments, and we were assured that the passing of the bill would bring peace to India where the astute politicians were already organizing to create trouble. In such conditions one of the most momentous measures that ever issued from Westminster was launched on its dangerous career. The broad provisions of the Act of 1919 were as follows:

(1) Eight single-chamber triennial Parliaments, mainly Indian, were set up with a double-chamber Parliament above them in certain respects. This is what Lord Morley, stoutest of democrats, declared that he would never accept. (One of these single-chamber Parliaments was for Burma which came in later. The Burmese differ more from Indians than

Italians from Finns, and, except that both countries are tropical, their conditions have little in common.)

(2) The electorates were so restricted that the agricultural population—the mainstay of India—received nothing that could be called representation. Separate electorates had to be created for Moslems, Sikhs, and some other communities. The general political effect of all this was to give preponderating power to the urban population in a country where 90 per cent of the people are classed as rural. This power fell mainly into the hands of town-dwelling political lawyers, money-lenders, doctors, Brahmins and others who belong to the small section which is fluent in English and has always sought to oppress the people.

(3) In the Executive Councils a preposterous system, known as "diarchy" was introduced. The Executive was supposed to operate in two compartments, one responsible to the Government and the other with power over important services, to the Legislative Council. In practice, the "diarchy" has disappeared; but it led to confusion in the administration and to some amazing incidents as when Councils refused to vote the salary of their "Ministers." The obstructive powers conferred on all these Parliaments are enormous; but the Viceroy and the Provincial Governors can resort, in some circumstances, to vetoes and certifications, and have already been forced to do so. It is plainly impossible to govern by these expedients.

This complicated, exotic Constitution, which is understood only by an insignificant fraction of Western-educated Indians, was set up by the loyal efforts of British civil servants, and otherwise could never have materialized. Its vicious features are the disastrous weakening of authority throughout India and the heartless neglect of the interests of the masses, who have never shown the smallest desire for political change. It is maintained in being only by British bayonets in the background, and it would dissolve like "the baseless fabric of a vision" if that support were withdrawn. The results anticipated by all who knew India have been ominous. From the time when it was realized by the Indian politicians that Mr. Montagu could be intimidated, organized disturbances began to take acute form. In the spring of 1919, before the passing of the bill a better planned and more wide-ranging rebellion than the mutiny of 1857 broke out and was intended to coincide with an Afghan invasion. If, as was contemplated, the Indian rebels had been able to cut the railways in the Punjab behind the troops on the frontier, the situation might have become desperate. Either the rebellion was premature or the Afghans were too late, and the prompt action taken by the Government of the Punjab enabled the belated invasion to be defeated. The position was most critical until the stern action of General Dyer at Amritsar restored order. The shooting at Jallianwala Bagh has been described in America and elsewhere as a massacre. At another great town, not in the Punjab, the losses were at least as great but this fact is not known.

#### AMRITSAR SHOOTING—a NECESSITY

The simple facts are that Amritsar was in the hands of the rebels, who were preparing to loot the city, and scattered over the Punjab there were isolated groups of Europeans, men and women, who could not be directly protected. After three warnings, a large mob assembled, under orders from the leaders of the rebellion, and was dispersed

by the fire of fifty Indian soldiers. The losses were deplorable, because they fell upon ignorant people incited to rebellion by politicians, who were careful to keep out of danger. But this sharp lesson, which has parallels in American history, saved tens of thousands of lives. The citizens of Amritsar came in crowds to thank General Dyer, and the Sikhs bestowed a special honor upon him. If an inquiry had taken place at once, Indians would have flocked to give evidence proving the urgent necessity for his action from the Indian point of view. When many months later the Hunter Commission began its irregular proceedings, there had been time for the political leaders to create an atmosphere in England and India, and witnesses, Indian and British, who told the truth, were subjected to persecution. It was left to an English Judge, who for the first time received sworn evidence as to these occurrences to pronounce this year a verdict which the impartial historian will be compelled to endorse.

The next serious rising was that of the Moplahs in the difficult and dense country of Malabar. This was due entirely to the freedom granted to political agitators to stir up the well-known fanaticism of a backward Moslem population. Thousands of Hindus were killed, and outrages of all kinds were perpetrated before this rebellion could be put down by our military forces. The long tale of subsequent rioting cannot here be told. There is scarcely a large town in India which has not known murderous outbreaks, the deliberately organized disturbances in Bombay on the arrival of the Prince of Wales being especially significant. These disturbances lasted two days, and Parsees as well as Europeans were objects of attack. The casualties were numerous. Mohs in Calcutta have recently been murdering Sikhs and subsequently Gurkas. Never before has the mutual hostility of Moslems and Hindus assumed such violent forms as at Multan, Lahore, and Delhi, requiring British troops to prevent wholesale destruction. The total loss of life since Mr. Montagu took office exceeds that in all the previous years since the great mutiny. While the rival communities were engaged in killing each other, their self-appointed leaders have been amicably conspiring against British rule. All this naturally and inevitably follows manifestations of weakness in any Eastern government. The outstanding results of Mr. Montagu's "series of ineffectual concessions" has been to promote Indian race-hatreds on the one hand and color-prejudice on the other, the latter being formerly unknown or negligible.

Americans will not fail to recognize a similarity between their difficulties in the Philippines and ours in India, allowing for the differences of area and population. The Filipino ilustrados have many points in common with the Indian intelligentsia, and both have sought political support in the governing countries. President Wilson, like our Mr. Montagu, decided on an experiment in "self-determination"—a term which Mr. Lansing most wisely described as "loaded with dynamite." The American experiment resulted in administrative chaos and in undoing the fine work of the Americans which Governor-General Leonard Wood is valiantly endeavoring to restore. In America, as in England, a political party is willing to abandon the tax of giving good government to an eastern people. The future of both India and the Philippines is now in the melting pot of domestic politics.

#### UNWORKABLE CONSTITUTION.

Our Socialist Government is already violating the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution, which was to last until 1929, and then to be the subject of inquiry by a commission to be sent out for the purpose. A commission has been set up in India and is proceeding to take the machine to pieces, alleging quite correctly, but from a point of view differing from mine, that it is unworkable. The demand is now for complete Home Rule (Swaraj). We are to remain in India until such time as the politicians have created armies for their protection, and while keeping them in power, we are to look on unmoved at the destruction of our work of a century and a half. Already corruption is asserting itself in ugly forms; already courts are beginning to be distrusted where religious differences exist; already it is dawning upon Moslems that, under the operation of democratic institutions they must be politically swamped by the huge preponderance of Hindus. We in the West accommodate ourselves as best we may to majority rule—the first principle of democracy. Warlike peoples in the East will never so easily resign themselves to the vagaries of the ballot box. The 70,000,000 Moslems in British India contain some of the most virile elements in the population, cherishing the traditions of a ruling race, and now elated by the successes of the Turks. Beyond the frontier are 200,000 well-armed fighting tribesmen, and in the background the shifty monarch of Afghanistan, who might at need respond to their call. Such is one of the possibilities of the future, history repeating itself in the form of another Mohammedan conquest of India.

Meanwhile, in the great native States the authority of the Chiefs has been maintained, and non-British India has been tranquil except where, as in Patiala, Nabha and Kashmir, troubles have been imported. The position of the great Chiefs is, however, threatened and may become extremely difficult. If the efforts of the politicians prevail with the Socialist Government in Great Britain, and if Swaraj supervenes, the guardianship which British rule has afforded to the native States will be withdrawn, and they will be face to face with the forces of subversion, which they would certainly resist by force. Some of them have military forces which they would use to carve out larger territories from the welter which would follow a lapse of authority in British India. Such extensions have been already planned. Here lie possibilities which no one who does not know India can grasp.

So far as I am able to judge, we approach the time at which a decision to "govern or go" will have to be taken. The responsibility for the defense of an immense country, always threatened on its northern and north-western frontiers, cannot be separated from that of government. This principle will also be found to apply to the case of the Philippines. Unless we retain complete control of the armed forces of India, there will be nothing to prevent the Nepalese from occupying Calcutta or the Pathans from sacking Delhi. Compromise with the Indian politicians on this point is impossible. They may and they do seek to raise a revolt among our native troops, and in this respect the situation resembles that before the mutiny in 1857. But some sections of the Indian army would never follow their lead, and there is no large localized force corresponding to the Bengal army of 1857 which they could manipulate. Military considera-

tions, which I cannot here discuss, are of supreme importance, and in the prevailing atmosphere of pacifism, which befalls realities in the East and elsewhere, these questions may be ignored.

A gallant Indian soldier has pertinently asked, "What is to be expected of a Government from which its friends have nothing to hope and its enemies nothing to fear?" In these words our policy since Mr. Montagu's accession to office is not unjustly described. Clearly, such a policy cannot endure; but it has had most serious effects upon the great public service now crumbling. The Indian Civil Service, correctly described by Mr. Lloyd George as "the steel frame" which supported the whole Administration, is falling apart. Economic stress has told heavily upon this splendid body. The conditions of its service have changed so greatly as to cause wholesale resignations of experienced men and the almost complete failure of recruiting. For years British civil servants have worked under Indians trained in western methods, but they have now fallen under the sway of amateur Indian politicians and have lost the protection they formerly enjoyed. They are always liable to periodical attacks in the Councils, and the Government does not defend them. They do not forget that the men who helped to save Northern India in 1919 were censured and penalized. They see paid agitators allowed to poison the minds of the people who trusted them. Their wives and families in many districts are deprived of the services of British doctors, and even their tenure of office and their pensions are not explicitly guaranteed by the Home Government.

#### SERVICES DETERIORATING

In these circumstances it is natural that the Indian Civil Service should lose heart, and other services are in the same position. The Indian Medical Service, which has done fine work for health and sanitation, has almost disappeared. A commission has recently investigated these matters, and has made proposals for improving the financial position of our public services and thus fulfilling pledges made to them. These proposals are being held up for discussion in the hostile Indian Assembly, and may have to be passed by certifica-

tion. The grave question arises as to whether, in the present state of the public services, it is any longer possible to govern.

I have tried to compress within a short space the outstanding features of the situation in India as it exists today; but much has necessarily been omitted. I cannot deal adequately with the complexity of causes which are leading to a crisis. A faulty system of education, based upon Macaulay's misconception, turned out in large numbers young Indians for whom no useful work could be found, and who naturally turned against the Government. The defeat of Russia by Japan deeply impressed all the Eastern peoples. Before the World War German intrigues were at work which affected Moslems especially and produced the Khilafat leaders who proclaimed that the British were attacking the Caliphate, since destroyed by their Turkish allies. Secret societies and latterly Bolshevik money and emissaries, whose objects differed radically from those of the Indian revolutionaries, but agreed in creating a ferment against British rule, have played a not unimportant part. It is, however, to our own policy of making successive concessions indicating fear, which is a fatal attitude in the East, that I attribute the main source of our present acute difficulties. By setting up an exotic Western Constitution for which India is at present totally unfitted, and which was therefore unworkable, we invited the demand for full self-government. The little class oligarchy which we placed in power in the sacred name of democracy cannot rule, and its leaders do not even trust each other. The Hindus apparently agree only in desiring to break away from Western culture and methods and to bring back a Golden Age which never existed. If left to themselves, they would wreck any democratic Constitution.

We are and we remain solely responsible for the welfare and the gradual uplifting of the vast masses of Indian peoples, to whom our authority alone can give law, order and equal justice. The alternative is written in letters of blood on the pages of Indian history. —*The Current History Magazine*. NEW YORK, U. S. A.

## THE DAY MY FATHER DIED

By SHIRLEY MAUREEN HODGKINSON

The day my father died  
The world was red and gold,  
Flame-forest hung its banners out,  
Red roses, marigold.  
The garden flagged with flowers  
As tribute it would bear  
For one who lived and loved so well,  
True-hearted, debonair.

I knelt his bed beside,  
And memories were mine  
Of faith that never failed,  
A tenderness divine.  
When first that head I knew  
Those locks were gold not grey,  
Yet young my father seemed  
The hour he went away.

The dear dead hand I kissed,  
Last gift to me his ring,  
An old Scotch song came back:  
"He might ha'e been a king!"  
So royal did he look,  
My father who had died,  
The noblest, wisest, best!  
With grief there mingled pride.

Not where his youth was spent  
In that grey northern town  
Where his forefathers sleep  
Laid he life's burden down;  
But in this sunny south,  
The land he served and knew.  
India, he loved you well,  
He rests at last in you!



## "INDIA : A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW"\*

( A REVIEW )

LORD Ronaldshay is a fine writer and gifted with considerable powers of observation. From the days when he was attached to the staff of Lord Curzon at Simla, and learnt of imperial problems at first hand, to those of the Public Services Commission of which he was a member, and on to the critical times of his governorship of Bengal, he has had splendid opportunities of enlarging his experience in more and more responsible positions—opportunities which a foreign government does not offer to the ablest Indians, whose field of vision therefore often remains somewhat limited in consequence. Add to this the hereditary culture of a great British house, and the power of clear thinking and logical exposition common among Western writers, and it is easy to see that even in matters regarding Indian religion, philosophy and civilisation, as to which the writer can have but a superficial knowledge, what he says has been well expressed and is worth listening to.

Lord Ronaldshay is a clever diplomat, and though he was Governor of Bengal for full five years, the reader will find no indication of the fact in this book, and everything of a controversial nature has been scrupulously avoided. The reader will find no reference to the burning political questions of the day, and as to the character, aspirations or activities of the people whom he governed, the book is altogether silent. In this respect Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's book presents a welcome contrast, for it deals with live issues and live peoples. Things of ethnological and antiquarian interest, the general trend of Indian civilization, the peculiar traits of our culture which differentiate us from the West, the incursion of Islam, frontier problems, these are the subjects which engage the author's attention; and on the whole, he has touched upon them with sympathy and knowledge. On the antiquities of Southern India he has not much to say, but he has devoted considerable attention and space to the caves and temples of Orissa, which lie so close at hand to us in Bengal, and which so few educated Bengalees care to visit for the sake of their aesthetic or antiquarian interest.

In this connection we should like to point out some curious orthographical mistakes respecting Sanskrit words and names in common use. In a book intended for popular use a scientific system of transliteration is not needed, but egregious blunders should nevertheless be avoided. 'Sīdartha' should be 'Siddhartha', 'Jaganath' should be 'Jagannath', 'Purusha' of the Samkhya philosophy has been repeatedly spelt 'Purushu'. 'Indra-mena' stands for 'Indra-dyumna', 'Rai Dulab' is 'Raidurlav', 'Pushka' = 'Pushkar'.

At page 176 of the book there is a reference to this magazine, and we quote the author's appreciation. "The Indian Modern Review"—an admirably

conducted periodical which voices the views of a large section of educated public opinion in India, which, without unnecessarily being extremist, is emphatically nationalist."

The get-up of the book, and the excellent photographs (taken by the author himself) with which it is illustrated, leave nothing to be desired. The reader will be interested to learn that the author promises us another volume dealing more particularly with Indian philosophy and civilization.

We now proceed to make some extracts from the book which the reader will find interesting and instructive.

"In the peoples of India is to be found an ethnologic pageant epitomising the gradual growth of civilization through centuries of time. At one end of the scale are men of the finest culture who have reached dizzy heights in the realms of speculative thought; at the other, men whose religion has not yet outgrown the stage of the crudest superstition. At this end the bow and arrow represents the highest achievement in the domain of mechanical invention; at the other, we are presented with the spectacle of an Indian scientist contriving and constructing apparatus of such exquisite refinement as to excite the admiration of the scientists of the West."

Like other European writers, Lord Ronaldshay observes that "laughter is singularly rare in the people as a whole, that their bearing is characterised rather by a submissive sadness", and he assigns the cause as follows: "A blistering sun, the ever present spectre of drought leading in turn to famine and pestilence, the monotonous life of the multitude with its narrow outlook—a hard, hand-to-mouth existence, in which the morrow holds out no prospect of any mitigation of the toil of today; all these things, which go to make up the sum total of the average peasants' joys and woes seem sufficiently well to banish calculated inordinate merriment and to give to existence the sombre tint of a half-tone engraving."

The author speaks of "the existence in these early days [of Buddhism] of a large number and variety of institutions of a representative type, not merely in the administrative but in many other spheres, showing that the principle of collective control and responsibility was a strongly-marked characteristic of the Aryan people." Referring to the Buddhist system of voting by ballot, he points out "how remarkable is the resemblance between [the procedure] of the assemblies of two thousand five hundred years ago and of those of the present day."

We learn from this volume that among the causes of the downfall of the late Amir Habibullah were "his love of ease and amusement and his neglect of the affairs of state," which "disgusted the ardent spirits of the young Afghan party which had come into existence filled with ideas of the rights of man." "A spirit hostile to autocracy had been cleverly fostered by Sirdar Mahmud Beg

\* India : A Bird's-Eye View ; By the Earl of Ronaldshay. Constable & Co., London. 18/- 1924.

Tarsi—who had lived much in Turkey, where he imbibed the sentiments and opinions of the young Turk party by means of a newspaper, the "Seraj-al-Akbar," which contained scathing denunciations of the stagnancy of Afghanistan." The result of the Third Afghan War, as viewed by the Afghans themselves, may be gathered from the fact that "a monument to victory, at the foot of which reposes the British Lion with one leg chained, adds to the picturesqueness of the streets of Kabul."

Lord Ronaldshay tells the story of the Frontier in some detail, and we learn from him that the Forward Policy is once more in high favour, in spite of the appalling waste of money that it involves. The Khyber Railway, we understand, will cost two crores of rupees for every one of its twenty six miles. "But the railway.....will merely increase the natural pressure upon the civilized power to advance. Its construction is in itself a big step forward—as is also the occupation of Waziristan, the avowed object of which is the construction of block-houses and roads." How money can, even in these days of economic stringency and retrenchment, be found for any project on which the Government has set its heart, will appear from the following lengthy but significant extracts, which, we trust, will engage the attention of our public men.

"It is only necessary to compare the statistics of recent expeditions with those of earlier ones to realise how formidable an undertaking a punitive expedition has now become. Up to the close of the nineteenth century the actual cost of campaigns across the administrative frontier was not great. Expenditure under this head during the closing twenty years of the century amounted to approximately £300,000, and this sum included the cost of the Chitral campaign of 1895, namely, £112,000, and that of the Terah campaign of 1897, namely £124,000. Compare with these figures the expenditure under the same head during the first twenty years of the present century, namely, £19,500, and the nature of the change becomes apparent. Still more significant is the sudden leap in cost during the past few years. The blockade of the Mahsuds during the years 1900-1902.....cost roughly £250,000; the operations against the tribes in 1915-16 alone cost little short of £300,000—almost exactly the cost of the whole of the expeditions across the border during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century. It is from this year that the cost ascends with such alarming steepness. In 1916-17 we spent £475,000 under this head, in 1917-18, £1,134,000; in 1918-19, only a little less, and in 1919-20, approximately £16,000,000. This last figure includes the cost of the third Afghan war". Even excluding the cost of this war, out of all proportion as it is to the results obtained, to think of all the mint of money that has been poured during recent years into the unproductive channels of frontiers expedition—money which would have gone a great way to meet the educational and sanitary needs and improve the material condition of the people for which our public men have been crying themselves hoarse only to be turned back with an emphatic *non possumus*—is enough to make one sick of the utter heartlessness of foreign rulers, whose one aim is to make the country safe for their exploitation, no matter at what cost. If, as Lord Ronaldshay says, "railways are dangerous to buffer states," the main effect of the opening of the Khyber line will

be to arouse the suspicion of His Majesty the Amir, and lead to further loss of life and treasure in the wild mountainous regions of the frontier.

In the chapter on Local Self-Government, the author, following the authority of Drs. Mookerji and Bhandarkar, admits that the peoples of India "possessed in ancient times a system of local self-government predicated capacity for corporate action in a high degree." Lack of resources, he further admits, though rather grudgingly, "is one of the chief obstacles in the way of advance." Moreover, "relaxation of official control has, undoubtedly, given a much-needed stimulus to interest in local government." "That India evolved many centuries ago a highly developed system of local self-government is undoubted, that it differed in kind from the system which we have imported into India from the West is equally certain. Corporate life in ancient India took the form of guilds, notably of crafts guilds and merchant guilds.....These bodies, therefore, were independent of the central government; they were not its offspring, nor were their functions the product of devolution, as in the case of such bodies as the borough and county councils of Great Britain. On the contrary, they were social organizations with authority which was not derived from but which compelled the recognition of the central government. Side by side with, or out of, these early guilds came into being village assemblies modelled on similar lines and possessing an equivalent status, which seem to have exercised judicial and municipal powers, and to have administered endowments for secular and religious purposes." The king was, in fact, a remote abstraction, with no direct touch with the daily life of the villages. "It is certainly surprising to find that a theory [social contract] commonly supposed to have originated with Western thinkers of the seventeenth century A. D.—Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau—was a common-place of Hindu political thinkers six centuries before Christ.....Kautilya makes it clear that the king was regarded as the servant of the people, the share of grain and merchandise awarded to him being held to be a wage paid for services rendered.....Emphasis is repeatedly laid upon the status of the king as being that of a servant of the public, and any assumption of arrogance on his part was apt to call forth caustic reminders of his true position.....Enough is now known of early Hindu theory and practice in the sphere of administration to make it tolerably certain that it was based on the existence of innumerable semi-independent self-governing bodies, and that "the conception of the king as the servant of the state," to quote another Indian authority of the present day, "was one of the basic principles of political thought in Ancient India." From all these historical facts the author deduces "the unsuitability of the particular type of local self-government which we have instituted to the genius of the Indian people", and the remedy in his opinion is to recreate the village organisations which are congenial to the people by means of Union Boards and Committees which have been started by the Government all over the country.

In England, 80 p. c. of the people live in towns, whereas in India 90 per cent live in the villages. In spite of signs of industrialization, therefore, Lord Ronaldshay is of opinion that "the organization of industries on the lines evolved by western nations.....is something which is altogether alien to the

genius of the Indian people." He quotes Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. C. R. Das in support of this, and points out that the jute mills, which are responsible for more than half of the whole value of manufactured goods exported every year from India, are entirely in European hands, and that the Tatas are Parsis, and not typical of the rest of India in this respect.

On the subject of Imperial Preference Lord Ronaldshay has something very sensible to say. "Her [India's] public men are profoundly suspicious of any proposals for the manipulation of her tariffs in the interests of imperial trade. And if we are to be quite frank with ourselves, we must admit that they are so not without cause. The story of the Indian cotton duties.....has left behind it a legacy of bitter memories. As we have sown, so we are now reaping." "It is perfectly natural that Indians should desire to develop their trade and their resources primarily in the interests of their own people. And it behoves us to make it clear that in bringing to her aid our capital and our business skill, we are not animated by a selfish desire to exploit her to her own disadvantage. That it is to our own advantage that her resources should be developed by British rather than by foreign enterprise may be frankly admitted; what we have to do is to prove to her, if we can, that it is equally to her advantage, that this should be so. And if we are to do this, there must be no more episodes on a par with the Tariff Acts of 1894-96 [imposing the countervailing cotton duties]....." Again, ".....what has to be done is to make it clear to India that the aid which Great Britain can offer her is given to the mutual advantage of the two countries; that if British business even look to receive a reasonable return themselves, they have no desire to deprive her of her legitimate share of the total profit. In other words, that what they desire to do is not to exploit her to her disadvantage, but to co-operate with her in a business of mutual benefit." But surely the way to this is not by greedily appropriating the whole of the enormous war profit from jute raised by the starving peasantry of Bengal, nor by filling up the Directorate of every British company operating in India, and every position of authority in the managing staff, and the ranks of skilled workmen as well, from among their own countrymen.

The closing sentences of this chapter are well worth quoting: "As a people, we have been all too prone to pass by with insular indifference India's contributions to the progress of the human race.....let us pay our tribute to the upward-aspiring spirit which inspires the great masterpieces in her literature and her art. Let us, above all, render homage to the lofty spiritual ideals which have marked her progress as, along with the other civilised races of the world, she has struggled, forward up the steep ascent by which humanity with halting steps, has groped its way from that long and brooding night of barbarism which lies behind the first faint light of civilization's dawn."

In his description of jungle life and his shooting expeditions, we miss a word of tribute, which would have come so gracefully from one of his lordship's position, to the silent heroism of the brave beaters, who, at imminent risk to their own lives, drove the game towards his lordship, safely perched among the branches of a tall tree, with a double-barrelled rifle in hand, and a rifle-bearer versed in all the ways of the jungle keeping him company.

"Broadly speaking, the Brahmins still form an aristocracy of the distinctive culture of India." This verdict of the author may pass unchallenged so far as the Deccan is concerned, where the non-Brahmins have hardly had fair play, but in Bengal, it is likely to be disputed at least by the Vaidyas whose connection with the medical science has kept them abreast of Sanskrit culture, as well as by the Kayasthas, who formed the clerical caste in Bengal. One result of the caste system, which hardly strikes us, but which rightly appeals to the foreigner as exceedingly peculiar, will appear from the following extract: "Two immense communities live side by side over vast tracts of the Indian continent; yet neither can claim a relative within the ranks of the other, for Hindu caste restrictions make intermarriage [with Moslems] an impossibility."

The Mussalman with his call of religious brotherhood, which transcends the bounds of countries, has had his "discipline.....strengthened by an astute employment of religious fervour..... The floor of the mosque resembled a drill ground, .....the call to prayer became a bugle-call sounding the fall-in; the service a drill by which the people were taught to respond *en masse* to the commands of a single man." This assimilation of religions to martial discipline, as the author has pointed out, has hitherto contributed to the strength of Islam, but it has in our opinion at the same time, kept the Moslem cooped up in his shell of mediævalism, which is a source of weakness, and not strength, in the modern world, as the example of Kemal Pasha and the Turks shows, and as was pointed out by M. Renan long ago (quoted by the Rt. Hon'ble Syed Amir Ali in his *Spirit of Islam*).

After speaking of the Moghul dynasty, "the splendour of whose sway is perhaps unsurpassed in the annals of the world, as witness the wonderful legacy of architectural beauty bequeathed by them to a fortunate posterity," the author passes on to Hindu temples and religious edifices. Of the temple of Kailas he says: "One cannot but marvel as one gazes at it, at the soaring imagination and the technical skill which combined to create so splendid and unique an edifice." Of Puri in Orissa and its environments he writes: "On the surrounding country it might well be said—O the Hindu, at any rate—'Put off the shoes from off thy feet, for the ground whereon thou standest is holy ground.'" Again: "I have visited Bhubaneswar more than once, and each time as I have wandered from one temple to another, and gazed fascinated upon these amazing examples of man's handiwork, I have been struck with the same thought—the tremendous force of the impulse which has impelled him to devote so much labour, so much time, so much treasure, and such concentrated care to giving expression in wood and stone to the visions of his spiritual eye."

The final chapters are devoted to Indian pessimism and its causes. The writer begins his theme with the familiar quotation—"The East bowed low before the blast in patient, deep disdain"—was it from the pen of Sir Edwin, as the author says, or Matthew Arnold?—and among the physical causes the first to be mentioned is the lassitude due to climatic enervation. Plague and malaria are among the malignant figures in the remorseless dawn of death. The patience of the Indian, his leisurely habits, are due to a great extent to inertia resulting from the influence of the climate. But



there is another form of patience, utter indifference to the world and this is attributed by the author to the philosophic doctrines of Karma, Reincarnation and the goal which every system of Indian philosophy teaches,—the annihilation of desire. There is, of course, nothing new or original in the author's exposition of Indian pessimism, but the Westerner's happy gift of presentation, which enables a European writer to put his thoughts, however commonplace they may be, in the most

telling form, has come to the aid of his lordship and given to his concluding pages an absorbing interest. We shall wait with considerable expectancy for the next volume promised by the author, in which, it appears, the subject will be pursued further and probed deeper. In the meantime we recommend the present volume to our readers as one which will amply repay perusal.

Pol.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

### ENGLISH

THE EAST INDIA TRADE IN THE 17TH. CENTURY: By Dr. Shafat Ahmad Khan, Litt. D., F. R. Hist. S. University Professor of Modern History, Allahabad, Oxford University Press. Price Rs. 9

Dr. Khan's researches in the field of modern history have already gained him a well-deserved Reputation for historical scholarship. In the work under review he tries to trace the intimate connection subsisting between the East India Company's Indian trade and the political and economic policy of the English Government in the 17th century. The influence of this trade upon England's domestic and foreign policy has been noted by other writers, but we do not know of any other publication in which the connection has been so fully brought out. The book teems with interesting information regarding the Company's trade with India during the first century of its existence. As is well known, Indian merchandise was in constant demand in the English and other European markets of the period. But such manufactures as Europe could send to India were as a rule, already manufactured in this country and neither in quality nor in price could they compete with Indian products. Bengal exported large quantities of mul-mulls, taffetas, raw silk, and other parts of India, calicoes, indigo, drugs, saltpetre, etc. The East India Company was often put to great shifts to find goods in Europe that it could exchange for the commodities it purchased in India. Woollens, lead, tin, coral, quicksilver, etc., were exported to some extent but their values were not large enough to pay for the Indian goods. Thus the Company was obliged to export large quantities of bullion and coins from Europe to pay for its Indian purchases. This brought the Company into conflict with the economists of the day who moulded English popular opinion and believed that such exports were ruin-

ous for the country, and even with the English Parliament. Its enemies were never tired of pointing out the great harm it was doing to Europe in general and England in particular by exporting currency and flooding the English market with cheap Indian manufactures. They found useful allies among English manufacturers who were hard hit by the competition of Indian manufactures and frequently prayed for relief to Government. But for the inactivity of the Crown during the earlier half of the century and the prominent part that the Directors of the Company like Joshua Child, Thomas Mun, and others began to take in moulding the economic thought of the century by their writings, its monopoly of Indian trade might have come to an untimely end. It was at this time that the Company began to lay special emphasis on the national importance of its Eastern trade, which was said to benefit the country in various ways, e.g., by supplying it with essential commodities like spices, drugs, saltpetre for the manufacture of gunpowder; by increasing the country's shipping and maritime strength; by giving employment to large numbers of Englishmen as mariners, carpenters, artificers etc., by increasing the customs; by enriching the country, etc. These writings of the advocates of the Company's eastern trade were mainly responsible for the rise of what the author calls "Later Mercantilism" in England. It was argued that the easiest and quickest way to enrich a nation was by the development of its foreign trade and to this end national commerce required protection from the state against foreign enemies. In the beginning of the 17th century foreign trade was regarded as mere private concern of the parties engaging in it. Gradually, however, through the influence of the Mercantilists, the English Government came to recognise its importance to the nation as a whole and to identify itself with the interests of such merchants. Dip-

lomatic and even military measures were freely resorted to secure trade advantages and to eliminate trade rivals. The greatest rival of the English East India Company in its eastern trade at this time was the Dutch East India Company. And, as is well known, it was the trade rivalries between these two powerful Companies that were among the most important underlying causes of the three Dutch wars of the century.

Towards the close of the 17th century the importation of Indian manufactures, especially calicoes and silks, attained such large proportions that thousands of English weavers were thrown out of employment and those who remained were reduced to great misery and hardship. The Company's plea that its Indian trade subserved national interests failed to carry conviction. So it changed its policy: giving up Mercantilism it began to advocate Free Trade,—justifying its Indian imports on the ground that the purchase of manufactures in the cheapest market was most beneficial to the nation in the long run. But by this time the agitation of the English weavers had gained in volume and increased in strength, as they had found many friends who were prepared to fight their cause both in and out of Parliament against the powerful Company. The result of this agitation was the passing of the Act of 1700, which practically prohibited the importation of Indian calicoes and silks into England. "Parliament could hardly avoid passing the law of 1700," says Dr. Khan, "for the destruction of some of the English industries would have followed in the train of Indian imports, and it is as illogical to blame the Parliament for preserving what was believed to be the life-blood of the nation, as it is foolish to expect it to remain impervious to the appeals of thousands of weavers and manufacturers." We only wish that Parliament had been consistent and adopted the same policy of Protection in India when, later on, the regular process of trade was reversed and India, from being an exporter, was forced to the position of an importer of manufactures.

The book is the outcome of much painstaking research for which the author has our unstinted admiration. Being a contribution to English political and economic history it is meant primarily for the English reader. Still we question the propriety of the author's using words which are no longer fashionable even among Englishmen, such as, 'native' for 'Indian,' 'Pharmaund' for 'firman' and so on.

ECONOMICUS.

A STUDY OF THE EXCISE PROBLEM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY: By John Matthai, B. Litt. (Oxon), D. Sc. (London); Professor of Indian Economics, University of Madras.

In this small volume, the learned author has presented to the public a well-thought-out criticism of the Excise Policy of the Government of Madras from the points of view of Political Economy as well as of the social and moral well-being of the people of the Province. Although dealing mainly with facts and figures as prevail in the Madras Presidency, the author has reviewed the different official systems of controlling the traffic in liquor and intoxicating drugs in vogue in the other Provinces of India and has rightly given his unqualified support to the *Local Option System*, the loyal acceptance of which by Government would, in his opinion, lead to the attainment of the ultimate goal, viz. *Total Prohibition* in two years' time.

The practical question of loss of revenue has

also been discussed by the author, but we regret we cannot accept all his suggestions in regard to this matter. The fact that *Total Prohibition* cannot be accomplished in a day must not be lost sight of. The loss of revenue, therefore, will be a gradual one and as such, it is bound to get itself adjusted in course of time. Then again, the practice of abstinence will improve the moral and physical bearings of the victims of alcoholism and thus be the instrument of bringing on to them greater material prosperity which would indirectly enrich the public treasury and would supply the necessary funds for spreading Education and improving Sanitation which, in the opinion of the authorities, would suffer most by a sudden fall in Excise Revenue. Besides, few people would agree that advancement of Education and Sanitation by means of Excise Revenue at the cost of moral, physical and spiritual degradation of the people by making them drunk and crugged, can at all lead to the growth of a healthy national life.

The book will be found very profitable reading by all Temperance Workers and will form a useful addition to Temperance Literature.

CHUNILAL BOSE.

## HINDI

VILASPUR VAIBHAVA: By Pyarelal Gupta, Chhattisgarh-Gaurava-Pracharak-Mandali, Vilaspur, C. P. Pp. 139+iii. 1923. Price as. 14.

This work will serve the purpose of District Gazetteer. On the cover is the picture of an old temple at Pali. A map of the district would have added to the utility of the book.

BHARAT-GIT: Sridhar Pathak. Published by the Ganga-Pustakamala Office, 29-30 Aminabad Park, Lucknow. Pp. 119. Price as. 10.

The author who is a well-known Hindi poet gives a number of songs and poems about India. There are poems on other topics also. But the Sanskrit pieces are out of place in this work. The "national" poems and songs are generally disappointing—they are meant more for flourish than for real poetic effect. But the love-poems show the real power of the writer and what his real province is.

RAMCHARITAMANASA OF GOSWAMI TULSIDAS: Edited by Mr. Ramdas Gaud. Published by the Hindi Pustak Agency, 126, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Pp. xxvii+635. Price Re. 1/-.

Both the Editor and the Publisher of this decent edition of the well-known work are to be congratulated. The life-sketch of the original poet and a glossary are almost a new feature in Hindi books. The insertion of different readings cannot be too much praised. On the whole this cheap and nice edition is likely to be popular. We hope to see other classics of old Hindi literature presented in a similar edition which supplies a long-felt want.

RAMES BASU.

## TELUGU

GAUTAMA BUDDHA CHARITRAMU OR PREMASWARUPAMAU: By Sripi Anjangu. Pp. 44. Printed at Vani Press Bezavada. Price as. 6.

This little book relates the story of Buddha's life in a compact form. The style is lucid, idiomatic and can be easily grasped by the readers. Had this book been illustrated—the appeal to

the eye would have greatly increased the utility of the book.

"BODHINI PURVA JANMANULU": *By Akundi Venkata Sastri, printed at the Sri Veda Vyasa Press, Vixianagram, price as. 8. Pp. 88.*

These sixteen illustrative stories preach the Doctrines of Buddha. Mr. Sastri is a foremost Sanskrit scholar and has given us a spirited rendering of the Jataka Tales according to the original "Jatakamala" written by the Sanskrit poet "Aryasuryudu." The true value of this book cannot be represented by the nominal price at which it is sold. Surely in time the Andhra youths will realise how beneficial its teaching have been to them and perhaps they will feel that they have not paid fully for it. Such truths as are inculcated herein will be readily and easily understood by receptive minds. The style is full of quaintness and charm.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU  
MARATHI

REMINISCENCES OF THE LATE H. N. APTE AND A CRITICAL REVIEW OF HIS SOCIAL NOVELS: *By Mr. V. N. Deshpande B. A. LL.B. Publisher, Messrs. A. P. Bapat and Brothers, Poona City. Pages 218. Price Re. 1-5.*

The late Hari Bh. Apte was the premier novelist of Maharashtra. No novelist before or after him has been able to approach him in respect of popularity or in influencing and moulding the thoughts of his generation. Expecting Mr. Apte's first novel 'Madhali Sthiti', all his social novels are a peculiar combination of realistic and idealistic schools of novel-writers, a feature to which may be attributed his firm hold on the mind of his readers. It is a pity that Mr. Deshpande, who has critically read Mr. Apte's novels and has had the benefit of personally discussing several questions pertinent to the subject of novel-writing with the great novelist has left Mr. Apte's historical novels untouched. For, although Mr. Apte was a perfect master in the art of writing social novels, the opinion of literary critics about his historical novels is divided and the present reviewer, who had the good fortune to enjoy close acquaintance and friendship with the great Maratha novelist, can recollect how he (the novelist) himself had, in private conversations, to own his slips on several points in connection with his two historical novels, viz. 'Rupanagarchi Rajkanya' and 'Vajraghat.' Mr. Deshpande is no doubt a competent critic and is expected to do full justice to Mr. Apte's historical novels in a separate treatise or in the revised edition of the present book, which is bound to command a large sale in Maharashtra.

SILKIR-SHASTRANI AROGYA OR THE SCIENCE OF PHYSIOLOGY AND HEALTH: *By Mr. N. G. Gokhale. Publisher—the author himself. Pages 52. Price ten annas.*

The necessity of making the younger generation acquainted with the elementary principles of hygiene cannot be too much emphasised and therefore all efforts directed to this end are to be commended. Mr. Gokhale's elementary book is written in simple and chaste language and his treatment of the subject is not tiresome. One bold statement which he has made on page 13, that persons chewing or smoking tobacco can never have full development of their bones must be taken

with a grain of salt. Such exaggerations in children's books should be carefully avoided, lest they should engender distrust with regard even to other statements also, when they see a number of persons in whose case tobacco-chewing or smoking has not had the least effect on the development of their bones.

V. G. APTE.

## TAMIL

KUSIKA'S SHORT STORIES. LIGHT LITERATURE FOR TAMIL HOMES SERIES, Nos. 5 AND 5 (A): *By A. Madhavaiyar B. A. Published by the Author's Press and Publishing House, Mylapore, Madras. Pp. 160. Price Re. 1-4-0. In parts 10 annas each.*

Very interesting stories full of mild humour and impressive lessons for the social progress of the country.

MUTHUMEENAKSHI LIGHT LITERATURE FOR TAMIL HOMES SERIES, No. 3: *By A. Madhavaiya published by the Author's Press and Publishing House, Mylapore, Madras. Pp. 87. Price 8 annas.*

The work has nothing to recommend it except that its author is an earnest Social Reformer. It is at best a collection of stories depicting the worst sides of a Brahmin Home and only that. The Heroine's conduct in marrying her old friend second time may be justifiable but not held up as an example to be followed.

THE PROGRESS OF MUSLIMS: *By P. Davudshah. Published by Amirtakalanathi Book Depot, Post Box No. 248, Madras. Pp. 51. Price as. 6.*

We have in this work a spirited exposition of the cause of Pan-Islamism. The Khilafat question also receives its due share.

MADHAVAN.

## GUJARATI

SANSKRITA SHAHITYANE ITIHASHA: *By Prof. Mohanlal P. Dave, M.A., LL.B. Published by the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad Bhandol Committee, and sold by Jivanlal A. Mehta, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 652. Price Rs. 4-8-0 (1924).*

Prof. A. MacDonnell's History of Sanskrit Literature is a work of world-wide repute, and the above is its translation into Gujarati. That it is translated by a Professor of Sanskrit of Mr. Mohanlal's calibre is a guarantee of its worth. Its value is enhanced by the fact that Prof. MacDonnell has been good enough to supply the translator with his latest improvements and they have been embodied in the present volume. We take this opportunity of felicitating Prof. Thakore on the excellent service he is doing single-handed to the cause of Gujarati literature as secretary of the Bhandol Committee by selecting and publishing works of abiding value.

GANDHI SHIKSHAN, PARTS 1 TO 13: *By Nagindas Amulakhrai, printed at the Karnatak Press, Bombay. Paper cover: Price of the whole series Rs. 8-10-0 (1924) with a coloured portrait of Gandhiji.*

The teachings of Gandhiji on Satyagraha, Dharma, Sanitation Education, Liberty of Women, and many other subjects have been brought together in one place in this series, so that the reader is enabled to see at a glance as to what Gandhiji thinks on a particular subject instead of having to hunt for it in numerous places and scattered writings.



**VIDYARTHI** : Published by the Dakshina Murti Vidyarthi Bhavan, Bhavnagar, and printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Paper cover. Pp. 256. Price Re. 1-8-0 (1924).

The pupils of the above Bhavan conduct a monthly magazine, which they circulate amongst themselves in manuscript form. A selection has been made from their contributions, and it serves to show the mentality of the young boys and their views on untouchables, liberty, mercy, service, travels etc. It is a most enjoyable collection.

**TATHAGAT** : By Harishankar D. Trivedi. Printed, published and covered as above. Pp. 64. Price 4 as. (1924).

The chief incidents in the 'life' of Bhagvan Buddha are set out here in an attractive form.

**PUNARJIVAN** : By Kuberbhai Jhaverbhai Patel, printed at the Navyuga Printing Press, Surat. Paper cover. Pp. 140. Price 12 as. (1924).

This is a translation of a Hindi novel of the same name; it is concerned with the "new spirit" poured into the lives of Indians by Gandhiji's teachings. Its style is simple.

**RAJA RANI** : By Jhaverchand Meghani, printed at the Saurashtra Printing Press, Ranpur, Kathiawad. Paper cover. Pp. 157. Price 10 as. (1924).

Rabindranath Tagore's "Raja o Rani" is translated into Gujarati by Mr. Meghani in his inimitable style. Having lived in Bengal and studied the language at first-hand, as well as possessing a charming style himself, we need not say how well he has succeeded in his work.

**PURATATTVA**, VOL. I: Published by the Gujarat Puratattva Mandir, Ahmedabad, and printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth Cover. Pp. 509. Price Rs. 5-12 (1924).

A substantial work, full of valuable, linguistic and antiquarian research work—this is the idea that rises uppermost in one's mind in handling this volume. Concerted action in this direction is a new departure in our province; and though the workers are few, the work they do is on proper lines, and perseverance in it, even though now and then discouragement is sure to be encountered, is bound to succeed in the end. The subject is technical and interests are infinitesimal, still it has its useful side, and hence deserves prosecution without any break.

**JAINETARADRISHTIE JAIN** : By Muni Shri Amar Vijaya Maharaj, printed at the Lohana Stearn Printing Press, Baroda. Thick card board. Pp. 125. No. price not mentioned. (1923.)

The title of the book, "Jains as seen by non-Jains," is sufficiently descriptive. It has collected in it opinions of different people as to the god that is revealed to them in the tenets of the Jain religion; as if the religion by itself had not stood sufficiently excellent.

We have received a book called **THE MUSLIM** from Ismail Ahmed of Kholvad (Surat District) which is a collection of Urdu verses printed in Gujarati characters, on Mahommedan and Khilafat subjects. It is sent free on receipt of an anna postage stamp by the writer.

K. M. J.

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. No criticism of reviews and notices of books will be published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, "The Modern Review."]

### "An Inscription of the Sunga Dynasty"

### Mr. Jayaswal's Note.

In the Oct. number of the Modern Review, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal interprets the newly discovered Ayodhya inscription of the Sungas. Kharavela calls 'Pushyamitra', "Brihaspatimitra." This is very natural according to Sanskrit usage. Brihaspati or Jiva is the presiding deity of Pushya constellation. *Asvinyamadahanakamalajasasisulavrit-Aditi-jivaphanipitarah* being the gods of *Asvini Bharani Kirtika Rahini Mrigasira Adra Punarvasu Pushya Aslesha Magha* respectively according to popular astrology. Thus Brihaspati is merely a paraphrase of Pushya, is Pushya the birth-nakshatra of the founder of the Sunga dynasty?

VANAMALI CHAKRAVARTI  
Professor, Sylhet.

Brihaspati as the deity of the Pushya Nakshatra appears as early as Sankhyayana Grihya Sutra (I. 26. 6). Dr. Fleet also pointed out the identity between Tishya (Pushya) and Jupiter or Brihas; at in ancient Hindu literature (TRAS, 1911, 54). It may be noted that grabhas are known to Baudhayana Dh. Sutra, a work which goes back to 1000 B. C. in the opinion of Prof. Macdonell (Sanskrit Literature., p. 259). It is likely as Prof. Chakravarti thinks that Pushyamitra was born in that nakshatra but we cannot be definite as there is no record on the point. A similar name in the dynasty is found in the case of *Phalguni-mitra*, known to us by his coins. Mr. Chakravarti's suggestion is very probable.

• K. P. J.

## Some Aspects of the Gurudwara Reform Movement

The world has come to know the Akalis as the soldiers of Satyagraha. Amply have they proved the aptness of that epithet by their heroic actions in many places in the course of the last few years, Guru-Ka-Bag and Jaito being the best known of all, both because of the heroism displayed by the followers of truth and the savagery shown by the servants of a civilized government.

To many, however, the Akalis are little more than a mere name. They are "adored by many, dreaded by some and hated by others", very often from a mere instinct, without proper knowledge of facts, indispensable to the growth of such strong feelings about a set of people engaged in a death-grapple with the enemies of their faith. Without attempting to analyse the causes of such feelings, I shall confine myself at present to a statement of facts which will enable the reader to form or reform his opinions.

### THE S. G. P. C. & THE AKALI DAL

At the outset it is important to bear in mind that the S. G. P. C., is not exclusively a body of the Akalis. It includes, or at least included before the tide of persecutions, many members who do not choose to be called by that name. Its election is based on a system of franchise in which every baptized Sikh, not under 21 years of age, has a vote. Thus the non-Akali Sikhs have as good chances of being returned to the Committee as the Akalis can have.

The Akalis have an organization of their own, namely, the Akali Dal, with its head-quarters at Amritsar and a network of branches in every village. Its object is to help every movement for reform among the Sikhs. For the present it has concentrated its attention upon the Gurudwara Reform Movement and is supplying men to the S. G. P. C. to be used in the struggle, as at Guru-Ka-Bag, Jaito, etc. Of course the Shiromani Committee bears the expenses of the Akalis it employs in its service.

### THE S. G. P. C. & THE GOVERNMENT

The causes of the present hostile attitude of the Government can be analysed as below:—

1. From the start the Government looked upon this religious movement among the Sikhs with a more or less evident suspicion, not because there was anything anti-Government in the programme itself, but because the Western mind has peculiar notions about all religious movements of the East. As Mr. B. N. Dutta aptly puts it, "It is said by some Occidental writers that in the East religious movements in the end burst forth into politics." This deep-rooted bias had much to do in arousing suspicions about the reformers even when their avowed object was to set their own house in order.

2. The Government had been indirectly using the Akal Takht, the highest seat of authority for the Sikhs, to further its own ends. Thus the Komagata Maru people were branded as renegades by a body of loyal Sikhs in a gathering before the Akal Takht, and all Sikhs were forbidden, at the peril of their souls, to have any sympathy with the victims. It was the official hand in the management that made possible the bestowal, from the Golden Temple, of a robe of honour to the notorious General Dyer, on the strength of which he could boast, later on,

to have won the goodwill of the Sikhs by his "prompt action" at Jallianwalla Bagh. Such instances could be multiplied indefinitely, but these are enough for our present purpose. The Government felt that when once the Gurudwaras were out of its control such use of them would be altogether impossible. Nay, the Sikhs might even follow the example of their rulers and issue orders from the Akal Takht against British Rule. Naturally, then, they were loath to let the Gurudwaras pass into hands of those whose loyalty they were not quite certain.

3. This reluctance was furthered by the fact that the very people who were prominent in the political field headed this movement. This was inevitable. The Sikhs are a small community and have only a few leaders, whose activities are bound to be of an all-round character. Anyhow this fact was the source of suspicion.

4. Another difficulty about the affair was that the passing of the Gurudwaras into the hands of the S. G. P. C. would have placed immense funds at its disposal, which, so feared the rulers, might be employed in anti-Government agitations; and the personnel of the Committee far from allaying these fears only added strength to them.

5. The Shiromani Committee has under it a Sub-Committee called the Missionary Board, whose object it is to spread the knowledge of Sikhism abroad. So the Government smelt a rat here too. It might be meant for seditious propaganda.

6. In a very short time the S. G. P. C. came to wield amazing powers over the Sikh masses. Its orders were looked upon with deep respect and were obeyed with marvellous promptitude. This was gall and wormwood to the Government, who began to look upon the Committee as a rival organization which might become too powerful in course of time.

7. Added to all these the Gurudwara Committee itself provided a good cause of suspicion. Disappointed in its efforts to gain its ends through Government help, and assured of a deep-rooted hostility in the official mind, it passed the Non-Co-operation resolution after a heated and prolonged discussion. The Non-Akali members resigned. Of course, this step could be defended by quoting religious motives. Still it was a momentous decision and it dislodged the last lingering scruples from the official mind and they now became openly hostile.

8. Lastly, when the popular ruler of Nabha was declared to have voluntarily abdicated, there sprang up an intense excitement among the Sikhs, who regarded the Maharaja as a great friend of all movements for reform and who believed that he had suffered for his liberal views. The S. G. P. C., the only representative body of the Sikhs, was requested to voice the feelings of its constituents and it did so. After declaring its convictions that the abdication was not voluntary, and challenging the Government to have an open trial, it pledged itself to the use of all peaceful and legitimate means for bringing the Maharaja back to his throne, and called upon the Sikhs to offer prayers for the wronged Maharaja. The very wording of the prayer was fixed to avoid excessive outbursts. Beyond passing this resolution the Committee took no step in this affair. Still the die was cast. The influence on the Rulers' mind was deep and harmful. Shortly afterwards the Committee was declared an Unlawful Association and its members were arrested. They are undergoing a long drawn-out trial in the Lahore Fort.

## IS S. G. P. C. A USURPER?

Though the fact is patent that the lands and the Jagirs attached to the Gurudwaras cannot be regarded as the personal property of the Mahants, yet the Shiromani Committee has ever shown a considerate regard for the claims of these persons, and has always tried to arrive at an amicable settlement with those people. The Committee offers every Mahant to continue in his place as the Manager of the Gurudwara on receipt of a handsome salary provided he agrees to behave as a true Sikh and submit a record of the income and expenditure of the shrine to the S. G. P. C. The Mahant of Chola Sahib in Amritsar District, Mahant Karan Dass has been given Rs. 175 per mensem as salary, Rs. 10,000 as a free gift to clear his debt, a big house in Amritsar to be his for ever and allowances have been made for the education of his son. A Granthi of the Golden Temple gets Rs. 350 per month.

This will show that the Shiromani Committee countenances no usurpation of apparent or real rights unless the other party refuses altogether to accept the reasonable terms offered, when it is compelled, contrary to its own wishes, to appoint a new Manager. In spite of all this my learned friend, Mr. "Pundit", declares in the *Modern Review*, "It is held by some people that they (Akalis)—are dispossessing the proper owners". How far this charge is deserved by the Akalis, I leave it to the reader to judge in the light of facts related above.

## THE INTENDED ORGANIZATION OF GURUDWARAS

The management of each Gurudwara will be under the Mahant if he accepts the terms or a new Manager, supervised and assisted by an elected Local Committee. Besides these, there will be inspectors of Gurudwaras who will visit each shrine, make personal enquiries from the inhabitants of the place about the conduct of the persons in charge of the Gurudwara and submit their reports to the Shiromani Committee. Suspicious persons may be transferred, suspended or dismissed according to the gravity of the offence.

The income of each shrine is to be spent in keeping up and improving the attached buildings, running a free kitchen, paying the staff, and in philanthropic purposes. One tenth of the income is to go to the S. G. P. C. to be spent not only on the maintenance of its establishment but also in aiding the shrines not so richly endowed. Financial help has been given to over a dozen Gurudwaras, Chola Sahib, Punja Sahib, Anand Pur being the best known of these.

## THE S. G. P. C. &amp; THE OTHER COMMUNITIES

Mr. "Pundit" has another conclusion. He says, "moreover it is held by some people that they (Akalis) are taking possession of shrines which belong to the Hindus and are dispossessing the proper owners" (M. R., July, 1924, page 59). It is a pity that this learned gentleman has not expressed his own convictions about this vital point. I hope they are not so dismal.

Being a resident of Amritsar, the centre of Akali activities, the present writer has had good opportunities of watching the movement from the start, and can say from personal knowledge that the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee never took possession of any Hindoo Shrine, not ever dispossessed a single proper owner. He says this without

fear of contradiction. And what is more than most will expect of the S. G. P. C., it has more than once declared its readiness to accept Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya as the arbitrator in all cases of dispute over shrines between the two communities, and to abide by his decisions. What better proof can be required to prove its good intentions? It seems to be above board and fair in all its dealings and expects others to do the same. A just cause needs no foul play. That the Sikhs are still charged with high-handedness over the Hindoos is the irony of fate that would allow them no respite from any quarter. They bear this mutely like true Satyagrahis.

In the Hindoo-Muslim riots of Amritsar, the protection given by the Akalis to the weaker side and their efforts to restore peace and order in the city have been recognized even by the Government. Yet the same Government does not hesitate to declare them the enemies of peace, and their Hindu brothers (according to Mr. "Pundit") regard them as a hostile group.

With the Muslims, the Sikhs have had no dispute till now, except a small civil case about some land near Santokhsar, in Amritsar, nor is there any probability of any differences arising between the two.

## THE ALLEGED USE OF FORCE

Mr. "Pundit" has among his conclusions the following: "In spite of the Akalis' insistence on Non-violence, it is urged that they have not refrained from using force on some occasions." Urged by whom, by the way? It would have been more convincing if he had chosen to cite instances to support this charge against a people 500 of whom have been publicly belaboured by a dozen policemen,—a people who have kept cool under the gravest provocation. All who have watched the movement at close quarters will hold the Akalis above reproach, at least in this respect.

A word of caution is needed here. Traitors are not the sole property of any one community and the Sikhs have their due share of them. These people go about in Akali Costume inciting people to acts of violence. The fact that they have not met with any considerable response throws a volume of credit on the Sikh masses. Moreover, the acts of such traitors and the few whom they might have ensnared cannot, by any far-seeing man, be regarded as the actions of the Sikhs or the Akalis in general. They could be so regarded if they were supported or encouraged by the Akali Dal of the S. G. P. C. On the contrary, whenever any such act has been brought to the notice of these bodies, they have condemned them in strong language and have punished the perpetrators if they happened to be their members or dependents. Some they have actually handed over to the Police for proper action. How then can any well-informed person accuse the Akalis of having resorted to the use of force on any occasion?

## THE BABAR AKALIS

These were a band of Sikhs led astray by their misguided zeal. They advocated acts of violence against traitors to the community. As stated by a Sub-Inspector of C. I. D., in his evidence in the Babar Akali Case, these people condemned the S. G. P. C. for letting strong and brave Akalis be beaten and killed by cowardly policemen who were no match for them. They called upon the Sikhs to break with the S. G. P. C. and give up the "suicid-



al policy" of non-violence. The S. G. P. C. issued communiques after communiques to counteract the harmful preachings of these people. The hold of the committee on the people can be gauged from the fact that in spite of their zealous efforts at conversion, the Babars had only a handful of followers. The Babars belonged to no Akali Jatha, nor had they any connection with the S. G. P. C. of the Akali Dal. Surely the acts of these persons cannot lead us to the conclusion that the Akalis or the Sikhs in general have ever encouraged methods of anarchy and bloodshed. The passive suffering for the cause of Truth is not so new a doctrine with them as with many others. Their Gurus taught them this lesson long long ago by their personal examples, and such examples by such persons mean a great deal to the Sikhs.

#### THE OFFICIAL EFFORT AT SOLUTION

Gurudwara Problem is indeed a knotty one. It has defied British statesmanship, for our rulers here have not the courage to put into practice the maxims of English political literature.

From the very beginning the Government has been trying to undermine the authority of the S. G. P. C., and to set up a rival body of loyal Sikhs to take over the charge of Sikh shrines. In the "Keys-Affair" it called upon many of its pets to accept the keys of the Golden Temple. But one and all refused to do so. They dared not stand against the tide of public opinion which whole-heartedly supported the S. G. P. C. Again and again the Sikh public has been startled to hear of secret efforts at creating rival bodies. But they have not been very successful.

Now, however, the matter has been undertaken with the Bureaucratic thoroughness. Many kinds of Committees are being formed. The Lumberdars, pensioners, Jagirdars and others of like description are being forced to join them. These Committees are, Jail Committees, Sikh Sudhar Committees and Publicity Committees of Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims. They have not flourished so well. They are spreading false and malicious reports against the Akalis, the S. G. P. C., the leaders and all who have at any time shown a disregard for the interests of their benign rulers. The system of spies has been made more efficient. Every Patwari is required to report any gathering of or for the Akalis in his small circle, and to report the names of persons trying to help the S. G. P. Committee in any form. Every petty clerk and seeker after jobs hopes to further his selfish ends by making 'good reports' about some local Akalis. The Punjab Government hopes to crush the Gurudwara Reform Movement by its policy of setting Sikhs against Sikhs and by a propaganda against the respected leaders of the community with a view to lower them in public estimation. Unfortunately for it, the people have learnt to see through such efforts. They say that His Excellency has a fertile brain. What a pity that he is spending his energies in a wrong direction. Could he not employ them only in conciliatory measures?

#### THE ONLY PLAUSIBLE SOLUTION

The gravity of the situation requires the intervention of cool-headed, unbiassed minds who might weigh, judge and then decide the various issues involved in this movement. Distortions of fact and official versions are taking matters from bad to worse. An appeal to reason and judgment can set

matters right and the highest authority left to tackle matters like these in India is Lord Reading himself. We, therefore, urge upon him the necessity of giving his personal attention and hastening the end of this long drawn-out struggle between the Sikhs and the Government. An amicable settlement would surely be possible if both the parties were to dispel their doubts and hatred for each other and meet half way, leaving aside for a minute the idea of the Governor and the governed in a purely religious question like. The British Government would be well advised to accord its sanction for the immediate settlement of the question if the Indian Government were prepared to bring it about.

#### THE ISSUES AT STAKE

I shall finish this lengthy article by a statement of the issues at stake.

1. Shortly after the abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha a group of Akalis were carrying on a continuous recital (Akhand Path), of their sacred Book. This recital was stopped, an insult to the Sikh Religion, the nature of which the Sikhs alone can realize. The persistent refusal of the authorities to allow this purely religious function aims a blow at the freedom of worship so dear to every human heart, and especially so to the hearts of us Orientals.

2. By declaring the S. G. P. C. and the Akali Dal to be unlawful organizations, the Government has denied us the primary right of Free Association.

3. The matter of the success or the failure of the Akalis has ceased to be merely a communal or even a provincial affair. It has become an 'all-India' question. Here in the Punjab is being tried the efficacy of the most modern weapons of the oppressed against the oppressors. I mean the non-violent non-co-operation and mass civil-disobedience.

India has declared her faith in these. If Akalis fail here there can be no hope of success anywhere in India by these means. Their success will be a great asset to the National Movement.

In this connection the words of a correspondent of the *New Statesman* are worth remembering. He writes, "The Punjab is the pivotal province in the British Indian Scheme. Roughly speaking, the official view of the Indian outlook, at any moment between the Mutiny of 1857 and the rise of Gandhi, was that if the Punjab was tranquil there was no need for any anxiety as to the standing of the British Raj."

These words speak for themselves. They clearly show that on the soil of the Punjab is being fought the battle for freedom of India and on its issue depends the future of the nation. It behoves every Indian patriot to help the Akalis in this tremendous affair, and to overlook, for the present, any causes for mistrust and discord. We shall have time enough to settle our differences when the battle is won. Anyhow, to the Sikhs in general, and to the Akalis in particular, this is a question of life and death and they will push forward as long as life throbs in them.

"Our Faith will Give Us Victory, not Our Arms."

K. S.

## Literacy Figures for Hyderabad State

Dear Sir,

I have read with pleasure your analysis of the Hyderabad civil list (p. 464, *Modern Review*, Oct.) and made use of it in the *Servant of India*. (See issue of 9th Oct.) May I, however, point out that the literacy figures in your note are not correctly quoted from the Census Report? On page 182, in Subsidiary Table VI, the Hyderabad Census Report for 1921 gives the following figures:

	Literacy (per 1,000)		Literacy in English (per 10,000)	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Brahman ...	482	72	373	41
Komati ...	307	12	41	2
Syed ...	172	50	210	19
Sheik ...	79	15	94	8

A note to this table says that the figures are for persons aged 5 and over only. That accounts, I believe, for the difference in "literacy" figures, but with regard to "literacy in English," a serious mistake has undoubtedly been made.

Yours faithfully,

S. G. VAZE,

Editor, "*Servant of India*".

EDITOR'S NOTE. We are highly obliged to Mr. Vaze quoting the correct figures from the Hyderabad Census Report for 1921.

Our figures were quoted from the Census Report of India, 1921, Volume I, Part I.—Report, p. 191. We find on comparison that so far as mere literacy is concerned, our figures have been correctly quoted from that Report. But we are exceedingly sorry that, as regards literacy in English, the figures for Mysore State were quoted instead of those for Hyderabad State. Such a mistake is inexcusable. The correct figures as given in the Report referred to above are:—

## Hyderabad State.

## Number, per 10,000 literate in English.

Caste.	Males.	Females.
Brahman ...	338	36
Komati ...	36	2
Saiyid ...	190	17
Sheikh ...	83	8

## Jesus and the Pharisees

[A friend tells us that in his opinion there is one passage in "The Pharisees" by R. Travers Herford, reviewed in the November *Modern Review* by Babu Mahes Chandra Ghosh, which indicates the view-point of the author to a greater extent than any other passage. We quote below the paragraph indicated, together with the two paragraphs immediately preceding and following it. Editor, *M. R.*]

"Pharisaism, after already a considerable length of existence and development, suddenly found itself confronted by Jesus. I say 'suddenly' because there had been nothing in the past history of Judaism to prepare men for the appearance of one such as he. It is true that John the Baptist had come and gone, and Jesus at the outset took up his message (Mark i. 14). But Jesus was far other than a second John; and it may be truly said that he took the Pharisees entirely by surprise, when they began to be aware of his presence in their midst. And not the Pharisees alone. Until

Jesus actually appeared, the like of him had never been known. Prophecy might be thought to point to him; but prophecy drew no picture beforehand by which Jesus was actually recognised when he did come. When the first attempts were made to write down the earliest recollections of what he had said and done, the ancient prophecies were quoted in order to show that this and that was fulfilled in Jesus. So especially in Matthew. But the prophecies had been read for centuries; and in spite of them, no one was prepared for Jesus.

"The effect of his coming into the world has been greater than that made by anyone else in history; and since it was the effect produced by one who, at the outset, was entirely unknown and unexpected, it can only be understandable as due to the impression made by a personality of tremendous force and intensity. If there be in every human soul a divine element, if there be a point of contact (so to speak) where the soul is in touch with God, then I would say that in Jesus this became no longer a mere contact but a deep and overwhelming consciousness of God. Whatever of spiritual force is inherent in the human soul as such, in virtue of its origin from God, was in Jesus raised to an intensity unknown in any other person. So much may be said without bringing in theological distinctions and definitions, which I wish to avoid as unnecessary to the present argument. Less than this cannot be said, if any *vera causa* is to be found for the results which actually followed from the presence of Jesus in the world. To assume in him a personality marked by spiritual force and intensity to a degree unknown before or since, is, I believe, the one and only clue to the right understanding of the significance of Jesus. If this be so, then it is vain to estimate the significance of Jesus by ranging him under the categories of Teacher or Messiah or Prophet, let alone such purely theological conceptions as Saviour, Redeemer and God-man. All these are attempts to bring the central fact of the intense spiritual energy of Jesus into relation with more or less familiar concepts. That central fact is what alone matters; with it, the attempts at definition are needless; without it, they are useless and misleading. That Jesus was a teacher is certainly true; that he taught many things which the Pharisees taught is also true; but the vast difference in the effect produced in each case must have been due to a difference in the personality of those who gave the teaching. The teaching itself was, by comparison, of hardly any importance. And the same is true, more or less, of any other function, real or supposed, which has been assigned to Jesus.

"In every other respect than that of his intense spiritual force, he was a man of his time and country, sharing in the common ideas of his fellows, not exempt from their limitations. So much one of themselves that his neighbours asked: Is not this Joseph's son? (Luke iv. 22), and yet with something about him which made them ask the question. He shared many of the usual religious beliefs; he was never challenged for saying that God was the Father in heaven, or for assuming the approach of the end of the world, or for believing in evil spirits and the reality of the power to cast them out. I know of nothing in the Gospel records to show that his mental outlook extended beyond his country and, in the beginning at all events, beyond his own nation. One who is

reported to have said (Matt. XV. 24), to a woman of a neighbouring people, 'I was not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel,' would surely have expressed himself differently if he had had any clear conception of mankind as a whole, let alone of himself as having any function in relation thereto. That he had any far-reaching views upon any subject of thought whatever, a comprehensive theology, a profound philosophy or an elaborate theory on social questions, does not, so far as I can see, anywhere appear; though of course, philosophies and theories in abundance have been constructed upon the foundation of his words. He moved amongst the ordinary persons, and met the ordinary experiences of his time, as belonging to them; but his words and his actions, were what they were by reason of the intense spiritual energy within him. Those who saw and heard him appear to have instinctively felt that there was some

dominating power in him (see Luke, iv. 30, and indeed the Gospels *passim*; for it is the prevailing feature of all that is told about him)."

[The author is a believer in the uniqueness of Jesus as regards the possession of intense spiritual force and overwhelming consciousness of God. Opinions differ concerning this uniqueness. The author also believes that the effect of Christ's coming into the world has been greater than that of anybody else's. Here also opinions differ, and, in fact, much in the progress of humanity which is claimed by Christianity as due to itself has been explained in a different manner. But what we wish to point out, without discussing any of the contentious matters mentioned above, is that the passages quoted above from the work of a believer in the uniqueness of Jesus do not contain any justification of the attitude of Jesus towards the Pharisees and his treatment of them. Editor, *M. R.*]

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Dr. Seal's Address at the Mythic Society

As Chairman at the fourteenth annual meeting of the Mythic Society, Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal delivered a most instructive and suggestive address, with an occasional outcrop of the vein of humour. The address does not lend itself to sampling or summarising. Indologists, and students of the social sciences in general will do well to read the whole of it. We have space here for only one long extract, from the report given in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*.

Till now, culture-study, in forming its concepts, its classes and its generalizations, has used as its main instrument the method of 'Induction by Analogy.' And there has been more or less a static use of analogy or comparison *in the mass*, without analysis and unchecked by considerations of social causation. The Historical method, which must, in the social sciences, direct the use of comparison on any large scale, has not been very much in evidence. But a classification without reference to genesis is bound to be only an artificial as opposed to a natural classification in the case of things that grow. And culture grows. Indeed to compare and classify whole continents of culture by sweeping glances is like marching double quick to the battlefield with only an undisciplined force of light-armed infantry, and without the indispensable train of 'impedimenta' or artillery. And its chief trophies or finds have been some *heuristic* hypotheses in the 'phylogeny' of culture, more especially a number of culture loans from one people or continent to another, the direction of which, from East to West, or from West to East, has varied with the natal horoscope, very often with the complexion, of the General marshalling the light-armed infantry of

comparison! But these finds or findings are being blown to air by those who use the long-range gun of the biological and sociological sciences. The Indologist's pathetic faith in resemblances without exact measurement is one of the idols of the race, or shall I say, of the cave, which cannot stand the light of day. The fact is that resemblances, however minute, cannot of themselves establish organic affinity or racial contact. This is as true of cultural as it is true of organic phenomena. Not only in the structures and functions of species, but also in cultural institutions and culture groups or stocks, similarities may be the result of natural selection, operating for generations to adapt the species or the race to similar environmental conditions. This is what the biologist calls Convergent Evolution. This is not all. Many cultural products, e.g., certain forms of art or of social grouping, are the outcome of certain constructive instincts in primitive races and societies, like the geometrical forms worked out by bees and ants and birds, and some of these are common to the whole race, and others a common heritage among widely scattered and unconnected stocks. These are now truisms in the biological sciences, but have not yet emerged as truths in Indology. The result is that Orientalia, as now conducted, are often a species of learned fiction, which tickles the vanity of the reader, and in which it is the ingenuity of plot-making that counts for everything. But in the same way as the old literary or dramatic Art, Art of History has yielded place to Historical Science, a scientific revolution is brewing in the allied domain of Culture Study. In other words, the new comparative method must be a scientific method, and for this purpose it must be as much genetic as comparative. We must study, as far as possible, the genesis of an institution, its successive stages, and its distinctive type or types, and above all, we must deal with what may be called its *ecology*, the adaptation to environment which it may serve, or if it is a non-adaptive



character, whether it is a hereditary or stable character and how social selection acts on it. Similar types must be compared, but only in the light of the history of their growth, and *their stage in that history*. To take an example, which I have used elsewhere there is no use comparing the looseness of the marriage-tie in Burma with the facilities for 'lightning divorces' in certain parts of the United States of America. And above all, differences underneath broad resemblances are more significant than the resemblances themselves. As in the Logic of Induction, the method of difference is more decisive than that of agreement, so in the Logic of the Historico-Comparative Method, the study of differentiation throws greater light than that of assimilation. Accordingly, different structures for satisfying the same organic need or instinct in dissimilar or it may even be, in similar, environments are more educative, and of more evidential value, than a host of resemblances, however minute or technical. If only these canons are borne in mind, many of the elaborate superstructures, in anthropology, archæology and culture history, based on skulls and noses, on neoliths and megaliths, on urns and dolmens, will tumble to the ground, and being swept away as debris, will leave a clear space for exact measurements and regional surveys like those which are now a *sine qua non* for all scientific work in the fields of biology and sociology.

It remains only to add that natural classes and types, or loans, contacts and migrations, of culture, established or confirmed by such exact methods, are of the highest importance to culture study. My quarrel is not with loans but with unlimited issues of inconvertible and incontrovertible paper!

### The Earliest Indian Buildings

Dr. K. N. Sitaram writes in *Shama'a*:—

Thus we see that the earliest Indian buildings which were generally of a temporary nature, though huge enough to accommodate vast audiences, and were erected to satisfy the needs of sacrifice, were merely after all the imitation of God's work, be it in forest or mountain, to suit the requirements of a vast concourse of his children who actually lived in the lap of mother nature herself,—the ancient Aryans. In ancient India, even the capitals of kings were merely villages where the king, literally the patriarch of his people, lived in a palace of wood with several out-houses surrounded by smaller structural residences of his people, the only difference being probably that the king had a bigger residence than the rest and a more central situation, which in times of stress could be converted into a fortress with a mud wall and ditch around, into which the cattle of the community, their chief wealth, could be driven, and from which the warriors could sally out to fight the enemy, or when defeated come back for refuge. In the *Sitareya Brahmana* the capital of the kings of the solar dynasty, Ayodhya, is called a *grama* (village) and in the tale of Pururavas and Urvashi also, as narrated in the *Satapatha Brahmana*,—which by the way is only an expansion of a Rig Vedic sukta (*haye jaye*, etc.),—the capital of that king also is called a *grama* (village). Such typical villages with the royal residence in the centre and that of the rest of the Aryan folk surrounding it in regular Prakara after Prakara, generally in the form of

squares, the entrances opening out towards the palace, were the seed out of which arose the temple cities of upper India, now shattered. The germ of this same idea was carried by them when they advanced southwards towards the Dakshinapatha, and crossing the passes of the Vindhya established Brahmin *ashramas*, first and Aryan Agraharas, Karvas, Nagaras, etc., afterwards, in the south. The original king's palace (literally Koil), became the residence of the presiding deity of the place, for in the Tamil land, the king and the God were regarded alike and had similar paraphernalia, such as the white umbrella, charms, etc., and received the same *shodasopacharas* (16 kinds of services). The temple, generally the centre of the town, and most easily defensible spot, contained always the best perennial spring or well or water-tank of the place, as well as enjoyed the finest and the coolest breezes so delightfully welcome in a warm country like India, and was besides the most healthy place of the locality from the view-point of sanitation and hygiene.

### Headaches, Causes and Cures

*The Health* contains a short article by Mr. T. K. Srirangachariar on headaches and their causes and cures which will be found useful particularly by dyspeptics. He says:

A number of medicines are in the market and the manufacturers claim that they give immediate relief. These medicines are of two kinds:—

1. Medicines used externally. These, many of us might have noted, though not productive of much good, are at least harmless.

2. Medicines taken internally with hot water or coffee. These are called usually by the name "headache powders" and they give almost instantaneous relief when taken internally. But it is perhaps in the painful experience of many of us that the headache returns within a few hours or days. And this temporary relief afforded makes the users to have recourse to it again and again.

These headache powders contain powerful drugs such as Phenacetin, Antipyrin and other vile poisons extracted from coal tar. They are powerful heart depressants, and should never be used except under the direction of proper medical advisers. Their frequent use though incapable of doing any permanent good, does serious injury and lays seeds of serious heart troubles.

It may be of profit to remember how headache is caused and how these drugs act on our system. First, we have to bear in mind that headache is only a symptom and not a disease. Whenever any part of our body works, waste products are produced. When we are in a normal condition these poisons are carried away along our blood stream and are excreted by our excretory organs such as the kidneys, skin, etc. When we are overworked, the rate at which these are produced is greater than that at which they are removed and hence they accumulate in our body. The heart in its attempt to remove these poisons more quickly, pumps blood more forcibly. When the blood is forced into the head with the extra blood pressure we feel headache. The "headache powders", since they are powerful heart depressants, make the heart to work more slowly. The result is that blood flows into the head with less pressure and

headache is relieved. But the original cause which made the heart pump more rapidly is not removed, the medicine only suppressing the symptoms. The evil, unperceived by us, may grow to an alarming extent, and finally lead to dangerous diseases.

Headache thus is not a disease. It is only a signal indicating that our body has been misused by us. Our bodily machine, unlike any other machines, does not break down without giving us warning.

A few causes leading to headaches may be noted.

1. Over-eating and other stomach troubles. In such cases eating less and occasional fasts will cure the headache.

2. Eye strain. Reading printed matter of small type and reading in bad, artificial light and twilight, looking at glaring lights and frequently attending bioscope shows produce headaches.

3. Overwork. Our body is clogged with poisonous matter which require quick removal. In such cases breathing fresh air and taking long rests cure the headaches.

4. Excessive use of coffee, tea, tobacco and other stimulants. In these cases abstinence from these will relieve the headache.

5. Headache is also produced in certain eye defects. In these cases an eye specialist should be consulted and the defect remedied.

In any case we should look into the cause and try to remove the origin of the evil.

### Reservation of Compartments for Europeans and Anglo-Indians

We learn from the *Indian Railway Magazine* that:

Mr. Neogy, M. L. A., has introduced a bill in the Legislative Assembly to amend the Railways Act of 1890 by making it an "undue preference" to reserve any compartment in a Railway train for the exclusive use of any passenger as belonging to any particular community, race or creed. The High Courts held that the reservation of accommodation for Anglo-Indians or any class of passengers, is not an undue or unreasonable preference, and this bill is intended to bring the law in line with public opinion. This invidious distinction has been productive of much racial ill-feeling which ought certainly to have been avoided in the interests of National unity. At the second conference of the Railway Passengers Associations held at Madras, Rev. C. Kingsley Williams M. A. of the Wesleyan Mission supported a resolution for the abolition of this distinction. We know there are many more Europeans and Anglo-Indians that would support the abolition of this distinction.

### The Cultural Unity of Asia

In *Current Thought* Prof. Phanindra Nath Bose tells the reader:

The cultural unity which binds at the present time the different nations and peoples of Asia was not even dreamt of in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C., which witnessed the birth of four master-minds of Asia, namely, Buddha and Confucius,

Laotze and Mahavira. These four master-minds appeared almost at the same time to influence the thought and culture of Asia. Though outwardly the system of thought interpreted by them may appear contradictory to one another, yet on close examination, they reveal their fundamental unity, which appealed easily to the Asiatic mind. The principle of *Ahimsa*, enunciated by Buddha and Mahavira has been accepted by Asia. The one unifying bond which brought together the different nations of Asia, no doubt, is the religion of Lord Buddha. When Buddhism spread over China, Japan, Korea, Tibet, Siam, Burma and other places, it made the people of those countries realise that the system of thought developed by the different people were not contradictory to one another, and that there was much in common in Buddhism and other religions of those countries.

If one examines the system of Laotze as well as that of the Upanishads, one may find resemblances in these two systems. Confucianism has, on the other hand, much in common with Buddhism. Because of the common factors present in these different systems of thought and because of the oneness of the Asiatic mind, it has been possible to develop the cultural unity of Asia.

### Food Reform

Writing in the same monthly on food reform, Mr. Bernard Houghton says:

Some of the food-salts, especially those of sodium iron, and magnesium are lost or disorganised in the process of cooking. In fact it has been proved that green vegetables, which are 'par excellence' the great alkalizers of the blood, may tend, after prolonged cooking, to render it acid. So easy is it to injure, by our blundering attempts at improvement, the foods to which during hundreds of thousands of years human bodies have been so beautifully adapted.

English leaf vegetables, especially spinach, are very rich in all these organic mineral salts. It is to be regretted that analyses of Indian vegetables are not yet available. Probably the government is too pre-occupied with the provision of tanks, bombs, and cannon, (required in order to teach Indians how to govern themselves!) to be able to spare any money on the problems of their food or their health. But from the Jail reports it would appear probable that Indian green vegetables are in this respect at least the equals of those of European origin. Indians may therefore, with confidence rely on their leaf vegetables of whatever kind to secure an adequate, indeed an abundant, supply of the essential food-salts.

Uncooked cabbage, with ten points, has in fact the greatest vitamin content of any food yet tested. It can be chopped up finely with a knife or passed through one of the hand-mills for food now commonly sold, and eaten with mashed up fruits and a little lime juice. Vitamin C, it should be noted, is readily destroyed in cooking. Vitamin A withstands considerable heat and vitamin B, the ordinary temperatures reached in boiling and baking. Both as regards their vitamin content and food-salts, green vegetables form an entirely adequate human food. Used with devitalised foods such as white bread or white rice, they go far

to obviate the diseases to which these artificial products, if used alone, inevitably give birth.

Doctors, misled by the obsolete caloric theory, have long written and acted as though the only thing that mattered was the amount of calories consumed daily. They would look on men as steam-engines which by the consumption of so many pounds of coal produce an equivalent in horse-power. That is absurd. All recent evidence is to the effect, that provided one eats foods in their natural state, that is, rich in food-salts and vitamins, the amount of calories does not matter. A man has been known to live almost entirely on water-cress, doing hard manual work and keeping excellent health. The African gorilla, the nearest of the apes to man, an animal of truly gigantic strength, lives on bamboo shoots and edible green leaves. Both from Denmark, (in war-time,) and from Japan comes convincing evidence of the power of green vegetables to keep human beings in health and vigour. Not a few people in England find fresh vegetables and fresh fruits alone an entirely satisfactory diet.

The difficulty in India, at least in the drier parts, is to obtain an adequate supply of green vegetables. Every effort should be made, especially by well cultivation, to grow them wherever possible. Each father of a family may rest assured that no money is better spent than in the purchase of such vegetables for his household and no labour put to better use than in their cultivation.

### Integrity and Conservatism of Languages

In the *Indian Review* Mr. J. M. Ramathan dwells on the integrity and conservatism of languages.

Some attempts are being made to introduce and popularise one language for all. How far these attempts have yielded results it is not easy to say. It may be argued that attention has not been paid to this subject for sufficient time.

For the last five years and more strenuous efforts have been made to disseminate Hindi as the *lingua franca* of India. The languages obtaining in the northern provinces are related to one another and to Hindi very closely. Yet Hindi has not become the common language of at least Northern India. At any rate no appreciable headway is made by Hindi in the South. India came in contact with the Englishmen 150 years ago. Lord Macaulay founded the English system of education nearly ninety years ago. India came under the direct control of the British Sovereign in 1858. Immeasurable transactions have since taken place between the merchants of England and India. Several Universities have been established in India. Many posts with alluring salaries in Government service have been thrown open to Indians. English has the stamp of being the State language. Still the English language has not been able to go deeper than five per cent among the population of this country.

For thousands of years the Maharattas, the Punjabis, the Bengalis, the Uriyas, the Andhras, the Tamils and others have been living near one another and yet people have not been able to know their neighbours' languages. Even in Italy to-day, even as it was in the days of the Roman Empire, numerous languages and dialects obtain among

the people and yet one language has not replaced any of those dialects. In Europe, perhaps the most enlightened continent in the world, a common script is not yet in vogue.

These facts prove the integrity and conservatism of languages. The languages are the ornaments of the world and no power on earth can destroy any spoken language. One may change one's caste, creed or colour, but the same cannot be done with regard to one's mother tongue. Further, languages grow in strength and vitality as years pass by. Almost every language has a rich civilisation behind. Every language is an emblem of its own culture which though it may undergo modifications yet never vanishes.

### A Charge Against Company-managed Railways

In the opinion of Mr. Vinayak D. Dalvi, as expressed in *The Sydenham College Magazine*,

The chief charge against the company-managed railways is "that Indian railway policy does not tend to foster the industries of the country". The rates are injurious to the interests of the Indian indigenous industries, and, therefore, the policy of protection adopted by India, will not be effective. The Industrial Commission in its report has shown how the railway rates retard the progress of indigenous industries. The rates are so arranged that they encourage the import of finished goods and the export of raw products. We can ratify this statement from various statistics published by the Government and supplied by the companies themselves, but for want of space we cannot quote them here at length. There are also the various 'Block' rates and 'Tapering' rates and 'Terminal' rates. The report of the Industrial Commission says, "There may be justification for these expedients in many cases, but it would appear that they often affect traffic undesirably. They have accentuated inequalities, and have, on the whole, tended to operate to the disadvantage of Indian industries." The opinion of the Acworth Committee was also to the effect that the railway rates operate to the disadvantage of Indian industries. The present policy, thus favours foreign exploitation and sacrifices the interests of Indian industries.

### Need of Excluding Women from Factory Work

In the same magazine, Mr. S. P. Nadkarni, writing on the problems connected with large scale production, dwells thus on the problem of female labour:

Last but not least is the necessity of completely excluding women from factory work, which means an additional suffering to women, who besides working in factories have got to look to the kitchen and to the child. Especially, in a country like India where labour is cheap and abundant, women should be scrupulously spared from the unhealthy toils of a factory. Woman is the soul of home life. Without her due care the home



loses all its charms. It is she who makes or mars the beauties of home life. The care and culture of children demands a major portion of her time, which she cannot spare if she is to be in the factory for about ten best hours of the day. As a consequence the rising generation, the great national asset, is neglected and is deprived of the most salutary effects of a mother's care and instruction. Her long absence from home, and the diversion of her attention from the home to the factory, is bound to reduce the home to a stable, where man, wife and children, can take food and rest. The resultant reduction in the family income can be met partly by the increase in the man's wage, and partly by the woman's supplementary earnings, to be derived from home industries like, spinning, grinding corn, splints making, or from short time services of an ayah, or of collecting rags and waste-paper for the paper mills and many others. The labourer's family can then be happier than ever before.

### American Presidential Campaign

Before the results of the American Presidential Campaign had been cabled by Reuter the November number of *Welfare* appeared with an article by Professor Dr. Sudhindra Bose of Iowa University under the caption "America Ankle-deep in Presidential Campaign". The Article was reproduced in more than one daily. In it Dr. Bose's forecast was:—

"The chances are that Coolidge will win. There are multiplying evidences that the country is almost Coolidge-bent and that the Davis campaign is a forlorn hope."

This forecast has proved true.

The article gives a clear idea of the ideals the Republican, the Democratic, and the Progressive parties stand for, and as such should prove useful to Indian publicists and intellectuals.

About the Republican party, whose candidate Mr. Coolidge has won, Professor Bose says in part:—

Compared with the vitriolic campaigns which the contending parties are staging in America, the squabbles of the Indian political parties seem like a pleasant picnic.

With the exception of two Democratic Presidents, the country has been for over a half century under the Republican administration. The Republican party has usually applied with vigour the resources of government to economic development. Naturally the Republicans take a good deal of credit for the unprecedented progress and prosperity which has placed the United States in the forefront of the nations of the world.

Unfortunately the present administration of Mr. Coolidge has not been of the sort to inspire universal enthusiasm for his re-election to "the mightiest office on the globe." There is a good deal of discontent against the Republican President. The agricultural industry, which is by far the largest in the country, is flat on its back. The farmers

have failed to receive the much-needed government relief pledged by the Republican party at the last election. On top of this, colossal graft and corruption have been rampant in almost every department of the government. Even the members of the cabinet have been besmirched in a gigantic oil scandal. Facts have been brought out to prove that the Secretary of the Interior, Honorable Fall, had accepted \$100,000 in a satchel (approximately Rs. 300,000) from an oil magnate to whom he had delivered the nation's oil. The Senate investigation committee, which undertook to investigate "fraud and corruption" among the higher government officials, received little or no sympathy from Coolidge. He all but sat silent and tongue-tied in the presence of crimes by which his associates had profited. "He was silent", wrote *The Searchlight on Congress*, "unmoved by any apparent impulse to speed up justice in the most momentous and monumental thieveries of all history". Little wonder that under such suspicious circumstances, President Coolidge and his party stand much discredited.

### Misbehavior in Children

In the same monthly, Zahrah E. Preble concludes a suggestive and instructive article by observing:

"Misbehavior is just misspent energy; this energy needs directing into constructive instead of destructive channels—not an easy task but a satisfying one."

### Ireland Revives Her National Festival

Mr. St. Nihal Singh tells in *Welfare* the story of how Ireland has revived her national festival. The singing of the Irish War song in chorus formed part of the programme. The last stanza of the song runs:—

"Ye Saxon despots, hear, and dread!  
Your march o'er patriot hearts is o'er;  
That shout hath told, that tramp hath said,  
Our country's sons are slaves no more!"

Other items in the programme were a procession of athletes; Irish dancing; various musical events and competitions; literature competitions; an Art section, comprising pictures, stained glass window, decorative stone and marble carving and inlaying sections; sports sections; the industrial parade, etc.

In describing the dancing, Mr. Singh writes:—

The national costume was worn, and it was stipulated that all the materials used in making them—at least the cloth—must be of Irish manufacture.

A point of interest in this connection is the fact that there is something very reminiscent of our Indian *sari* in the national costume worn by Irish women and girls. It is draped in much the same fashion, over a plain, loose-fitting dress, with the end, which is worn over the head in India, falling over the shoulder.

The literature competitions comprised two branches, one for works in the English or any other language.

"There were five sections in each branch, namely: (1) Prose (general manuscripts), (2) Poetry, (3) Novels, (4) Short Stories, and (5) Drama."

### Economic Welfare on a Moral Basis

In the same journal Mr. S. C. Sarkar begins a thoughtful and lucidly written article on "Economic Welfare on a Moral Basis" by observing:—

All welfare work in any country, and of all countries, in India should start with a fundamental economic well-being,—the economic good of the masses and the people at large which can subsist only on moral good. Man lives not by bread alone,—yes; but, not without bread, as well. Man must live by the 'sweat of his brow,' indeed: but, he should not be told to 'sweat,' without earning a good livelihood thereby. All men should be given equal opportunities for work, and all work should bring in commensurate wages and all wages must be won by honest work and no humbug. There must not be any waste; natural resources should be fully and properly utilised; there must not be misdirection of energies; all energies should be productively employed; there ought to be a healthy circulation, and no unprofitable hoarding, of wealth. Competition in business is to be replaced by mutual helpfulness; the individual remembering his brother and the community he lives in; the community, giving enough scope to individuals to grow towards the good, without injuring others directly or indirectly. All this can be done only through the working of the principles of Co-operation in mutual goodwill,—each for all and all for each."

### Was Buddha an Atheist?

Mr. M. H. Syed asks and answers this question in a tersely written article in the *Vedic Magazine* from which we extract two paragraphs below.

As the stories in the Buddhist scriptures clearly prove, he [Buddha] neither definitely affirmed nor positively denied the existence of God or Soul. Whenever people approached Him with such questions, He assumed consistent silence and said nothing either one way or the other. Is it fair in the absence of any definite statement from Him to misinterpret His pure and simple silence and assert that He was an Atheist?

It should never be lost sight of that Buddhism unlike other faiths is a religion of the Nivritti Marga, primarily meant for such people as were treading the path of return and had done with hankering after material enjoyments of life. Therefore those who approached the Lord were advised not to talk but to live the life that led to Nirvana.

### A Great Man of Sindh

Under the above heading Mr. J. P. Gulraj gives in *The Young Citizen* a character-sketch

of Mr. G. M. Bhurgri, a Muslim leader of Sindh. After giving some idea of his political career and achievement, the writer asks and answers:—

What about the man behind his political skin? Extremely lovable, extremely humble, a Sufi out and out, keeping no difference between Hindus and Muslims, welcomed in Hindu homes, loved by men, women and children. His love for the peasant was extreme. His peasants under him grew very rich; no man could be tyrannised over on Bhurgri's estate with impunity. I have learnt from Hindu residents in his villages that not a case had gone into Court, and that during the last generation not a Hindu had been molested. Bhurgri's name was sufficient to scare away any petty tyrant, whether non-official or official. Bhurgri would mix with the so-called meanest and the down-trodden. One day on his fields he met a Bhil boy. "Salaam be to you," said Bhurgri. "Salaam back to you, Sahab," replied the boy. "Who are you?" asked the Rais (as Bhurgri was called). "I am a Bhil, the untouchable, Sir!" Bhurgri greeted him heartily: "I am a Bhil, too." The boy looked with amazement. "But you wouldn't touch our food." "Why not? Come, we will sup together," replied Bhurgri.

This is only one instance of his generous heart; any amount of such incidents can be had.

How many orphans he maintained, how many schools he provided for, how many poor families depended on him, how many institutions he fed! But hardly did the left hand know what the right hand did. Bhurgri was a Socialist; he prepared a bill to do away with the Permanent Settlement. He wanted that, "Death Duties" should be raised, so that private property be reduced. Such was the man who passed away at the early age of 45, mourned by the whole Land.

### Maternity Benefits.

We read in the *Social Service Quarterly*:—

With the growth of industrialism, the welfare of women employed in any industry is a matter which affects not only the industry or the particular women concerned but has a vital influence on the future of the race, and on coming generations of the labour population of the country. It was the recognition of this aspect of the problem that led the International Labour Conference to suggest that restrictions should be placed on the employment of women some time before and after child-birth and to recommend the grant of special allowances to women debarred from work on that account. Under Mr. Joshi's Bill, women engaged for work in factories, mines or estates, subject to the Assam Labour and Emigration Act—and, he may have added, the Madras Planters' Labour Act—cannot knowingly be employed for a period of six weeks following confinement. On the production of medical certificates, women should, the Bill provides, be granted leave of absence up to a period of six weeks, when confinement is expected and it is further stipulated that to prevent employers from evading their liabilities in respect of the maintenance of women, before and after child-birth, out of the funds of the industry concerned, no

notice of dismissal can be given during the period of this absence. But mere prohibition of employment, even though punishable with fine is not enough for it is the economic urge which compels women to continue at work till the very day of confinement and to return to work as soon as they are physically able to stir out of their homes. Such prohibition is, therefore, invariably accompanied by the grant of partial remuneration during the period of enforced absence. Mr. Joshi does not define the basis on which such remuneration should be made, but leaves it to be determined according to rules to be framed by Local Governments. Where payment is to be made by employers direct to women workers, it may happen that to reduce their liability under the law, women may be dismissed from employment some time before they would become entitled to take leave of absence and get the benefit of maternity allowances. To prevent this and to ensure that all women of child-bearing age employed in industries enjoy the protection which it is the aim of such legislation to confer, Mr. Joshi proposes that the benefits should be payable not by individual employers but by Local Governments, out of central funds raised for the purpose by means of contributions levied from the industries concerned, the method of levying the contributions being determined by the Local Governments in accordance with rules to be framed under the Act.

### "The Little Finger"

*Men in India*, the anthropological quarterly, is full of instructive and attractive articles, but we must content ourselves with extracting little tit-bits, one of which is about the "little finger." Mr. Kalipada Mitra writes:—

The article entitled "The Little Finger" (Vol. III. p. 190 f7) by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal reminds me of the magical significance of the little finger both in West and East Bengal. Mothers in West Bengal (districts of Burdwan and Hooghly) who have lost their children and are therefore always nervous will, before they take out a child in the open, e. g. when going from one house to another in the village, spit on the bosom of the child and bite its little finger. In the districts of Nadia, Murshidabad and Rajshahi (Bengal) when the son undertakes a journey somewhere the mother as a sort of protective charm bites the little finger of his left hand, touches the head with the dust of her left foot and smears the forehead with the juice of the leaves of the plant called *Nagadana* (*Artemisia vulgaris*). My friend, Professor Priyagovinda Dutt tells me that in his sub-division (Tangail, Mymensingh District, East Bengal) when the cocoanut palm first blossoms and indicates an earnest of nuts, some one, in a state of ceremonial purity, scales the palm and besmears the flowers with blood taken from the little finger.

Scitting as a protective and curative charm is practised all the world over. I have said something about it in an article entitled *Human Scape-goats* to be shortly published in *J. B. O. R. S.* I am not quite sure whether the biting of the little finger is meant to propitiate or to keep away evil spirits or ward off the evil eye. Besmearing the spathal

flowers of the coco-palm is evidently meant to please the guardian spirit of the tree and induce it to cause the tree to bear nuts in abundance. The *nagadana* plant is called in Sanskrit *naga-damanaka* or the queller of snakes. On account of its peculiar fragrance it is said to scare away snakes. It is also a popular belief that it puts to flight by its smell ghosts and evil spirits especially at night. Besmearing the forehead with its juice therefore shields a boy from the evil influence of Nagas and Evil Spirits.

Interesting references to the little finger are to be found in the *Tales of the Punjab*. The Son of the Seven Mothers, in the tale, plucked the tallest spike of rice, but heedless of the warning, yielded, as he turned homewards, to the request made in the tenderest accents by the other rice plants to pluck them, looked back, and—lo!—he was reduced to a little heap of ashes. Now the old hag "came to the heap of ashes, and knowing by her arts what it was, she took a little water, kneading the ashes into a paste, formed it into the likeness of a man; then putting a drop of blood from her little finger into its mouth, she blew on it, and instantly the son of seven mothers started up as well as ever."

### "The Foxes' Wedding"

Another is by the same writer:

While reading the "Tales of Old Japan" I came across the following passage:—"When the ceremonies had been concluded, an auspicious day was chosen for the bride to go to her husband's house, and she was carried off in solemn procession *during a shower of rain, the sun shining all the while.*"

It is a strange coincidence that in Western Bengal, Eastern Bengal, Bihar and Malabar the same sort of belief should exist among the common people. During a shower of rain, the sun shining the while, I have heard little boys lustily shouting and singing the doggerel,—

(i) *Rod hachchhe jal hachhe,*  
*Khenksialir biye hachchhe,* (Hughli, Burdwan  
and Howrah).

(ii) *Pode rode jal hai,*  
*Sicl Sialir biye hai.* (Birbhum).

i. e. The sun doth shine, while it doth rain.  
The fox his winsome bride doth gain.

(iii) *Or, Rod hachchhe jal hachchhe*  
*Sail kukurer biye hachchhe.*

i. e.—The Sun doth shine, while it doth rain,  
The fox and bitch do wed the twain.

(iv) *Siale biya kare chhati maray diya.*  
*Aiyora pan khai..... diya.*  
(Mymensing).

i. e. the fox weds with an umbrella on his head  
and the women whose husbands are living eat *pan*.  
In Bihar also the boys shout likewise at the time:—

(v) *Gidhar gidhari biya hot.*  
(vi) *Gidra gidhrise biya bhel.*

There must be some corresponding folk-poetry; I have got one, but that is not quite relevant though it has a curious resemblance to a Bengali folk-poetry exhorting the Sun to appear while he is tardy.

It may be that in other parts of India such belief may exist, and folk-poetry embodying it may be heard. Is this coincidence merely accidental



And why should such a phenomenon as rain being accompanied by sunshine be at all associated with the fox's wedding in so widely separated countries as India and Japan? Or does it in any way, however mysterious and now inexplicable, point to some culture-contact?

Lord Redesdale says in the foot-note—"A shower during sunshine, which we call the "Devil beating his wife" is called in Japan "the fox's bride going to her husband's house."

## Tibet

*The Maha-Bodhi* contains the report of a very interesting address on Tibet by Madame Alexandra David Neel, the enterprising and courageous traveller, whom we had the pleasure to meet more than 12 years ago in Calcutta. We quote below a portion of what she says regarding hermit-life in Tibet.

The hermit-life has, since long, been very fascinating for the Tibetans. Nowadays when hermits can hardly be found elsewhere, there are a rather large number of them in Tibet. Every Lama who wishes to enjoy the consideration of his countrymen, both monks and laymen, must devote some time of his life in seclusion.

Seclusion is called "tsam" in Tibetan. Literally that word means "Barrier". To remain in "tsam" is to say that one has drawn a barrier, a partition between himself and the external world.

There are different kinds of *tsam*. I will describe the principal of them, beginning from the least strict one.

(1) A lama or a layman may shut himself up in his room or a suit of rooms and see only the members of his own household. He will neither go out nor receive visitors.

(2) One shuts oneself up in a room and sees but one attendant. One is then at liberty to look outside through the window but must not be seen and, in some cases, visitors may be received who will be allowed to speak to the "tsampa" (the man who practises *tsam*) a curtain being drawn between them so that they may hear him, but not see him.

(3) One leaves his house and shuts himself up in a solitary dwelling or a cave situated in a secluded spot on the hills or in the forest. There he may be attended by a disciple, a servant or a relative. He may either see him and speak to him, but to him alone, or if more strict, he has to keep perfectly silent. He may either look outside his house or again, in more strict cases, a wall is built in front of the windows at a little distance so that light may enter the house but the sight of the surrounding land will be shut off from him.

A favourite plan of the "tsam khang" (retreat house) is a small courtyard enclosed within walls and a little house standing in the middle. So the Tsampa or recluse may take some exercise in the open air between the walls, without either being seen or seeing anything but the sky overhead.

(4) A much more severe kind of "tsam" is that which is practised in complete darkness. Then the "tsampa" sees nobody. He receives his meals through an aperture in the walls, that is provided with double doors so as to prevent the light from

entering the room when the food is taken inside by the recluse.

Some Lamas remain in darkness for a time, some even for a life-time. The period, as a rule, chosen in any rigorous kind of "tsam" is three years, three months, three weeks, three days.

Besides these occasional recluses, we find the lifelong hermits living in solitude and often in nearly inaccessible places. They are alone, they themselves do the indispensable work needed, such as fetching water from a stream, boiling tea, from time to time perhaps allowing themselves an extra diet of a thick soup of barley flour. Irovisions are sent to them from time to time at long intervals, by their dayakas or disciples.

## Deepavali

We read in the *Jaina Gazette* —

Deepavali is one of the several important national festivals celebrated in India. At any rate it is the festival that is most enjoyed by all classes of people. In the calendar of the Jains and the Hindus Deepavali is a red-letter day; but the significance of the holiday is different with the different religionists.

Nearly twenty-five centuries ago Lord Mahavira the last Tirthankara of the Jainas was wandering and preaching His doctrines in Benar and the countries around. The Lord attained Nirvana in the 4th part of the night of the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month of Kartik in the year 527 before Christ. At the time when the Lord ascended to the region of Eternal Bliss strange phenomena were seen by the men on earth and the angels above. The followers of the Lord assembled at Pavapuri and celebrated the Nirvana-puja in a grand manner. They said, "Since the Light of Wisdom is now gone from our midst, let us make artificial lights to commemorate the existence of the Supreme Light," and thus saying they lighted rows of lights (*deepa-avali*) in the place where the Lord departed. The gods came to the place and sang praises of the Lord and Agni-Indra bowed before the remains of the Lord when flames of fire flashed from his head and consumed the holy body of the Tirthankara.

From that glorious day onwards the Jains have been celebrating every year Deepavali festival to bring to their memory the event of the Nirvana of their Lord. This is the Jain significance of Deepavali.

Regarding the same festival, *Men in India* has the following:—

In the *Folk-Lore* for December 1923, the late Dr. Crooke gave an account of the *Divali* or the *Lamp Festival of the Hindus*. It is shewn that the *Divali* in its most primitive form is connected with cattle breeding and agriculture. It is fixed in the new moon of the month of Kartik, about the time of the harvest of the rainy crops,—millet, early (*aus*) rice, and the like, this autumnal harvest like the winter harvest being obviously suitable for observances of this kind. Lamps and illuminations are used in Hindu, Jain and Buddhist worship with the object of keeping evil spirits from devouring the oblations. The *Lamp Festival*.

as now celebrated in India, Dr. Crooke thinks, mostly represents the conflation of various observances of the *rite de passage* type, of which the lighting of the lamps is not a necessary part of the ritual among the more primitive tribes; with these tribes the *Divali* is a "general prophylactic rite intended to protect the cattle". The autumnal equinox was selected as its date because spirits are supposed to be active at this season.

### Education among the Jains

Mr. Narotam B. Shah tells the reader in the *Jainic Gazette* :—

The educational statistics among the Jain community clearly show that only 26 per cent of the whole Jain population are literates, i.e., those who can only read and write. It is a pity that nearly 75 per cent of the whole Jain population know nothing about the three R's; though they may take pride in being one of the foremost communities in India from the commercial point of view. The more sorrowful tale to describe is that only 12 per cent of those Jain students in primary education go on for secondary education and hardly 2 per cent prosecute their studies in Colleges (Arts and Professional). Looking to the female education we find that only 4 per cent of the whole Jain population are literates, i.e., 96 per cent of the Jain females are altogether classed as illiterates. It is very strange to find that the number of Jain students has decreased by nearly five thousand during the last decade.

Under the circumstances if no practical means are devised for the advancement of education in proper direction, the time is not far when the Jains will have to be considered as one of the Backward classes owing to lack of education and having no voice in political matters as observed by Mr. Survey in his evidence before the Reform Committee recently. It is therefore a serious question for the Jains to deal with for the spread of education among the Jain masses when thousands of rupees are spent every year for caste dinners, processions and other showy functions by the Jains. It is quite astonishing to learn that the Jains who are so sympathetic as to save life of a tiny insect like an ant should see with their open eyes such a large illiteracy and take no proper steps to better the educational status and do something for the welfare of the future generation.

### Signs of Awakening

*Prabuddha Bharata* thinks :—

There is no reason for despair. One who has eyes must see the signs of awakening everywhere. The darkest, stormy night, so discouraging, so chilly and dreary, is now going to have its end, and we can see the first flush of a sunny dawn. The history of the world bears testimony to the fact that there are ups and downs in the march of a nation. India too went to sleep for some time after a glorious period of her national life. This sleep—this lull and pause after years of tremendous

useful activity, cannot be everlasting. By the inevitable law of nature, India is rising unmistakably and getting ready for playing her role in the future history of humanity. There is already a stir among the young and old, and instances of sacrifice for the national cause are multiplying from day to day. In times of famine, pestilence, flood, cyclone or such other national calamities, the appeal for help and service receives a hearty response from all quarters. Is it not encouraging and hopeful? With the Swami Vivekananda let us address the India that is awakening and say :—

Once more awake!

For sleep it was, not death, to bring thee life

Anew, and rest to lotus-eyes, for visions

Daring yet; the world in need awaits, O Truth!

No death for thee;

Resume thy march,

With gentle feet that would not break the

Peaceful rest, even of the road-side dust.

That lies so low. Yet strong and steady,

Blissful, bold and free. Awakener, ever,

Forward! Speak thy stirring words.

### Marriage and Efficiency.

Mr. J. Millott Severn observes in the *Kalpaka*—

Marriage, when the contracting parties are rightly mated and happily wed, will prove an additional help to efficiency. The companionship of a congenial matrimonial partner is both exhilarating and reassuring. A man can have no better safeguard than a good sensible wife; and a wife feels stronger and surer in having the companionship of an intelligent, practical and true husband; either are more capable of successfully combating the battles of life in double harness than singly. I say this because many practical business men are inclined to delay marriage too long, and perhaps to forego marriage under the delusion that it may hinder their business or professional prospects; while the modesty of good women who long to be useful help-mates, prevents them pushing themselves forward. 'The unity of strong nation is in the family,' says Arnold White, and 'All legislation, habits, ideals, policy or ambitions that increase the welfare and multiply the number of happy families are good for the nation. Things that stunt, belittle or ridicule domestic life are bad for the nation. This is the common-place, but bed-rock Truth'.

### The Religion of the Ancient Tamils.

In an article by the late Mudaliar S. Sabaratnam published in *Everyman's Review*, it is stated :—

The religion of the ancient Tamils was entirely identical with the religion of the Sanskrit Vedas and Azamas and that the Tamils were more highly advanced in the plane of spirituality than they are now. We are at times accused of attaching undue importance to our past greatness, but can we, with all our boasted modern civilisation and

intellectual advancement, find a single instance in which one has given expression to his vision of the spiritual plane so beautifully and so exactly as the above quotations do?

Not only the religious literature of the ancient Tamils, but their classical literature too, very clearly shows that the religion of the ancient Tamils was not in any way different from the Agamic or the Vedic religion. Even Tholkappiam the oldest of the existing Tamil classics is very strong on this point, and it will be quite unsafe, in the face of such strong evidence to put forward any theory that is not supported by any evidence and that is admired only for its novelty.

### For and About Women

The following paragraphs are taken from *Stri-Dharma* :—

#### CONVOCAION OF THE INDIAN WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY

Starting without an anna of endowment or grant it gained so much attention and respect that in its sixth year it found itself donated over 18 lakhs of rupees and in this ninth year it is in possession of new College buildings and a Hostel and houses for students and professors. These new buildings have cost Rs. 250,000. It is very creditable that the University has been able to pay off a debt of Rs. 86,000 by collections during the last three years. The College is now on the assured road to success and permanence. A new school has been opened by the University authorities in Bombay. Nine other schools and two colleges are feeders and constituents of the University. Over twenty ladies have taken their G. A. (Graduate in Arts) Degrees. Six women and fifty men, attended the last annual meeting of the Senate which shows how many well-known educationists are keenly interested in the government of the University.

#### THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN

The elections were specially unfortunate for women candidates for Parliament of whom 41 stood for election. Only four women were returned to Parliament. These are the Duchess of Atholl, Lady Astor, Mrs. Phillipson and Miss Wilkinson. Regret is widespread at the defeat of the popular and capable Miss Margaret Bondfield. The women candidates polled over 400,000 votes in total which is a very great increase in their popularity, though the turn over of the mass of the voters to the Old Party retains all the insular tradition of dislike of a foreigner, and disapproval of treaties with Russia resulted in many disappointed hearts as the election results were published. The new Government is pledged to bring forward the Equal Franchise Bill and this will give the vote to women of 21 and thus increase the women's vote by several millions, but the future does not look bright for reforms for India or elsewhere.

#### CHINA

A bank, completely staffed and financed by women, to promote employment of Chinese women and to encourage them in saving, has been organized by prominent Chinese women of Shanghai. Women employees are being sent to a bank training school.

#### SIAM

Women police have long been an institution in Siam, where a corps of female police is maintained to guard the Inner of Women's Palace at Bangkok. They are uniformed but not armed, and they follow every stranger who enters the Palace precincts and remain with him until he leaves, and even palace officials, workmen, doctors, etc., always have one of the corps in attendance.

#### PERSIA

Special protective measures have been promulgated in Persia for women and children employed in the carpet industry. An eight-hour day has been fixed. The minimum age for boy workers is now eight years, and for girl workers ten years. Workshops for boys must be separate from those for girls, and the supervision of the workshops for girls must be entrusted to women.

### The Indian Cotton Excise

Mr. S. Subbarama Aiyar writes in the *Mysore Economic Journal* :—

Not only is gone for ever the large and lucrative export trade in yarns and cloth with China and Japan—once important customers of Indian Mill—but even in the home market there is danger from Japanese competition at the present time.

"With an adequate supply of efficient and cheap labour," this pamphlet informs us, "working their mills for 22 hours per day, with many and various forms of direct and indirect State aid such as loans at low rates of interest, the cost of production in the cotton mills of Japan is much lower than in India, and these factors combined with special concessions in regard to freight rates have enabled Japan not only to enter but even to undersell Indian-made products in the Indian market in spite of the import duty of 5 per cent. on yarn and 11 per cent. on cloth. In June of this year, Japanese mills were selling 20s. yarn, the staple product of Indian mills at 18 to 18½ annas per lb. in Bombay. The Indian mills, at the price of cotton which existed at that time, could not produce a decent quality of 20s. yarn at anything under 18½ annas. Japanese drills at the same date were selling at Re. 1-5-0 per lb, a price at which Indian mills could hardly manufacture similar goods, let alone make any profit."

If it be objected that in spite of the excise duty the cotton industry has developed since 1896, the consumer is, in the words of the pamphlet, that "it could hardly fail to do so with the natural advantages of a cotton crop of 5 million bales, and a consuming public of more than 300 millions in India alone; but its development can hardly be considered even satisfactory when one considers that three-fifths of the cotton grown in the country in 1922-23 was exported and manufactured into yarn and cloth in foreign countries, and when the powerlooms of the country produce cloth enough to supply only one-third of the cloth purchased annually by the inhabitants of this country."

If, as we have heard it said, the mill-owners have no real grievance in that they were declaring enormous profits in recent years in spite of the duty, the answer is that the circumstances were



somewhat exceptional in post-war years and they are not likely to continue. If the excise duty is merely meant to be a tax on *profits*, it ought in justice be remitted where there is no profit or when the mills are working at a loss. In any case the best method of taxing profits is by means of Income and Super-taxes and not by an excise.

It is also well known that an enormous charge falls on the mill industry in other ways. Sizing, dyeing, and finishing materials are assessed at 15 per cent. and since 1922 machinery at 2½ per cent. According to the Millowners' estimate "the total taxation paid by mills in the form of excise duty on cloth and import duty on mill stores is nearly 260 lakhs of rupees per year and this on a paid-up share capital of Rs. 36 crores is equivalent to a tax of 7·2 per cent which is probably at least 5 per cent more than any other major industry is called upon to pay."

### Women's Education for Social and Civic Service.

The following is taken from a speech delivered by Dewan A. R. Banerji of Mysore reported in the *Mysore Economic Journal* :—

Taking the political problem into consideration for a moment I think it is absolutely necessary to start an organization throughout the whole length and breadth of India for the training of women in the field of political and social sciences, social ethics, civic and child welfare, poor relief and other allied matters, so that the most capable amongst them may become leaders amongst their own sex in the field of social and civic and also political work. Such an organization on an extensive scale is one of the most urgent needs of the country and any form of education above the middle school that the Government may promote, should have, as one of its objects, the development of this important side of women's education irrespective of anything that voluntary effort may do. While, therefore, I do not definitely propose for any hard and rigid differentiation in the curriculum of education for boys and girls respectively. I am of opinion that we have to look considerably ahead at the present moment and prepare the ground for sowing the seed which in course of time will bring us a harvest of a large number of women workers to constitute themselves as leaders of public opinion and organizers in the field of social service and politics amongst their own sex. Without their aid and their moral support and co-operation, I feel that the progress of India as a nation will be slow and considerably retarded.

### England a Hundred Years Ago

In the first of a series of articles contributed to the *Young Men of India* by Mr. J. S. Hoyland on "The Civilizing of England," a picture is given of England as it existed about a hundred years ago. Mr. Hoyland says :—

Few people now realize one-tenth of the horrors and atrocities which marked the national life of

England one hundred years ago, when deceived by the wealth of an unparalleled commercial prosperity the nation reeled swiftly downhill towards barbarism. The transformation of that national life and the sweeping away one after another of those injustices and atrocities constitute a study of absorbing interest to all who are concerned with the problems of national regeneration, and especially, perhaps, to those who believe that the most important of all forces for such regeneration is the force of religion.

We reproduce below parts of the writer's description.

#### JERRY-BUILDING

In one part of Manchester there was a whole street built to follow the course of a deep ditch. In this way deeper cellars could be secured without the cost of digging, these cellars being destined, of course, to form the dwelling-places of human beings. The new streets were mostly unpaved, with a dung heap or a ditch in the middle, and the houses were built back to back, without ventilation or drainage. Into these rickety and insanitary structures the emigrant population from the country districts crowded in their thousands. Whole families were crammed into one corner of a cellar or garret. The spaces of unenclosed common land within the limits of these new townships (land which had belonged from time immemorial to the people as a whole) were greedily appropriated under the Enclosure Acts by the politically powerful classes; and thus the people were steadily deprived of all opportunity for recreation and for contact with nature.

#### DISEASE

No wonder that in these new towns disease was rampant. During an epidemic not one house in the street referred to above escaped cholera. Various fevers devastated the new industrial communities, especially the horrible "putrid fever." To these diseases must be added the various forms of disease consequent on the industries in which the industrial population were employed. There were occupations which destined the operative almost inevitably to consumption, to "phossy-jaw," to lead poisoning, to various forms of cancer, and to appalling deformities. The infantile death-rate was terribly high.

#### MUNICIPAL CORRUPTION

Municipal corruption and inefficiency were rampant, paving and lighting were disregarded, drainage and water supply were bad, municipal offices were often sold or made the reward for political work, and town revenues were frequently used by private persons for their own benefit. It was declared in Parliament by Lord John Russell, that some of the town councils had actually borrowed money from year to year in order to divide it among the members. In the year 1833, in 186 of the 198 chief English towns, the governing body was co-optative, that is, it perpetuated itself.

For long the new industrial towns can only be described as hells upon earth, hells created by the greed of gain on the part of manufacturer or speculative builder, a greed as yet unchecked by the awakening of the corporate conscience of the community.

#### PETERLOO

As time went on, a separate manufacturing

class appeared, and a class which was in many directions appallingly indifferent concerning the well-being and even the lives of their employees. Competition was exceedingly severe, so much so that it was said that, had it been possible, the masters would have employed their hands for the whole twenty-four hours continuously. There grew up in the manufacturing districts two hostile races, and the conditions in the towns came to resemble those of a community forcibly controlled by martial law. Troops had to be employed to hold down the people. The barrack accommodation was increased between 1793 and 1815 from that sufficient for 21,000 troops to that sufficient for 155,000. The new barracks were distributed all over the country, and the Government was not slow to avail itself of the means of violent repression thus secured. The industrial districts soon became in reality a country under military occupation.

The uses to which the troops were put (and especially the hated yeomanry, which was largely a class-corps, drawn from the upper sections of the community) may be illustrated by the story of the Peterloo Massacre at Manchester in 1819.

#### POLICE SPIES

Especially odious was the manner in which spies, informers and "agents provocateurs" were used by the Government in order to incriminate members of the industrial classes, and especially anyone who seemed likely to become a leader. Nadin, the infamous deputy constable of Manchester, made a fortune out of his position, although he had begun his career as a poor man. It was said that in 1816 he had made £20,000 out of his position, and that he received £40 for every conviction he secured. One of his police constables, who had been present at Peterloo, admitted under cross examination that he had been employed to entice people to put forged notes into circulation, in order to render possible their conviction; and that one of his victims had been hanged.

It was stated in the House of Commons, in 1818, that a case had recently occurred in Birmingham in which police officers had earned £120 by the conviction of three boys, that the police employed council (sic) in order to secure convictions, and that anyone who had experience of the court could see how eager the police were to have a man committed for a capital offence.

#### THE LAW WEIGHTED AGAINST THE POOR

The law, in short, was heavily weighted against the poor. During the first two generations of the Industrial Revolution the criminal code steadily became more savage and inhuman; especially, in regard to capital punishment. The governing classes regarded the judges and magistrates as the spearhead of a highly-elaborated system of repression, as is shown by the correspondence between the Home Office and the magistrates. In this correspondence the law is regarded "as an instrument not of justice but of repression." Especially unfair were the Vagrancy Laws, which were employed for the purpose of laying by the heels any one of the lower orders who appeared to the magistrates to be a possible leader of discontent. A clergyman-magistrate informed the Home Office, in 1817, that he had arrested two men who were engaged in distributing literature written by William

Cobett the great champion of popular liberty, and "had had them well flogged at the whipping-post."

Laws had been passed at various periods forbidding what was known as the "truck system" under which part of the employee's wages was paid in the form of orders for goods to be supplied from shops kept by the mill management (the goods being frequently bad, and the prices high in the "Tommy Shops").

During the first two generations of the Industrial Revolution the law was deliberately employed against the poor and in favour of the rich, and that the rich were enabled to evade the consequences breaking it even in those few cases where it protected the poor.

The truth, of course, is that the government of England was at this time a close oligarchy. It was a class-government using all the instruments of legislation and repression for the purpose of maintaining the ascendancy of the land-owning and propertied classes. It is estimated that 113 members of the aristocracy drew, in the period immediately preceding the Reform Bill of 1832, £650,000 per annum of public money in the form of sinecures. All political executive power was in the hands of the wealthy classes, and they used that power selfishly and tyrannically. Every problem which arose in the field of politics or of economics was considered not from the point of view of the interest of the country as a whole, but from the point of view of the interests of property.

#### LACK OF EQUALITY AND THE SENSE OF CITIZENSHIP

It is clear that where such a state of mind existed amongst the governing classes there was no genuine equality for poor and rich before the law. A bishop had declared, in 1795, that the mass of the people have nothing to do with the laws but to obey them.

The governing classes showed scarcely any power of imagination or sympathy in their relation with the working classes. Operatives were regarded merely from the point of view of slave labour, but were to this degree worse off than slaves, that the masters had no incentive to see to their physical well-being, and hence their wages were for long periods together far below what was sufficient to maintain the physical strength of the workers.

There was no idea in the minds of the propertied oligarchy of citizenship as a bond uniting all classes for the furtherance of the prosperity and happiness of the whole State. Just as the privileged classes in Greece and Rome had been content to live on slave labour, so the privileged classes in England during this first period of the Industrial Revolution were content to be maintained by the unremitting and miserably requited labour of a helot class. It may even be said that they rejoiced in, and used every means in their power to bring about, the disappearance of the old independent classes.

#### ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH

During the period which we are reviewing new offences were constantly being added to the statute book, and brutal penalties were being attached to them. Nothing is more striking than the fact that parson-magistrates appear to have been especially severe in the application of this savage code. One of the magistrates responsible for the Peterloo Massacre was a clergyman. There was, in 1832, a scandalous case of a clergyman colliery owner at

the time of a strike evicting all his tenants, in spite of the fact that a cholera epidemic was raging at the time. We have already noticed the case of the parson-magistrate who seized and flogged, under the Vagrancy Laws, two men who were distributing Cobbett's pamphlets. The Church was indeed in the main, but an accomplice to the prevailing class tyranny, and during the laborious process of rational regeneration, which we shall be considering in the second section of these articles, it is a melancholy fact that the bishops were generally found to be voting on the wrong side in the House of Lords. The only class that remained solid for the old system was the church clergy, who were so conscious of unpopularity that they believed reform would lead to the destruction of the Establishment.

#### THE SUSPENSION OF HABEAS CORPUS ACT

In 1817, when Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, incredible scandals took place. It was shown in Parliament that a man who had been put into prison when Habeas Corpus Act was suspended was left there for seven years without trial of any kind, because the authorities had forgotten all about him. Men who had been thrown into prison without trial in this fashion, and had been forbidden, possibly for years, any communication with the outside world, found perhaps the most glaring instance of the cruelty practised in the name of the law by a class ascendancy which regarded any punishment as legitimate so long as it made property secure.

#### UNJUST TAXATION

There was for long an opinion amongst the propertied classes that any attempt to educate the proletariat would lead to revolutionary agitation, hence the notorious "taxes on knowledge" and the difficulty suffered by the early advocates of popular education. In 1819 the average price of a newspaper was 7d., owing to the stamp duty, the paper duty, and the advertisement duty—taxes deliberately imposed for the purpose of preventing the dissemination of knowledge.

It was calculated in 1833 that a labourer earning £22-10 a year was paying in taxes £11-7-7. Under such conditions it was, of course, impossible for the poor to maintain a decent standard of life.

#### THE FRANCHISE AND REPRESENTATION

The seats were frequently auctioned to the highest bidder, the average price shortly before the Reform Bill being about £4,000, though in 1826 the Leicester seat had cost £19,000 and the Yorkshire seat £30,000. The Duke of Norfolk, through his favoured position as a borough-owner, chose eleven members of Parliament. It was reckoned that 276 members of Parliament were returned by patrons, of whom 203 were Tories. In 1793 it was asserted that 306 members were returned by 162 individuals. Seats were publicly advertised for sale.

Under such a system it was inevitable that bribery and intimidation should be rampant. By long-established custom the price of a vote at Hull was two guineas, at Stafford seven. By his one confession, Lord Cockrain paid ten guineas to each of the voters in Honiton, and sent the town crier around to inform them where they could get their money.

It is no wonder that under such a system

Parliament was held by the members of the lower orders to be "a laughing-stock and an ancient farce."

#### CAPITAL OFFENCES

Between 1760 and 1820 more than sixty capital offences were added to the Statute Book, the great majority of them being offences against property. At the end of the reign of George the Third, there were 250 offences to which the death penalty attached. "It was said that if a country gentleman could obtain nothing else from the Government, he was sure to be accommodated with a new capital felony." One of the reasons for this tendency towards the steady increase of the numbers of capital offences is to be found in the total lack of anything resembling an efficient police-force. The propertied classes were constantly thrown into panic by outbreaks of violent crime, against which there seemed to be no defence but the futile threat of death.

#### MILL DISCIPLINE

The extremely early hours at which work began (in some cases 2 a. m.) entailed endless unnecessary misery upon the operatives, at a time when few poor people owned a clock. The feet of child-workers could be heard pattering along the streets long before the time for the mills to open. The beatings given by the mill-overseers to the children under their control were so severe that fathers often preferred to step in and beat their children themselves in order to save them from the overseer; one witness before a Committee of the Lords had broken his child's arm for disobedience in the mill. A child witness before another committee, who had begun to grow deformed after six months of work, and who had to be half-carried to the mill every morning, spoke of an overseer being kept "on purpose to strap." It must indeed have been necessary to strap, and to strap mercilessly, in order to keep the children at work for twelve, fourteen, sixteen, or in some cases eighteen, hours on end.

A proletariat brutally treated became brutal in its turn. Animals, for instance, were tortured with devilish callousness, as may be learnt from a study of the recently issued history of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

In 1825 a young woman was brought before a London magistrate for skinning twelve cats alive and leaving their still living bodies in torment on the pavement of a London street. There was at that time no law under which she could be punished for her brutality, and apparently little or no public opinion existed against such crimes.

#### Chandidas: Bengali Burns?

Mr. Fredoon Kabraji writes in the *Voice of India*:—

Song is of a man's vital being. Some men draw pure breath and some draw tainted breath if only to live. Some sing high songs and some low—to live. That is why poets are "law-givers" in Shelley's phrase. They lay down in song the law of life, at least the law of bare existence. Robert Burns was such a singer. In homely Scotch dialect he poured out his simple, human heart in unlaboured melody. The fairy-queen of song in him



sang straightly and true to the fairies of song in the unspoiled human hearts. They were dumb but their hearts yearned for love and throbbed to life's finer impulses. Bobbie Burns gave them songs out of his own bursting heart which was all the world's bursting heart. And what Burns did for the world narrowed only by the outward limitations of a country-dialect, Chandidas did, too. When international culture becomes more and more the average man's equipment for life, Rob. Burns will not be read by Scotland alone, but by all the world, and Chandidas will be read not only by Bengal, but by the whole world too. Chandidas has been most inadequately translated into English. But there is one poem rendered into good Scotch by the young Bengali poet and scholar, now dead, Roby Datta, which gives some idea of Chandidas's, lyrical, homely and plaintive genius.

"LOVE'S WEAL AND WOE."

"Stemin' Luvie a pool's bliss  
Aince I gae'd to bathe therein;  
But, ere I came out' this,  
There did fa' an evil win'.  
What is he that will't to mak  
Luvie a drumlie gumbie pool?  
Hech, how many a shark an' snak  
Glowr to seek and cleek the fool!  
Shame o' mammie, shame o' dad,  
Shame o' people an' o' clan,  
Come at ween me and my lad,  
Whisper 'Lea'e thy dautit man,'  
O the heavy, heavy smart,  
For I vadna cease to feel  
Something knockin' at my heart  
For I vadna cease to feel,  
Bobbie says: O lassie, hear,  
Weal and Wae be brether twain:  
Hither Weal will gang, O thare  
Was maun follow wi' his train!"

Thus translated very cleverly by Mr. Roby Datta into the Scotch vernacular of Bobbie Burns, the poem looks much like a Burns' original. But "Bobbie" in the first line of the last stanza ought really to read, "Chandidas" since this is Chandidas' wistful comment on life and love.

A VISIT TO NANOOOR

The inscrutable green of those ricefields, the ineffable colours, the impalpable presences of that twelve miles of countryside to Nanoor, were all there—fresh and native and lyric in the songs of Chandidas we heard that day. We saw the pool where Chandidas sat of old thinking—

"Wha is he that wilt to mak  
Luvie a drumlie gumbie pool  
Hech how many a shark and snak  
Glowr to seek and cleek the fool"

And sad reason had that pure and noble spirit to fear the shark and the snake. The villagers were little, erring fools themselves and they called Chandidas the fool! They were corrupt humanity and they called Chandidas (a singing angel of the Lord) a deeply-tainted sinner. Because he sat on the edge of the pool lost in meditation on God till he invested with God the washer-woman in white who came to the pool to wash, and made her.....one with Nature.....

"A presence to be felt and known" in God's poetry of creation because he "made ove" (Oh! the horrid phrase!) to a widowed washer-woman as God's angels love the white-souled washer-women amongst us. The stupid little village of dear, stupid, excitable, human folk condemned him as a sinner, and a low cad

"Our sweetest songs are those  
That tell of saddest thought..."

sang the young martyred poet of England and Chandidas said:

O lassie hear  
Weal and Woe be brether twain;  
Wither weal will gang, O thare  
Woe maun follow with his train.

The pool where Chandidas sat and poured out songs to his beloved washer-woman, and the slat of stone on which the beloved washed her clothes and "the soul of Chandidas" may still be seen. The villagers have revised their verdict. As his songs conquered them and his name became a memory, the legend grew that Chandidas was a saint. We do not know whether there was any formal canonization—but we know that the persecuted sinner of his day, Chandidas, has now become a saint of history.

A day might come when Chandidas still singing his melodies in the silences of Nature for miles around, and in the hearts of the simple natives of the soil—may be translated into European languages and broadcasted over five continents. But Chandidas would prefer that the West should learn his own language—Bengali—and sing his poems or hear his poems sung in their old-world setting in the quiet village of Nanoor.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

### Labour's Eight-Hour Day.

The *Political Science Quarterly* contains an important article on the attempt to establish the Eight-Hour Day by international action. It tells us what has been done in

different countries and what new legislation may be required to give effect to the agreement between the members of the International Labour organization.

"The direct and visible result thus far has been that five states have ratified the Eight-Hour con-

vention—Greece in 1920, Roumania, India and Czechoslovakia in 1921 and Bulgaria in 1923. Various other countries, including British Columbia, have passed legislation carrying out the terms of the Convention in all respects, but have not yet ratified the Convention.

"In British India the Convention is already in force, and in 1922 the Factory Act was amended in order to extend the scope of its application; further more, the Indian Government is now considering a new modification of its existing legislation which would involve more drastic regulation of the working day than that provided in the Convention. Even the legislation passed thus far marks a distinct bettering of the standards formerly in force, and India's example has had an influence upon other oriental countries."

### Electoral Reform and Organized Christianity in England.

In the same Quarterly W.G.H. Cook writes on the attitude of Organized Christianity in regard to reform Parliament, or more particularly, in regard to proposals for the extension of the franchise. He says, in part:—

"One of the most important movements in connection with the agitation for Parliamentary Reform in the last quarter of the eighteenth century was that which was led by the philosophic Dissenters, Price and Priestley. Pitt's attitude in regard to religious freedom led the leading dissenters to agitate for Parliamentary Reform as a step necessary to their own civil enfranchisement. The more progressive members of the Whig Party, including Fox and Grey, were at one with the philosophic dissenters in acclaiming the dawn of world-wide political enfranchisement and religious equality, while Burke opposed Price and the Unitarian Reformers with all the power which he possessed. The Reform Movement in particular towns and villages was largely an effort of Dissenters; and the counteracting 'loyalist' movement of 1792 was set on foot by churchmen and clergymen, in a panic of the old Dr. Sacheverel type, intensified by the news from France." There seems to be no doubt that the Destruction of Dissenting Chapels and of Priestley's house during the Birmingham Riots of 1791 was due to the direct incitement of the 'Church and State Party'."

Of Wesley the writer says:—

"The appeal of Wesley, as protest against the 'sculless, high and dry, formalism of the church of England' was essentially popular. He re-established the notion that even the agricultural laborer had a soul—a fact which tended to be obscured by the social arrangements then coming into force. He taught and his followers taught, vigorously and effectively, the existence of a God Who cared for all the dwellers upon earth, Who would not let even a sparrow fall, and Who went to the extreme sacrifice to purchase from the evil adversary the souls of all His children."

Regarding the Church of England the writer observes:—

"The attitude of the Church of the England in regard to the First Reform Bill may be summed up in a single sentence. 'There was but one class opposed to the Bill with anything like unanimity—the clergy of the Church of England.'" (Trevelyan)

### The Rustic and the Urban Type.

Count Richard R. N. Coudenhove-Kalergi, founder of the "Pan-Europa League," observes in the *Century Magazine*:—

The country and the city are the two poles of human destiny. Country and city both engender their peculiar type of humanity, the rustic and the urban.

The rustic and the urban type are psychological antipodes. Peasants of the most widely differentiated regions often resemble one another more closely in spirit than the city-dwellers of the neighboring metropolis. Country is separated from country, city from city, by space, but city is separated from country by time. Representatives of all the ages of history are to be found among the rustic types of Europe from the Stone Age to the Middle Ages, but it is only the metropolis of the Occident which has produced the extreme urban type which is the representative of modern civilization. Thus centuries, yes, even millenniums, often separate a metropolis from the country that surrounds it.

The urbanite man thinks differently, feels differently, and acts differently from the rustic man. City life is abstract, mechanical, rational; country life is concrete, organic, irrational. The city-dweller is rationalistic, skeptic, irreligious; the countryman is emotional, credulous, superstitious.

All the thoughts and all the feelings of the countryman crystallize themselves about nature: he lives in a symbiosis with the brute, with the living creature of God; he is an integral part of his landscape, dependent upon the weather and the seasons. On the other hand, the center of the crystallization of the urban soul is society, and this society lives in a symbiosis with the machine, the dead creature of man. It is the machine that renders the townsman as independent as possible of time and space, of season and climate.

The countryman believes in the power of nature over man; the townsman believes in the power of man over nature. The rustic is a product of nature, the urbanite, a product of society; the one sees end, measure, and acme of the world in the cosmos, the other in humanity.

The rural human being is conservative, like nature herself; the urban human being is progressive, like society. All progress, in fact, proceeds from cities and from city-dwellers.

### A Benares Saint.

Mr. Dhan Gopal Mukerji contributes to the same magazine an interesting paper on "Saints in Benares," in which he embodies talks with some holy men in that holy city one of the talks being told thus:—

We came upon a man with his right arm upraised, petrified. It stuck out like a stump from his shoulder. He was a gaunt, shaggy fellow, his face and head covered with black hair streaked with white. He sat on the bank of the river staring at the water, motionless in the twilight and never shutting his eyes. I hesitated to speak to him, but at last summoned my courage and said:

"Hast thou given thy hand to God?"

"What foolishness dost thou utter?" His voice was acrid.

"Thy arm, friend, why does it stick up like a pole?" I persisted.

"It gave me terrible pains the first year I held it so," he replied. "The muscles and the sinews are not obedient at once; they pain one before they obey, but after a year of terrible suffering the arm stiffened, the muscles froze, and the nerves died, and since then this refractory limb has behaved as it was ordered to—the very emblem of uselessness."

"What drove thee to such self-torture?" I went on.

"Self-torture? Dost thou give false name to true things? It was self-liberation. This arm had to become petrified."

"But why?" I spoke confidently, since in all India religious secrets are public property.

"An act of evil of dire consequence came to this world owing to that foolish hand. It struck one I loved most, so I punished it. Religion says that a limb that sins shall cease to exist."

"Master," I exclaimed, "thou art a good Christian. The Christian God teaches, 'If thy hand offend thee, cut it off.'"

"But I am Hindu, my son," he replied stolidly. "Take thy babbling away from the presence of my meditation." With these words he fixed his steady gaze across the waters on the blue spaces beyond, and forgot me as if I had sunk like a stone into the fast-darkening Ganges.

## The Feminine Share in Creative Art.

About the feminine share in creative art we read in *Current Opinion*:—

In discussions regarding sex equality, the argument has often been made that no creative women have as yet appeared to match such great creative men as Shakespeare, Michelangelo, Homer, Sophocles, Dante, Goethe, Velasquez and many more. This argument, as Clemence Dane admits in the *Yale Review*, is, up to a certain point, a valid one. "Women," she writes, "can show, when you consider their physical limitations and preoccupations, an amazing list of history-makers." She names Cleopatra, Semiramis, Agrippina, Boadicea, Judith, Deborah, Kriemhild, the Medici women, the Tudor women, Eleanor of Aquitaine, Christina of Sweden, Joan of Arc, St. Catherine, St. Theresa, St. Clare, Florence Nightingale, the Empress Dowager of China, Theodora the Dancer and Madame Curie. "And yet," she continues, "no Shakespeare! no Michelangelo! no Blake! Any amount of administrative and pioneer qualities, but no pre-eminence in what, in the stricter sense, we call genius, the godlike capacity for breathing on the dust and making out of it a living creature."

The objection that "there must be something the matter with women when it comes to the creative arts" is met by Miss Dane with the questions: Is it too fantastic to suggest that there is nothing whatever the matter with them, that, in spite of certain famous exceptions, "genius in women is not absent, but working with different tools, expressing itself in a totally different medium?" She goes on to argue:

"It is too fantastic to suggest that men and women have always been equals in a sense and with a completeness beyond the most ardent feminist's dream; that in the kingdom of art, which is the kingdom of the soul, the life and functions of the sexes are carried on in reverse? In this world it is the men who father and the women who bear the children. But in the world of art, do men bring forth the fruit of the spirit unaided? I do not believe it. I do not believe that any work of genius (talent is another matter) has been produced by one human creature without another human creature being concerned in the act of creation. Athena was not less the offspring of a woman because she sprang perfected from the head of Zeus. A play, a poem, a picture must have parents like any other child of controlling spirit and obedient flesh. The actual relationship matters little—mother, sister, lover, wife, patient servant, patient friend—all these have served to send man to his brush, his chisel, or his pen."

Is it a little thing, Miss Dane asks, to light such a flame? Is it not in itself genius to be such a creature, so made, so grown, so balanced, that its word, its look, its mere existence, can call into being the creative instinct in another?

"What of the man of genius, inspired by one who is no fool? What of the woman who fans in a Dante or a Goethe the flaming passion of creation? We know something of what the Dark Lady gave Shakespeare: the good and ill she did him vibrates in every line he wrote."

What was in her that drew to her such a man? Lions don't mate with rabbits. Some equal power, something, not mere beauty, there must have been in her and her kind, in the Beatrices, the Lauras, the Juliet Drouets, the Frau von Steins, that gave them their place beside their great men.

"And that power I call the feminine of genius, for it is the unique quality, the supreme something, out of which, when it meets and marries genius in a man, the work of art is born."

## Causes of Cancer.

The same journal says:—

As to the cause or causes of cancer, in his illuminating book, "Cancer" (Murray: London), J. Ellis Barker states that whether or not an organismal cause shall ever be established, "everything points to the overwhelming importance from the practical point of view of 'chronic irritation' as a pre-disposing cause or in its widest sense as the exciting cause of cancer." It is broadly hinted that the alarming spread of cancer over the civilized world is traceable to the growing civilized appetite for so-called predigested foods. In fact:

"The mass of civilized mankind is hypnotized by commercialized science. 'Predigested' and 'readily assimilable' foods have a deadly suggestiveness for



the modern man who feels out of sorts—whose instincts are degenerating. They appeal to his longing for security and 'convenience' of existence. So he eats 'conveniently' and 'scientifically.' But the mills of God grind slowly. . . . His teeth are doomed to fall out, while his colon drops down, and the cancer rate rises in sinister fashion."

### Are Women as Smart as Men?

Mr. James D. Winland discusses the question asked above, in the *Popular Science Monthly*. The most important passages in his paper are quoted below.

The vast majority of men, no matter how much they may esteem and respect their mothers, their wives and their sisters, are quite certain that women have "no brains": this, despite all the Madame Curies and the Hetty Greens and the George Eliots and the Clara Bartons of history.

This conviction of superiority in mental endowment seems to be inherent in every man. Bill Smith does not hesitate to offer the benefit of his "expert" advice to his wife on any subject, even in matters such as housekeeping or the care of children. And there probably ensues a lively family row if Mrs. Smith dares to suggest that he doesn't know what he is talking about.

For Bill Smith always has "more brains" than his wife—or any other woman! Moreover, he can "prove" it. He'll cite you instance after instance in support of his contention. The trouble is, though, that about nine times out of ten Bill's arguing is specious. In fact, Bill Smith is all wrong. His wife has "brains"—just as much, or as many, as he; maybe more. Psychology says so, and psychology doesn't guess, nor approximate, nor generalize.

Recently psychology has got right down to cases and measured both men and women scientifically with the same yardstick, and reported that Bill Smith and his wife Mary are just about equal in intelligence.

Very elaborate intelligence tests were given at Colorado College to 115 men and 111 women. The average score for both men and women was exactly the same—142 points. A combined study of the student bodies of the University of Idaho, University of Minnesota, Southern Methodist University and Colorado College, involving 3175 men and 1575 women, show that the percentage getting "A" and "B" grades in their studies was for men, 75.4, and for women 75.2.

In a joint psychological test of men students of Harvard University and women students of Radcliffe College a few months ago, a man and a girl tied for first place with an average of 86 per cent. A Harvard student made the lowest score of 8 per cent. while the lowest average for the women was 28 per cent. For the men the average was 50.5 while for the women it was 55.

There rarely appears any appreciable difference between male and female students, taking them all the way from kindergarten through college. Neither will you find any considerable difference in the quality of the output of men and women performing tasks that lie within the capabilities of each.

I take down a copy of "Who's Who in America" biographical dictionary of notable men and women

of the United States. If men and women possess approximately equal ability on the average, this volume should list many women as "notables" not so many as men, of course, because only in recent years have women generally been following careers that bring them into the public eye. Opening the book at random, I find Maria Hornor Lansdale, author; Marion Florence Lansing, author; Marquis Clara Lanza, author; Linda Hull Larned, household economist; Mary August Lasalle, author; Hulda Lashanka, lyric soprano; Loula Davis Laskar, social worker—almost a dozen women listed as "notables" on a couple of pages!

This equality of men and women, however, does not mean similarity. They are complements rather than duplicates. There are important differences between the two sexes—social and biological.

Professor Edward Lee Thorndike, the famous educational psychologist of Columbia University, has classified the specific differences in the mentality of the sexes. Women, he says, excel in spelling, English, foreign languages, immediate memory and retentiveness. Men, he says, take the forefront in history, ingenuity, physics, chemistry and accuracy of movement.

I once was present while a noted scientist was preparing a paper. Every now and then he would look up from his work and ask how to spell "receivership," "stupefy," "battalion," or some other "sticker." His daughter, 13 years old, in her first year in high school, answered unhesitatingly, though regarding him with a look that denoted her wonderment that any one should be thought so wise and still know so little.

Bill Smith rarely remembers birthdays, wedding anniversaries, and the dates of other important events in family history. Nor can he recall in what part of the house he left his umbrella after the last rainy day. But does his wife forget? Never!

It is not surprising in view of woman's natural talent for language, that 39 per cent of the eminent women of the whole world have won their fame through literature. Virtually all of England's famous women have been writers. France has furnished women writers, and actresses and politicians, too. Italy and Germany have added musicians to this list and the United States, reformers. There are many other occupations represented, of course, but these are in the largest proportions. What women are doing in politics in the United States, we know.

It is only recently that woman discovered science as a possible career. From the United States Bureau of Census, I learn that the number of women in chemistry and metallurgy has more than trebled in the last 10 years.

Similarly, the census returns show that there are now more than 2000 women draftsmen in this country, where 10 years ago there were but a scant 400.

In the same time the number of women college presidents and professors has increased from less than 3000 to more than 10,000. With about 1800 women lawyers and judges, we now have more than three times as many as there were a decade ago. We find more than 4000 women bank officials, almost as many women officials in manufacturing enterprises; women doctors, dentists, and clergymen in legion. There are even 1000 women who earn their livings as chauffeurs, compared with 33 only 10 years ago!

This information is significant. Does it indicate that psychology in the past found women "ineffective" in such fields merely because their past training and opportunities had not directed their interest to them?

Once women were thought to be less intelligent than men because their brains are smaller. Then psychologists learned that it is not the size of the brain that determines its quality, but the number of brain cells it holds, and that often a small brain has many more cells than a large one.

When Bill Smith accuses his wife of having "no brains," what he really means is that she has emotional and temperamental qualities different from his own. These qualities are evasive and hard to measure. Women, Professor Thronthike finds strong in emotionality, temperance, impulsiveness, religiousness, sympathy, patience, vanity, and shyness. Men, on the other hand, he finds strong in temper, self-consciousness, humor, independence and pugnacity. He means, of course, the average man and the average woman, for you'll find some men more interested in babies than some women are: some women more self-assertive and aggressive, on the whole, than some men.

Women are more interested in personalities: men in things and facts.

Men are interested in what people have done. The legislative record of a Presidential candidate while he was governor of a state or a United States Senator means more to a male voter than whether he loves his family or attends church regularly.

Bill Smith, though, must give way to his wife when it comes to knowledge of human nature. Woman's care of children gives her an insight into human nature raw, before it becomes coated over with its varnish of cultural inhibitions, evasions, and camouflage. In fact, Mrs. Smith's instinctive, ingrained knowledge of the peculiarities of humankind is likely to cause her to understand Bill a great deal better than Bill understands himself.

The belief, though, shared by Bill Smith with all other men, that he is not only wiser than his own wife but than all other women, probably will always endure, no matter what evidence psychology may produce that this opinion is entirely unfounded.

The reason is not difficult to find. Women tend to be submissive, men assertive. And when Mrs. Smith gives in "to keep peace in the family," Bill quite naively concludes that he's the brighter.

Also, men earn the money as our social order is constructed, and so hold the balance of power. It appears to be a human weakness that as soon as a person becomes powerful he feels all-wise.

Men as a species are more variable than women. The geniuses and the most hopelessly stupid usually are men. Psychology shows that probably one man in a hundred is brighter than almost any woman. The Caesars, Napoleons, Lloyd Georges and Edisons probably always will be men—but likewise the biggest fools probably will be men as well. This is not much satisfaction to the average man, who would like to bask in the reflected glory of the great, but it is the evidence that science gives.

Men and women are equals and complements. They will have to pursue, evade, love, hate, and live it out on this basis till the end of time.

## British Justice and Native Races.

In an article on British Justice and Native Races, contributed by John H. Harris to the *Contemporary Review*, it is stated:—

Most experienced Colonial Administrators agree that there are three main essentials to safeguard in the administration of justice:—

(a) That judicial matters should be settled by judicial officers independent of the executive.

(b) That judicial officers should only be removable with the sanction of the Secretary of State.

(c) That in the administration of justice, penalties imposed for crimes should be inflicted without regard to race, creed or colour.

The writer also states that in the opinion of the native races who are subjects of the British Empire, British justice is the unquestioned benefit which they have received. And so he says,

The general public learns with something of a shock that the African dependencies have witnessed during the last few years grave departures from them, involving the deplorable consequences of an impaired faith in British justice.

It is clear that the time has come for the people of certain territories, with or without the assistance of the Home authorities, to put an end to shocking cases of sheer ruffianism which defame the fair reputation of the British Administration. The procedure cannot be defended under which it is possible to flog natives to death, and then by the process of calling it "Hurt" inflict penalties only applicable to assault—even "simple hurt," instead of murder.

The Nigerian system which denies to prisoners the right to engage Counsel to defend them has now had a fair trial during the five years of its operations, and the House of Commons awakened with somewhat of a shock to the fact, first brought to the notice of Members by Mr. Sidney Webb, that under its operations twenty people, including apparently two women, had been sentenced to death and eighteen of them hanged in public without a single one of them being either tried by Jury or defended by Counsel.

According to Mr. Thomas the following executions took place in Nigeria, without any of the accused being allowed the assistance of Counsel!—

1920	...	...	...	107
1921	...	...	...	97
1922	...	...	...	87
1923	...	...	...	90

That is, 381 persons were executed in four years not one of whom had professional assistance in preparing any defence; this total of executions among 7 millions of people is, of course, far in excess of executions in the British Isles with a population exceeding 40 millions.

In the most recent case of flogging to death, the victims received lashing far in excess of physical endurance. It will be remembered that under the German Administration of East Africa, not more than twenty-five strokes should be administered in one day. In Nigeria the legislative limit is twelve strokes. Those who have been compelled to witness the flogging of Africans will agree that by the time twenty-five lashes have

been given by hide-whips or reins on the bare flesh the victim is, in most cases, unconscious. Mr. Justice Krause, a South African Magistrate, recently refused to allow more than four lashes, because he declared "the physical pain inflicted by six or eight lashes is as much as the human frame can bear." In the Watts-Betschart case, in Kenya, the flogging was repeatedly administered alternately with "ducking" in the river, until the victim was inert; whether he had actually died before being spread-eagled, or before being burned, appears to be open to some doubt. In this case the two accused were convicted by the judicial process peculiar to Kenya, of "SIMPLE HURT" only; one of the accused being "bound over" and the other fined 1,000 rupees. The Magistrate declared, "I have never heard of such brutality in all my experience," and both the Governor of the Colony and Lord Milner expressed regret at the result of the trial.

The remarkable manner in which these charges of homicide are reduced to varying degrees of "Hurt" is best illustrated by the most recent case, of which details are now available. The accused was Jascar Abraham of Molo, and the native flogged to death was named Kitosh. The jury returned a verdict of "Grievous Hurt", and the Judge sentenced the accused to the appropriate penalty of two years' imprisonment. The flogging took place in June, 1923, and the trial only recently concluded. It was alleged that the man Kitosh had ridden a mare in foal, but the Assistant Superintendent of the Police stated that he examined the horse, but found no signs of injury. Kitosh was thrown on the ground, and then flogged by Abraham until he was too "flogged" to continue; he then called three natives, one after another, to carry on the flogging. Kitosh was unconscious during the last flogging, but even then his sufferings were not ended, for upon recovering consciousness he was further ill-treated, then bound hand and foot with ropes. He died the following evening.

### German Industry Prepares to Face Competition.

We read in the *London Review of Reviews*:

#### PSYCHO-TECHNICS

Dr. W. Engel, in *Tilskueren* (Copenhagen), gives an instructive account of one of the technical means by which German industry is preparing to face competition in the markets of the world:

"The Germans," Dr. Engel writes, "recognised that they must bring their industrial organisation to the highest pitch of perfection if they were to compete successfully against a world of enemies. With that thoroughness which is the German characteristic in science, they refused to allow themselves to be dazzled by the glittering technique of the machine, but began from the beginning—from the workman with his shovel and the smith with his hammer and tongs. They studied with the utmost precision how the work should be done, how the tool should be constructed to fit comfortably the hand, how the machine should be adjusted to the requirements of the workman, with what qualities the workman should be endowed if he

was to reach the highest level of production. In other words, the workman and not the machine became the pivot on which industrial efficiency turned."

The outcome of this movement was a new science, which its principal author, Dr. Georg Schlesinger, of the Technical University at Charlottenburg, has named Psycho-technics. The aim of psycho-technics, according to Dr. Schlesinger, is to place each individual in the situation in which he can develop his physical and intellectual powers to the fullest extent, and so achieve the greatest possible individual contentment and happiness. Dr. Engel gives many examples of the tests that are applied in Germany to candidates for positions in industrial life, from the highest to the most humble. Following Germany's example, laboratories of psycho-technics have been founded in America, Holland, Sweden, and Norway.

### Feminine Agitations in Japan.

Prof. I. Abe of Waseda University says of "feminine agitations," in the *Japan Magazine*:—

The woman agitation must be regarded in the same light. Had woman stood ideally in an equal position with man, no such agitation would have been created. Since the agitation is mainly for the object of equality, it gives us a hint as to how it will develop in Japan. There are four directions, in which the woman agitation here will develop, the educational, economic, legal (or social) and political directions.

In the educational direction, there is absolutely no inequality in the primary education of boys and girls, but in secondary and higher education, the sexes are treated with great inequality. In equipment, the middle and higher girls' schools are nearly equal. When we observe overage parents think of the education of their middle school aged boys and girls, however, we find a great discrepancy between the two sexes. Parents do not appear to be awakened to the necessity of secondary education for their daughters as much as for their sons; the whole nation does not recognize the importance of much education for women.

It is doubtful if even the educationists themselves truly understand the necessity of girls' education.

In higher and academical education, there is a clearer evidence of inequality between men and women. The writer can point out three important reasons for such public indifference to higher female education.

One is the financial inability of the parents to easily afford to educate their girls as highly as their boys, who are sent to the university by some means or other. Another is that the spirit of independence is not yet imbued generally among professional women, many of whom are educated simply as a means to get a position and the majority of them soon get married, for which no higher education is required. Still another reason, which is perhaps most important, is the general impression that the bulk of women have less capacity than men for receiving college education. Women should not be satisfied with this condition, and an



agitation ought to be started by them against the insult.

The writer cannot discover any such difference in talent between men and women. Some difference must be admitted, and this is simply the outcome of habits of long standing which is regrettable for women, who have for hundreds of years been confined to home as housekeepers, without the chance to improve their mental faculties as much as men. It is no wonder, therefore, that there is some difference in ability between men and women. This we see even in Europe and America, when we go back 70 or 100 years ago.

To-day American women are equally educated as men as a result of the profuse education given them during three or four generations. They are said to be even more proficient than men in the central and western universities of the United States. Japanese women may be highly educated generally and may be advanced in talent as much as men, in about two generations.

### The Modern Chinese Woman.

Anna Kong Mei's article on the modern Chinese women in the *International Review of Missions* contains the following passage:—

China is changing and with her change the women and girls who have abandoned the restrictions of a long masculine civilization. Moral and social standards of ancient times are being unceremoniously jettisoned. The women of to-day are discovering themselves in every direction, and finding independence sweet and good.

The double standard of morality is rapidly losing favour among women in China—more rapidly than is considered desirable by the men, for its maintenance means the continuation of male superiority with all the evils of concubinage, slavery, patriarchalism and domestic tyranny. Its elimination from the minds of Chinese men and women will destroy the vicious notion that women are men's natural, legal and economic inferiors. The faces of our modern women are set against the old system of things. Consciously or unconsciously they are determined to get freedom, and with the example of western women before them, their attainment of the franchise and equality of treatment in industry and labour, Chinese women are peering into the future, anxious to experience the thrill of independence and equality when they shall cease to be merely domestic beasts of burden or the wives of cavemen. They are no longer willing calmly to submit to parent-made marriages with men whom they have never seen; they demand to arrange their own marriages. A few months ago a young girl in Peking dared to defy the conventions by suing her undesired betrothed to annul the engagement. It seemed a modern miracle, but she won even over her own parents' objection, the ridicule of the press and very rigid official conservatism.

If men practise marital infidelity, their modern wives are at least not doomed to that silent toleration which for centuries seemed tantamount to aiding and abetting the curse of concubinage, of plural marriages and of slave girls. Their protest against the old order is plainly registered in the

large number of divorce cases crowding the court calendars—a situation hitherto unknown, the very suggestion of separation being appalling in old Chinese social life.

The demand for female education which provides for higher training beyond the middle school reveals an insistent desire for awakening the feminine mind and the general raising of women's status. It will not be very long before sex solidarity will firmly demand the right of women to participate in public affairs.

### Ridding the World of Leprosy.

Mr. Frank Oldrieve, secretary of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association, states in the same Review:—

We are challenged to-day with the greatest opportunity that has ever been presented to mankind of actually stamping out this disease which has gripped the world for so long. We would again stress the points that segregation is an effective measure in helping to reduce the incidence of leprosy; that leprosy is not hereditary, which means that we only have the present generation of lepers to deal with; and that we now have a curative treatment which is giving wonderful results wherever it is being used. Humanity calls us to help all those who are in need, and none are more needy than lepers; statesmanlike forethought urges us to do all we can to make the world as healthy a place as possible, while the most important reason of all for the Christian man and woman is that our Lord Jesus Christ gave the command, 'Cleanse the lepers,' and now, for the first time since that command was given, we are in a position literally to obey the injunction. Let the Christian and missionary forces of the world take the lead, and there is no doubt whatever but that a campaign can be immediately launched in every country, so that within a comparatively short time the world may be rid of this age-long scourge.

### Primo de Rivera.

What Miguel de Unamuno writes of Primo de Rivera, the most powerful political man in Spain, in *Arbeiter Zeitung*, that success in the political game does not necessarily fall to the lot of saints—contrary to what our late Secretary of State Lord Olivier may have thought. Here is part of the character sketch of the Spanish "leader":—

Conditions in Spain must appear so remarkable to European observers as to make them ask, as we Spaniards likewise do, how it was possible for a man of the type of Primo de Rivera to seize control of the government and maintain himself in power.

Who is this Primo de Rivera? Does he represent anything or nothing? I should be tempted to say that he is a talentless Alcibiades, but I fear this would not be clear. To put it more plainly

he is a sport, a woman-chaser, a gambler, who happened on the idea of trying his luck in politics. What made him do it? A craving for notoriety, to hear himself talked about, and at the same time better himself financially. He had squandered a large part of his children's patrimony and wished to recover it.

He spent most of his time in the pursuit of pleasure, in gambling-halls, clubs, and less respectable resorts. He was not a familiar figure in the barracks.

Subsequently he went to Morocco where, with reckless imprudence of a gambler, he contributed to the serious defeat of the Spanish forces at Fondac. If general Berenguer had not come promptly to his rescue he would have lost not only his military reputation but his life. But Primo managed to bluff himself out of this affair successfully. He sedulously 'worked' the officers on the court-marshal so as to be sure, as he personally told an acquaintance, of having at least one protector on that body. By these tactics he contrived to be exonerated.

### Some Indian "Songs of Freedom."

In the course of an article in the *Irish Statesman*, Mr. St. Nihal Singh gives some "Songs of Freedom" which he heard sung in the Punjab in 1922. One related to the butchery in Jallian-wala Garden, which indulges in plain-speaking to a far great extent than Sir Sankaran Nair. Another begins:—

The sceptres snatched away from the Sikhs  
and Mughals  
We shall regain.

In the opinion of Mr. Singh,

These songs are endless in variety. Some are sad and plaintive—dwelling upon the disabilities under which Indians labor. Others are fiery in spirit—filled with determination to shatter the fetters which shackle them. A few are humorous—containing witty sallies. Here is one belonging to the last category, supposed to be a plaint addressed by a Briton in India to his maker:—

The ways of Indians have changed.

They have become tired of us.

They have hardened their hearts against us

They have started a spiritual fight with us.

Nobody hears our tale.

My Lord! All the starch has been taken out  
of us!

These people are unafraid,

No matter how soundly they are caned.

We have very carefully noted this fact.

From our heart have disappeared contentment  
and happiness.

Neither through diplomacy nor through love  
can we make these people co-operate with us.

What can I tell you of what is happening to us?

O my Lord! the starch has been taken out  
of us!

The British officials, living their lives apart from the Indian people in little Englands dotted all over India, fancied at one time they could crush the spirit of Indian revolt by seizing 'seditious literature' and the printing presses which produced it. They found, however, coercion upon their part merely served to intensify the desire for liberty. When a press which printed such songs or an independent Indian newspaper was confiscated, another took its place, or perchance a cyclostyle was made to do the work of a printing press. When the authorities decided that the cyclostyle came under the provisions of the Press Act, instead of ceasing publication volunteers came forward to duplicate songs and messages in manuscript form or to spread the news by word of mouth, and if they were arrested others stepped into their places, so that the gospel of freedom might not be stilled.

### Political Corruption in America.

*The World To-morrow* observes,

By the close of the century a cynical attitude toward the government pervaded all ranks of society. To many people it seemed that the United States, in ironical perversion of Lincoln's words at Gettysburg, had become a government of the corporations, for the corporations and by the corporations. Against this condition the much-decried "Muckrakers" led a revolt, and performed so well their work of rousing the dormant conscience of the public that the nation gained new faith in itself. Laws were passed by state and nation to prevent campaign contributions from corporations, to limit campaign funds, to require publicity both as to contributors and expenditures, and to punish severely corrupt practices. As a result, public life became purer than it had been since the day before the Civil War. Such incidents as Hearst's exposure of Senator Foraker's Standard Oil connections in 1908, the Ballinger-Pinchot conservation controversy, and Lorimer's corrupt election were merely the exceptions that prove the rule.

It is against this background that the scandals of the Harding administration must be judged. In extent the corruption of 1921-1923 was less widespread than in Grant's time, but its reprehensibility was infinitely greater, for the acts were committed at a time when the general standards of public morality—withstanding post-war influences—were higher than perhaps ever before in our history.

### America's Greatest Actress.

Mrs. Fiske was named as the most famous American women representing the stage in the League of Women Voters' list of the twelve greatest women in America. Her mother, Elizabeth Maddern Davey, was an actress and her father, Thomas Davey was manager of a theatre. Her husband, Mr. Harrison Grey Fiske, is also an actor and

manager. To a *Women Citizen* interviewer Mrs. Fiske said:—

"The fact that women are beginning to question their right to wear furs seems to indicate that they are becoming more civilized. Of course, we have a great way to go yet; we are still very close to the savage. The first thing man learns when he begins to emerge from the barbaric state is kindness and consideration for his fellow creatures. But this is a lesson too many women have yet to learn."

The interviewer observes:—

This was not the Mrs. Fiske I had seen a short while before gamboling through riotous comedy. Nor was it the Mrs. Fiske chosen through the League of Women Voters' poll to represent dramatic achievement in the list of America's twelve greatest women. But it was the Mrs. Fiske once told by a reeling cabby to mind her own business, when she intervened in behalf of his much-abused nag. It was the Mrs. Fiske who had paused in almost every city of the country some time or other to bandage up a wounded puppy or to shelter a stray pet. It was the same woman who for years carried about countless copies of "Black Beauty" for free distribution; who had thrown herself into the thick of the contest against the horrors of Spanish and Mexican bullfights; who had never missed an opportunity to campaign actively against all manner of cruelty to animals.

### The American College Girl's Mind

Higher education has not made greater progress among the women of any other country than America. Therefore the evil effects of such education should be more apparent in America than elsewhere. But it is of American College girls that *The New Republic* observes:—

One never encountered more keen and serious thinking than one does in the young women of today. Manners have changed; but not so much, after all. Even if girls no longer move with ankles entangled in their skirts, even if their emancipated feet are several sizes larger than of old, essentials remain. The freed legs and ankles imply more freedom in the attack on life; but the gentleness, dignity and gayety which mark the well-bred woman are not hard to find; simplicity and modesty are still native to girlhood.

It would be dull and untrue to paint a rose-colored picture. Girls with strained faces and piteous sullen ways (these come, one often finds, from homes ravaged by divorce), noisy girls, vulgar girls, girls clever and unpleasant, do sometimes force themselves on the attention. Yet, by and large, the "granddaughters" whom the colleges begin to receive, are much like their mothers.

A great many college girls appear really to love their fathers and mothers; and a reasonable per cent of them make fairly intelligent choice when it comes to getting married, and establish fairly satisfactory homes of their own.

As for their intellectual activities, the

following pen-picture will serve to give some idea:—

First meeting of the class. Twenty-five unknown faces: languid some, eager some, curious all. Longing for that X-ray takes sudden possession of the instructor. Instead of questioning the students, she will bid them question her: a time-honored pedagogic device, as old as Socrates.

"Please take ten minutes to write for me five questions on which you would like to receive light from the reading to be done in this course." The subject of the course, by the way, appears in the catalogue as "Social Ideals in English Letters."

Heads black, brown, yellow, straight and curly, bobbed and fluffed, bend intently over the paper. Girls are really more attractive than kittens, thinks the instructor dreamy, as she leans back for her ten minutes, shapes her inward ambitions for her new class, and wonders what Mr. Addison or Mr. Shakespeare would think of their occupation.

"Time up!" Papers handed in. And here they are, presented more or less at random, classified a little, but not reworded:

"Can we ever have perfect international understanding, and preserve at the same time a love for our own country and a sense of its social importance?" More students agree on this question than on any other: nine have written it down, with varied phrasing.

"How meet the problem of racial antagonisms, especially in America?" Three students.

"Is communism possible? Can class distinctions ever be done away with?" It is surprising to find how small a number have put this type of question: And only one student, the teacher observes with a sigh of relief, has asked: "Is war ever justifiable?"

But more than one put most of the following; though wording naturally varied:

"Must we destroy what we have in order to start anew?" "How far can the idealist court compromise?"

"Were the status of the classes reversed, should we be better off? What in such case would be the policy of the working class?" "How can forces of heredity and environment be so controlled that we may gain equality?" "Is a middle class desirable?" "If equality is to prevail, can art and letters be fostered?" "How combine democracy and efficiency?"

"What does literature show as the chief forces operative in the transition from an aristocratic regime to our own?"

"Is there a definite sequence in evolutionary stages, which cannot be broken or averted? Could a stage conceivably be skipped?" (Probably she is thinking of Russia: a debate on recognition of the Soviet government is imminent.)

"How remove the stigma attached to the word Labor?" "Why is the person who struggles for living, least regarded in law? Or is this really the case?" "How make workers appreciate managers who are trying to benefit them?" "What should be the next step in improving labour conditions?"

"Differing attitudes of the church and law: for instance on divorce. Justifiable?"

"The relation of religion to social progress."

"Relation of the college girl to the working girl." "What can the thinking students of America do to help the world?" (Easy to answer:—



"Think some more," remarks the teacher.) "Are service and self-expression compatible?"

"World outward change facilitate inward change?" "How far should the state control the individual?" "In the light of human nature, can we hope for the perfect state?"

"Are the times never for the ideas?"

And a miscellaneous lot, too long to list: dealing with Eugenics, with Education, with the Status of Woman, with policy toward the dependent defective and delinquent classes. Also plaintive enquiry—"How can a thing like the Ku Klux Klan exist in America?"

These questions were no result of suggestion from the teacher, or of study accomplished. They were written down impromptu before the year's work had begun, and by students who in many cases had taken no previous work in sociology. Nor were the students chosen in any special way, except as a free elective course draws those of a certain type to it.

### The Religion of Zoroaster

According to the *Commonweal* of Australia,

The use of force is quite in keeping with the principles of Zoroaster, as he teaches that there is an eternal warfare between good and evil, and that it is the duty of the faithful to do all in their power to exterminate the evil.

Many of the ideas in the Old Testament can be traced back to Zoroaster, as the Hebrews assimilated much from that source, when in exile in Babylon. The idea of the Devil (which later became an essential part of Christian theology) came from Zoroaster. The idea of angels and arch-angels is also Zoroastrian in origin.

The watchword of the Zoroastrians is 'Pure thought, pure word, pure deed.' In the warfare between good and evil the responsibility for progress rests upon human shoulders; God acts only through human instrumentality. Men are taking part in the strenuous task of God Himself, helping Him in His effort to subdue all evil, in His aim to establish the Kingdom of God.

Zoroastrianism is the religion of purity, and in this respect it has much to teach the modern world. This purity is not merely the outward purity of the Pharisee; it is inward purity also—truthfulness, chastity, obedience to parents, industry, honour, kindness to all living creatures. The virtues are taught to all children, and as a symbol a sacred thread is placed on one of their fingers, and they are clothed in the white linen robe of purity.

It is the duty of Zoroaster to keep the earth pure, free from weeds, and in the best condition to produce food for man. All the many functions of agriculture must be carried out with a religious fervour as a service to God. The water must be kept pure also; if any deadbody or unclean thing falls into the water it must be removed at once, lest the water be polluted. No foul smells must pollute the air, for this is also a sin against God.

Both the earth and fire are sacred to the follower of Zoroaster, and so the bodies of the dead may neither be buried nor burnt. The custom is to expose the deadbodies upon a high tower until

they are picked clean by vultures. The bones are then allowed to drop through a grating into a deep pit below.

### The Basis of International Peace

In the same magazine Harry Taylor is quoted as observing:—

There are certain immutable truths that have to be observed and used as guides if a world peace is to be effected. The first of these great truths is the solidarity of mankind. Mankind is one in origin and its salvation lies in the maintenance of its essential unity. The races of men are as the branches of one tree, fed by the same sap, nourished by the same roots, and warmed by the same sun. What is good for one is good for all, and what harms or degrades one harms and degrades all.

The second great truth that needs to be recognised by all statesmen is that suspicion and intolerance are the enemies of peace and understanding among the nations just as they are the enemies of peace and understanding among classes in a community. Love and sympathy are the only agencies that will solve the international problems of to-day. Once the solidarity of mankind is recognised then it is easy by love and understanding to solve all difficulties and break down all barriers. It ought to be the aim of all the statesmen of the great nations to reach out to all the weaker peoples, and in the spirit of love and sympathy to help them to a greater freedom and self-development. It ought to be recognised that every people or nation advanced from semi-barbarism and degradation to civilisation and independence is an asset to mankind, and a further guarantee of international peace.

This positive attitude of love and understanding on the part of the statesmen of the world is the most essential element in the preparation of World Peace. It means reaching out and interesting oneself in other people's problems and doing all in one's power to remove those problems or injustices. Just think what it would mean if this attitude were adopted towards India, China, Egypt, Persia, Turkey, and many other countries. It would mean the instant removal of shackles and barriers, and the abolition of numerous causes of discord and hate. It would of course, mean sacrifice and the giving up of power by the great powers and financiers, but it is only by the road of self sacrifice that the world can be saved. "Thy neighbour as thyself" must be applied internationally, as well as individually, and colour and caste and nation must be considered no more.

Only by this world outlook can the Great Catastrophe be averted. Only by seeking out the things that unite and clearing away the causes of discord can the world be saved.

The question lies deeper even than world-wide disarmament; it means a complete cleansing, within and without, of the habits and customs of the great nations.

### The Outlawry of War

The same magazine thus epitomises John Haynes Holmes' article in *Unity*, on the subject of the outlawry of war:—

The ordeal by battle and the duel were regarded as matters of "honour," as necessary to maintain the "virility" of the race, and as integral elements in "human nature," much in the same way as international war is by many people to-day regarded.

But a time came when this childish notion was discarded, and duelling was made "a crime" punishable by law.

All participants in war must by an international agreement and code of law be declared "criminal."

Mr. Holmes' proposal is to follow a precedent set by the Law of the States of Virginia and Kentucky. Everyone entering upon the discharge of any function as an officer of the State has to take an oath, or make affirmation, that he will not take part either as principal or accessory, in a duel. Violation of this oath renders the official liable to impeachment and removal from office.

"Now why not incorporate a pledge of this kind against war into the oath of office taken by every president, premier, and foreign secretary throughout the world? Why not provide that the President of the United States, for example, shall solemnly swear that he will not take (his) nation into war, or send or accept a declaration of war, or aid or assist in any manner in fighting such war during (his) continuance in office? Why not provide similarly that every Representative and Senator of the United States shall solemnly swear that he will not vote for a declaration of war, or provide any authorisations or appropriations for such war, or aid or assist in any manner in fighting such war during (his) continuance in office?"

Mr. Holmes says that this idea, like disarmament must be adopted "by every country at one and the same time."

What Mr. Holmes doubtless feels it that so long as we have armies and navies, and war, with all its horrors, is regarded as a rational and moral, and therefore justifiable and legitimate way, worthy of human beings, of settling international disputes, excuses will always be found for war, League of Nations notwithstanding. The principle of war has to be repudiated, and armies and navies placed in the same category with the manufacture of bombs and other munitions of war. Only an international police force to preserve life, and to bring bandits to trial before a Court of Nations, would be necessary, and in the case of a "criminal" government, the method of no-co-operation and boycott would have to be adopted.

### Poise and Personality

Swami Paramananda observes in the *Message of the East*:—

Poise makes the foundation for a greater personality. We never find one whom we revere, one who is worthy of our respect and admiration, who is fretful and lacking in balance, because these qualities do not go with true greatness of character. We know without any great exertion on our part that it is not the nervous, excitable, nor even the most active type of human being, who accomplishes the most; but rather the one whose forces are well organized, whose speech is well controlled and whose body and bodily faculties are under command. Such a man, whatever he undertakes, not

only undertakes it with masterful attitude, he accomplishes it.

In every department of life, from the smallest undertaking to the greatest, we need tranquillity and poise. And what is poise? It means balance, and we all must have balance. If we do not have balance, our vision is not correct; our forces, even our physical forces, are not well organized; and naturally we meet with failure. The greatest failure that man can meet with is spiritual failure. If we do not have a grasp on our inner life, our physical life can endure very little. A strong man with physical vigor, with a good, even a brilliant mind, eventually breaks down if he does not have poise. Indian philosophical and spiritual study lays great emphasis upon the state of balance. It leads not merely to intellectual speculation, but to meditation. There are people in the active world who will say: "What have we to do with meditation? We cannot waste our time sitting and reflecting on something which is indefinite."

Poise means literally, simply and logically that we are one with ourselves,—no friction, no agitation, no disturbing elements, no rage, no storm. Storm does not always come from outside. Often we find there is a greater storm raging within our own soul and we create it. Also we have the power to uncreate it. We do not obtain this point of equilibrium if we live carelessly. We may think that if we appear before others as ladies and gentlemen, that will suffice; that when we are living in our own homes, where no one is watching us, it does not make any difference whether we live in the right way or not. This is a great mistake. Whatever our ideal is, it must be expressed through and through our life. Above all, we must be in tune with ourselves. It is not public opinion that makes a man great, it is his own endorsement of himself. Therefore one must form the habit of entering within one's own sanctuary.

When we gain poise, it is not only that we make our life invulnerable and safe from outer afflictions, but it gives us access to higher wisdom as the great Chinese philosopher Chuang Tzu declares in his graphic description: "When water is still it is like a mirror. It gives the accuracy of the water level and the philosopher makes it his model. If water derives lucidity from stillness, how much more the faculties of the mind! The mind of the sage, being in repose, becomes the mirror of the universe, the speculum of all creation."

### Hindu-Muslim Unity

On the question of Hindu-Muslim Unity, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali says, in part, in *The Indus*:

It is often said that the real cause of these unfortunate differences is incitement from the officials on the principle of "divide and rule". To call this a cause seems to me to be beside the mark. There must be a good deal of feeling between the two communities before any incitement of that kind can lead to violence. The declared policy of Government is to hold itself strictly neutral and use every means to allay these differences. Public administration is not rendered easier but more difficult by breaches of law and order. In any case if the communities were really friendly, nothing that a

"Foreign Bureaucracy" (the fashionable phrase now) can do would be sufficient to make Hindus and Muslims fly at each others' throats.

The real and potent causes are to be sought in other directions. First, there is the question of history. In India, whether the Muslims came as missionaries or traders, there was not much feeling against them. They were even welcomed and held a very honourable position in the courts of Hindu Kings. With the Ghaznavi conquest feelings changed. The Muslims obtained the upper hand, and there were many things done and said which caused bitterness in the relations between Muslims and Hindus.

The real question arose when the Muslims lost their power in India. The Hindus had not yet regained any special influence in the State. But they took more easily to British learning and were not hampered by the mental discontent which inevitably follows loss of power. The two communities under British rule grew up side by side, but the one was sullen and sulky, and the other was eager to adapt themselves to the new conditions. The result was that within a century the two communities stood on different planes as far as the public services and the public institutions of British India were concerned.

When the Muslims began gradually to lose their preponderating influence in the public services, they saw their mistake and tried to recover lost ground. In this matter, however, they got very little assistance from the Hindu community. If there were occasions when one community was played off against another, neither party saw clearly through the game and each began to attack the other for shortcomings which were very much exaggerated.

When the feeling of national consciousness came at last in India, it is very much to be regretted that it took a tinge which was more Hindu than Indian, more sectional than national. Indian Nationalism would have had a splendid future if it had rallied round the standard of India and not of Hinduism. Some of our statesmen clearly saw the need for cordial political relations between the two communities, but they met with no response or only lip response from many prominent politicians. The policy of the Arya-Samaj was from the beginning aggressive both in a political and in a religious sense. More recently it has tried conversions against Hindu Rajputs under the insulting name of "Shuddhi" (purification). This naturally set the whole of the Muslim Ulama against the Hindu policy.

In politics men like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan realised quite clearly that the two communities were like the two eyes of a man: he cannot hurt the one without affecting the other. At the same time the political outlook of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was very different from the political outlook of the Congress as then constituted. The result was a wide gulf between the two communities with regard to their ways of looking at political reform.

### Dr. Clifford's Advice to Speakers

Dr. Clifford's advice to speakers is contained in the following letter, published in *The Christian World*.

My method is: (1) to master my facts, on my line of reasoning as far as possible; (2) to write out what I wish to say as fully as time permits; (3) to rewrite—or, as the Germans say, rework—the subject; (4) to "boil down," so as to get the briefest analysis of what is to be said; (5) to resist the temptation to rely upon the written phrase, and leave the mind to act with all possible freedom and spontaneity; (6) to make clear to myself the precise character of the result I wish to achieve and then to bend all my energies in that direction.

As to advices, they are numberless.

(1) Never forget distinctness of articulation. This is a primary consideration in effective utterance.

(2) To get a vocabulary, read the best literature and mark the *elect* terms, terms which give distinction to a sentence and lift it out of the rut of wearisome commonness.

(3) To secure self-command, secure self-oblivion by charging the entire mind, the emotive no less than the reflective parts with the subject and with the purpose of the speech.

(4) Incessant and undespaiing work is all in all.

### Travelling in Persia

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig gives in *Chambers's Journal* the following advice relating to travelling in Persia:—

The wiser course is to master the language of the country. He who does this need never be lonely. Intercourse with the villagers will give him glimpses of life from an angle to which he has not been accustomed. He will hear of the wonderful power of the evil eye; of the infirmities of the local governor's temper; of the treasure buried under a neighbouring mountain by the hero Rustam, and protected by him with a diamond wheel, which whirls round at such a rate that any laying predatory hands on the deposit would instantly be cut in two; of the sufferings of the robber who was built alive into that stone pillar standing near the entrance to the village; of the *sagtur*, a mysterious hybrid beast of incredible strength, ferocity, and cunning, and of many other marvels. With the sick and the infirm he must be very patient, for the charity of our physicians and the good fortune of a passing layman, who may have chanced to relieve suffering by an opportune pill or dose of quinine, have convinced the Persian rustic that all Europeans are skilled in medicine, and the traveller may be asked for drops warranted to cure blindness of many years' standing, or a liniment to restore a withered arm.

Above all, he must be tolerant of curiosity, remembering that in many respects he is a wonder to those among whom he moves. His umbrageous hat, his indecently short coat, his strangely cut breeches, the general skimpiness of his attire, his energetic movements, are all wonders. He must bear with those who steal softly to watch him at his meals, for who can forbear watching one who cannot, by reason of the poison which, as every Persian knows, distils from his nails, plunge his hand into his victuals like an ordinary human being, but must arm himself with fearsome weapons, and attack his meat with both edge and point?



# DR. STEN KONOW AND THE VISVA-BHARATI

By Dr. KALIDAS NAG.

THE personality of Rabindranath and his ideals, as externalised in and through the Visva-Bharati, have evoked the warmest enthusiasm amongst some of the foremost orientalist of Europe. Professor Sylvain Levi of the Collège de France was the first to come out (1921-1922) to organise the Department of Indology, initiating the studies of Tibetan and Chinese and enlarging thereby the vision of Indian history, placing it on its proper background of the history of Greater India. Dr. Winternitz of the University of Prague (accompanied by Prof. Lesny) guided the research workers of Santiniketan between 1922-1923 and won the profound admiration and permanent gratitude of the scholars there, by his unique erudition in the department of Indian literature, his invaluable directions with regard to the textual criticism of the Mahabharata and above all by his genuine sympathy for India, her ancient lore and age-old idealism.

In Dr. Sten Konow the visiting professor for 1924-1925, the Visva-Bharati is welcoming not only a true friend of India but an Indologist of rare experience and versatility. As I had the privilege of meeting Prof. Konow in his own home in course of my lecture-trip through Norway in 1923, I consider it my duty to bring before my Indian friends a few details about the career of this renowned Indologist which I could gather from different sources.

Born on the 17th April 1867, Sten Konow spent his early days in Valdres (Central Norway). Coming to Christiania in 1884 he worked for some time in the University where Professor Torp used to teach Sanskrit. So Dr. Konow may take a legitimate pride in celebrating in the Visva-Bharati the 40th anniversary of his first study of Indian texts! While still in his teens he paid his first visit to Germany in 1886 and studied in the University of Halle. He was then specially interested in the Classics and the Teutonic philology; but he had also the privilege of meeting in Halle two renowned orientalists: Pischel and Geldner who had left permanent marks in the department of the study of Indian and Iranian literature.

Maturing his studies Konow paid his second visit to Germany (1892) and took his Doctor's degree in the University of Halle publishing a dissertation on the *Samavidhana Brahmana* (Halle 1893). He was appointed the Assistant Librarian to the Royal Library of Berlin and worked in that capacity between 1894-1897; at the same time he profited by the presence of some eminent scholars in Berlin. He used to attend the informal lectures of Geldner on the Upanishads and to meet frequently the great Indologist Weber. Konow preserves to this day golden souvenirs of his *Guru* Pischel and paid a fitting tribute to that master in the dramatic and Prakrit literature of India by publishing *Rajashekhara's Karpuramangari*, on which Konow had been working since 1888 and which stands to this day as a model of textual criticism and literary appreciation. His splendid edition of the drama was published in the Harvard Oriental Series and the University of Harvard offered him a chair (1900), while Dr. Konow was working as a Privat-docent in the University of Christiania. This tempting offer was refused by Dr. Konow who applied instead to Dr. Grierson to be attached to the Linguistic Survey of India. There cannot be a better illustration of Dr. Konow's silent yet solid devotion to the cause of Philology. And Indian linguistics has amply compensated Dr. Konow by winning for him the well-merited title of a veritable master of that science. Between 1900-1914 Konow published six monumental volumes in the Linguistic Survey series and a Baskali Dictionary to the bargain!

But Dr. Konow is also an epigraphist and palaeographist of rare merit. He was appointed the Government Epigraphist of India in 1906 and spent two years in India visiting the various historical sites and conducting partly the excavation of Saranath. For nearly ten years (1906-1916) with slight interruptions Dr. Konow acted as the editor of *Epigraphia Indica* and has won the admiration of all scholars by his rare contributions. He returned to Norway as the Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Christiania and worked in that capacity for five years (1909-1914).

Though segregated in his ice-bound home of Norway, the services of this renowned Indo-logist was enthusiastically requisitioned by orientalisists all over the world. He was not only in intimate touch with the Linguistic and the Epigraphic Surveys of India but the Oxford University honoured him by requesting him to edit the Khotanese texts of the Hoernle collection. The University of Hamburg utilised his rare experience by appointing him to the chair of Sanskrit which he occupied for five years (1914-1919). The splendid Sanskrit Seminar of Hamburg is due entirely to Dr. Konow. He was offered also the chair left vacant with the death of Windisch in Leipzig; but Prof. Konow having finished his "History of Indian Drama" (1918) in German, preferred to be back to his home university of Kristiania where round him he had gathered and trained a group of Indologists amongst whom the most promising was Dr. G. Morgenstierne whom we had the pleasure of welcoming in Santiniketan a few months ago.

So Dr. Konow is not simply a scholar but an organiser of rare ability. He founded the Oriental Society of Norway (1921) where I had the privilege of discussing "Bengali Literature and Rabindranath" in 1923. The latest achievement of Prof. Konow is the unification of the Orientalists of Norway, Denmark and Holland and the publication (end of 1922) of the excellent journal *Acta Orientalia* (address: Etnografisk Museum, Kristiania) which our Indian oriental societies may consult to their profit. Naturally Dr. Konow is honoured with seats in various learned associations; e.g., the Berlin Academy, the Norwegian Academy, the Gottenburg Society of Science to mention only a few amongst others.

Lastly Dr. Konow is not simply a profound scholar but a great populariser of his science. While writing the most learned monographs for technical journals he does not consider it below his dignity to write popular articles in the daily papers of Norway like the "*Morgenbladet*" (Morning Post) or "*Tidens Tegn*" (Sign of the Time). He was the first to publish a popular account of the momentous discoveries in Central Asia under the title: "The Desert and the Oasis" (1912). He published an Introduction to Indian Antiquities (1917) and a study on "India in the 19th Century"

which I found in its Swedish translation in a book-stall of Upsala!

Those, who have the privilege of listening to Prof. Konow discussing even the most technical and recondite topics, have felt that he is not simply a great savant but a veteran teacher. While examining the Kharosthi Dharmapada or analysing the Khotanese Vajrachhedika he dazzles us by his deep erudition and critical acumen. But he is a brilliant master of lucid exposition and philosophic generalisation equally as was evidenced by his inaugural discourse before the Visva-Bharati: "On the Development of Indian thought" (outlining his forthcoming work to be printed soon in the *Chantepie de la Saussaye, Religionsgeschichte*, Tübingen).

In welcoming Professor Sten Konow we feel that we are not dealing with a mere scholar or an administrator; we feel that he is, above all, a man of faith and of conviction which spoke through every syllable of his noble reply in Sanskrit to the address presented by the Visva-Bharati authorities: "Eternal Truth lives its own life, and it comes to us and reveals its own self to us; we are only fit for discovering it (vayam drashtarah). Our ability does not go further than to attempt to make our mind free from defilement, like a pure looking-glass, to give free access to the rays of Truth."

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## NOTES

### Enemies of India, in America

As the United States of America is a republic and as the Americans obtained their liberty by fighting Britain, it might be natural to infer that they would *all* rejoice if Indians too won freedom from the thralldom to the British people. Such, however, is not the case. Some Americans undoubtedly there are who would be glad if India became free, but there are others—and perhaps they are the majority—who would not like any country in Asia which is not at present free to become autonomous or independent. Imperialism exists in America ;—only it does not usually appear in the form of land-hunger, because she has enough land and to spare of her own. American Imperialism is mainly of the economic variety. But the other variety also exists. This is proved by America not carrying out her promise to the Filipinos to allow them to be independent when a stable government had been established in the Philippines.

Large numbers of Americans being imperialists in their own way, they would naturally be friendly to other imperialistic and exploiting nations whenever such friendliness was not against American interests. So we find that in 1905 President Roosevelt concluded a secret pact with Japan, of the first two pages of which a photographic facsimile has been published in the *Current History Magazine* for October, 1924. We will quote some passages from this pact.

"First, in speaking of some pro-Russians in America who would have the public believe that the victory of Japan would be a certain prelude to her aggression in the direction of the Philippine Islands, \* \* \* observed, that Japan's only interest in the Philippines would be, in his opinion, to have these Islands governed by a strong and friendly nation like the United States, and not have them placed either under the misrule of the natives, yet unfit for self-government, or in the hands of some unfriendly European power. Count Katsura confirmed in the strongest terms the correctness of his views on the point and positively stated that Japan does not harbor any aggressive designs whatever on the Philippines; adding that all the insinuations of the yellow peril type are nothing more or less than malicious and clumsy slanders calculated to do mischief to Japan.

"Second, Count Katsura observed that the maintenance of general peace in the extreme East forms the fundamental principle of Japan's international policy. In his own opinion, the best,

and in fact the only, means for accomplishing the above object would be to form good understanding between the three Governments of Japan, the United States and Great Britain, which have common interest in upholding the principle of eminence. The Count well understands the traditional policy of the United States in this respect and perceives fully the impossibilities of their entering into a formal alliance of such nature with any foreign nation, but in view of our common interests he couldn't see why some good understanding or an alliance in practice, if not in name, should not be made between those three nations in so far as respects the affairs in the Far East. With such understanding firmly formed, general peace in these regions would be easily maintained, to the great benefit of all powers concerned. \* \* \* said that it was difficult, indeed impossible, for the President of the United States of America to enter even to any understanding amounting in effect to a confidential informal agreement, without the consent of the Senate, but that he felt sure that without any agreement at all the people of the United States were so fully in accord with the policy of Japan and Great Britain in the maintenance of peace in the Far East that, whatever occasion arose, appropriate action of the Government of the United States, in conjunction with Japan and Great Britain, for such a purpose could be counted on by them quite as confidently as if the United States were under treaty obligations to take.

*The Current History Magazine* goes on to add :—

The terms of the second Anglo-Japanese Alliance were announced about two weeks after the date of this conversation. Probably the terms of the alliance were in process of negotiation in London at the same time. This fact is important, because in the second paragraph of the memorandum Katsura specifically asks for "a good understanding or an alliance in practice if not in name" of the United States, Great Britain and Japan. In other words, the United States Government was invited to become a secret member of the second Anglo-Japanese alliance.

To this invitation there was cordial response on behalf of America.

The "good understanding" between America, Japan and Great Britain was for "upholding the principle of eminence" and for "the maintenance of peace in the Far East." That in plain language means that America and Japan agreed to help Great Britain, in case of need, to maintain her slave-holding dominant position in India, that America and Britain agreed to help Japan, if needed, to maintain Japan's enslavement of Korea, that Japan and Britain agreed to prevent the Philippines from falling "under the misrule of the



“natives” of that group of islands or into “the hands of some unfriendly European power”, and that all the three “great” powers agreed to see that China did not become one in mind, organised, and strong to resist foreign aggression and exploitation. It is thus that, when there is for the time being no obvious clashing of interests, exploiting nations agree to hold down economically exploited and politically enslaved peoples.

From what has been stated above, it would be easy to understand why “President Roosevelt paid his notable and generous tribute to the most wonderful civilizing work ever accomplished,” as Lord Sydenham writes with reference to British rule in India in his article on “The Threat to British Rule in India” which we have reproduced elsewhere in this issue from *The Current History Magazine*.

### Arti-Indian British Propaganda in America

It has been long known that anti-Indian British propaganda in America is carried on by Americans, Britishers and Indians, in the pay of the British, and there is a moral certainty that the payment is made from the public treasury of India. So, just as India was subjugated with Indian money and with the help of Indian men, she is also sought to be kept in a subject condition with help purchased most probably with Indian money—we say “most probably”, not “undoubtedly,” because the details of disbursement of secret service money never see the light of day.

We shall have a few words to say on Lord Sydenham’s article itself later on. For the present, we may state how it is being used for the purposes of anti-Indian British propaganda in America.

The reader will note how, again and again, Lord Sydenham tries to show how the preservation of British despotism in India would be to the interest of America, the object being to enlist the sympathy and services of America against the cause of Indian liberty. Says he:—

The grave situation which has arisen in India may primarily concern the British Empire; but it suggests possibilities which would directly and indirectly affect the civilized world. Since the assumption of authority by the Crown in 1858 following the great mutiny, the advance of India has been extraordinary. That an eastern sub-continent with a population exceeding 300,000,000, should, until recent years, have been orderly and progressive

was an international factor of extreme importance and if it were now to disappear, there would be repercussions certain to be felt far and wide.

To Americans, faced by Pacific problems of which no one can foresee, the issue, the stabilizing influence which India under British rule has hitherto exercised, has been an advantage perhaps insufficiently recognized. While the British people were engaged in the tremendous task of rescuing India from the blood-stained anarchy which followed the fall of the Mogul Empire, in arresting the devastating activities of Marathas, Rohillas and Pindaris, in abolishing the enormities of Suttee and Thagi, and in gradually building up a pure administration capable of giving peace and equal justice to the millions of India, Americans were too much preoccupied to realize the vast magnitude of an undertaking unparalleled in history. If the great structure which we have created at a sacrifice of innumerable British lives and with infinite effort were now to collapse, there would be a reversion to the anarchy of eighteenth century India, which could not be confined to her borders, and would react upon the Western nations.

There are other such passages, but the one noted above will do for the present.

Lord Sydenham’s article contains a few correct statements of facts and figures, made however, with a sinister purpose. But the bulk of the article consists of half truths and falsehoods. And how is this precious contribution going to be used by the conductors of *The Current History Magazine*? We publish a slightly reduced photographic facsimile of a letter which has been circulated by that magazine, which supplies the answer. It proves conclusively that the article is British propaganda, and part of the anti-Indian propaganda which is carried on systematically in the United States in various ways. We draw particular attention to the following passage in the letter:—

“We would like to circularise this article among people who are interested in Indian affairs in the United States. Could you give us a list of names with addresses, as few or as many as you prefer? We could use as many as 25,000 names, with addresses, *but only of people in the United States of course*. We would pay for the list at the usual rate, or would have the names copied if this is necessary.

Mark the words we have italicised, showing that the article is meant only for American consumption. In addition to its subscribers the magazine wants at least 25,000 other Americans to read Sydenham’s article. Why should any American periodical have such anti-Indian zeal? Evidently the zeal has been produced by British money (drawn directly or indirectly from India), paid to the American journal, for printing 25,000 extra copies of the article, for sending by post the letter asking for 25,000 names and addresses, for paying for

the lists of names, for despatching 25,000 copies and for paying the postage thereon. Whether anything extra has been paid to the periodical for the trouble it has been asked to take, we do not know, though it is probable. For all this is being done in the land of the almighty dollar.

### Sydenham's Article

We have already referred to the sinister and direct appeal made by Lord Sydenham to the American people, and quoted a passage from his article to prove our point. That passage is followed up with another in which he flatters the American people in this wise :—

Since President Roosevelt paid his notable and generous tribute to the most wonderful civilizing work ever accomplished, there have been persistent and organized efforts in the United States to vilify British rule in India. The wildest falsehoods have obtained circulation, so that it is difficult for Americans to ascertain the truth. American missionaries, whose excellent work I had opportunities of judging, are best able to appreciate the benefits of the mildest Government that Eastern peoples ever possessed, and it is significant that, during the dangerous rebellion of 1919 in Northern India, the staff and pupils of the Forman College at Lahore ranged themselves on the side of that Government and were helpful to the authorities at a time of terrible strain.

Another passage in which American sympathy is sought to be secured needs to be referred to. It runs :—

"Americans will not fail to recognize a similarity between their difficulties and ours in India, allowing for the differences of area and population. The Filipino ilustrados have many points in common with the Indian intelligentsia, and both have sought political support in the governing countries. President Wilson, like our Mr. Montagu, decided on an experiment in "self-determination"—a term which Mr. Lansing most wisely described as "loaded with dynamite." The American experiment resulted in administrative chaos and in undoing the fine work of the Americans which Governor General Leonard Wood is valiantly endeavouring to restore. In America, as in England, a political party is willing to abandon the task of giving good government to an eastern people. The future of both India and the Philippines is now in the melting pot of domestic politics."

That the American experiment in the Philippines resulted in administrative chaos, is not true, and General Leonard Wood has been spoken of as a sort of American General Dyer. Filipino leaders have shown again and again that great Lord Sydenham and others are obviously trying to convince the American people that British control of India is a security for America in the Philippine Islands and the

Pacific ocean. This is a serious thing. Britain entered into the Anglo-Japanese alliance to keep India under subjection. She also used the Triple Entente against India, and she is now trying to use America against Indian aspirations. The British are using the continuance of the subjection of India as a main factor in Anglo-American diplomacy. It is also evident that in case of need the British position in India may be used against Japan and China in the Pacific in favour of America. Are Indian statesmen alive to this situation? Canada, Australia and South Africa have been able when necessary to exert their influence to make Britain shape her foreign policy according to *their* interests; but India, instead of being able to do any such thing, is being used as a passive pawn in the diplomatic game.

In the first passage which we have quoted from Sydenham's article, he speaks of Britain being engaged in "rescuing India from the blood-stained anarchy which followed the fall of the Mogul Empire and in arresting the devastating activities of Marathas, Rohillas and Pindaris." Readers of Major B. D. Basu's *Rise of the Christian Power in India* will be able to ascertain how much of this bloodshed and anarchy was due to the aggressive greed and intrigues of the East India Company, and also whether the servants of the Company themselves were not guilty of devastation and of using the Pindaris for their own purposes.

Sydenham says that Indian taxation after the war was about 4s. 9½d., including land revenue. This is not correct. Moreover, the writer, does not give the year after the war to which his figure relates, which was necessary, as taxation has gone on increasing. Sydenham's estimate makes our taxation Rs. 3-9-6 per head per annum. Correct Indian estimates are much higher. The following table is taken from Mr. A. S. Venkataraman's article "Is India Lightly Taxed?" in the October *Hindustan Review* :—

#### INCIDENCE OF TAXATION IN BRITISH INDIA.

Year	Taxation per head.	Average annual income per capita	Percentage of Taxation on average income
	Rs. A. P.	Rs.	
1871	... 1 13 9	20	9
1881	... 2 2 3	27	8
1891	... 2 3 11	...	...
1901	... 2 10 2	30	8·8
1911	... 2 13 11	50	5·7
1913	... 3 1 6	...	...
1920	... 5 0 11	...	...
1922	... 6 7 7	53	8·2

There are other Indian estimates, but none

make out the figures to be so low as Sydenham's. But it is really not the actual amount that is paid in taxes which matters. In order to judge whether a people are heavily or lightly taxed, one must know three things: (1) the earnings per head, (2) the bare cost of living per head, and (3) the taxation per head. But Sydenham cunningly gives only the figure for taxation, to show that India is very lightly taxed, which is not a fact! If the income per head be so large that after meeting the cost of comfortable existence, a decent or a large surplus is left, even a high percentage of taxation will not be burdensome. But if the income per head is so small that it is not sufficient to provide a man with even enough coarse food to keep body and soul together (not to speak of clothing and other bare necessities), even a very small amount exacted as taxes is certainly oppressive. And this is exactly the case in India.

The table printed above shows our per capita income to be Rs. 53 per annum. Of course, that is only an average. But that means that, as there are some who possess larger incomes, there are many more (for most of us are miserably poor) whose income is much less or even *nil*. But even if our income were Rs. 100 per head per annum, that would not suffice to keep a man ordinarily healthy and strong. Therefore to take Rs. 6-7-7 or even Rs. 3-9-6 (according to Sydenham's estimate) per annum from a man whose annual income is Rs. 53 is oppressive in the literal sense of the word.

Sydenham says:—

"Our Socialist Government [meaning the Labour Government] is already violating the spirit, if not the letter, of the constitution, which was to last until 1929, and then to be the subject of inquiry by a commission to be sent out for the purpose. A Commission has been set up in India and is proceeding to take the machine to pieces, alleging quite correctly, but from a point of view differing from mine, that it is unworkable. The demand is now for complete Home Rule (Swaraj)."

Lord Sydenham is ignorant of or suppresses the fact that long before the Labour Government came into power, the Government of India had agreed that a fresh instalment of reforms might be granted to India. *The Bengalee* writes:—

Professor Ruchi R. Sahni states absolutely correctly in the course of a letter to a Lahore journal that the Government of India, in the discussion on Rai Bahadur Judu Nath Majumdar's resolution on self-government in September, 1921, committed itself to the principle that a fresh instalment of reforms might be granted to India earlier than 1929.

The form in which the resolution was finally adopted by the Legislative Assembly was to the effect "that this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he should carry to the Secretary of State the view of the Assembly that the progress made by India on the path of responsible government warrants re-examination and revision of the present constitution at an earlier date than 1929." It will be remembered that this was moved as an amendment to the Rai Bahadur's resolution by Sir William Vincent [the then Home Member] himself; and this shows that the opinion of the Government of India at that time was in favour of a revision of the Act before 1929. This is not a mere surmise; for, Sir William Vincent, speaking on the subject, expressed his conviction that it was not possible to continue the present transitory constitution even for a period of ten years.

Sydenham uses it as an argument against Indians' obtaining Home Rule that "already corruption is asserting itself in ugly forms." Surely this is a queer argument to convince the *American* public that India is not fit for self-rule! In America corruption has assumed gigantic proportions. Though no proofs are needed to establish the truth of this too well-known fact, we may refer the reader to an extract from *World Tomorrow* in our Foreign Periodicals section in this issue and to the following passage in Iowa State University Professor Sudhindra Bose's article in *Welfare*:—

On top of this, colossal graft and corruption have been rampant in almost every department of the government. Even the members of the cabinet have been besmirched in a gigantic oil scandal. Facts have been brought out to prove that the Secretary of the Interior, Honorable Fall, had accepted \$1000,000 in a satchel (approximately Rs. 300,000) from an oil magnate to whom he had delivered the nation's oil. The Senate investigation committee, which undertook to investigate "fraud and corruption" among the higher government officials, received little or no sympathy from Coolidge. He all but sat silent and tongue-tied in the presence of crimes by which his associates had profited. "He was silent," wrote *The Searchlight on Congress*, "unmoved by any apparent impulse to speed up justice in the most momentous and monumental thieveries of all history." Little wonder that under suspicious circumstances, President Coolidge and his party stand much discredited.

Corruption must, of course, be destroyed root and branch. But the mere existence of corruption does not prove that a country ought to be enslaved by another country. Every reader of newspapers is expected to know that colossal sums are spent in bribery in American election campaigns; Indian corruption is a mere bagatelle in comparison. Why does not that fact impel the philanthropic British lord and his countrymen to conquer the United States and thus give it a taste of the pure political methods of England? As, for



Lord Sydenham's own country, how has corruption been sought to be put an end to? The state of things there a hundred years ago and more recently is to be found described even in school histories of England. The extract given from the *Young Men of India* in the Indian Periodicals section in this issue will serve as a reminder. England has sought to fight this evil by successive legislative enactments, but *not* by coming under the subjection of some foreign power or other. Even now honours are sold for getting money for party funds, which are not used for propagating the Gospel or for disseminating the highest spiritual and ethical teachings, but for well-known secret party purposes. We deny that in India corruption, where it exists, is at all comparable with what it is or was in the United States, England and other Western countries. It can be destroyed by increasing the number of voters, by education, and other means; *not* by the continued subjection of India to England.

According to Lord Sydenham,

"The spinning, weaving and other industries were introduced by British pioneers, but are now almost wholly in Indian hands, except in the case of the jute industry of Bengal. Capitalists in India are thus mainly Indians who have risen to wealth owing to the security afforded by British rule. The stories of heartless exploitation which have been circulated in America are deliberate falsehoods."

Let us see whether Lord Sydenham is not himself guilty of "deliberate falsehood." He wishes to convey the impression that there is no or little exploitation of India by British capital. But what are the facts? Professor Jadunath Sarkar is a Government servant in the Indian Educational Service, and his *Economics of British India* is used as a textbook by some of the official universities in India. In the tables given in that book (fourth edition), pages 190-192, the different classes of capital invested in *all India*, (1913), as far as information is available, have been shown. Capital owned exclusively by Europeans is found to be Rs 518,663 crores. Even if capital invested in railways be deducted (though transportation *is* an industry), there still remains Rs. 23.663 crores invested in other industries. As regards capital mainly owned by Europeans, we find its amount to be Rs. 115.9 crores. If the capital of banks, Rs. 73.38 crores be deducted, there still remains Rs. 42.52 crores, invested mainly by Europeans. Capital mainly under Indians is only Rs. 24.29 crores.

All these are no doubt old figures, and

during the last decade many new industrial concerns have sprung up. But whilst Indian capitalists are coming more and more into the industrial field, Europeans have not been idle;—they are in fact more than ever active. So that there is nothing to show that the capital invested in Indian industries is mainly Indian, as Lord Sydenham says.

Lord Sydenham states the number of officers in the Indian Civil Service to be "a little over 900". But in page 8 of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India, 1916, the number is stated to be 1,411. It is news to us that the cadre has been reduced by 500.

In order to impress on the American mind the difficulty of the task of the British rulers in India, Lord Sydenham states that "93 per cent of Indians are wholly illiterate". Did it not strike him what condemnation of British rule in India is implied in that fact? During half a century of modern government in Japan illiteracy among males has all but disappeared and among girls and women also nine-tenths are literate. During a quarter of a century's American rule in the Philippines, the progress of education has been far greater than in India during more than a century and a half of British rule so that there is a far higher percentage of literacy there than here. Even in India itself the percentage of literacy in the Indian States of Baroda, Cochin, and Travancore is higher than in British Indian territory. Proposals for the free and compulsory education of all children of school-going age came first from an Indian leader (the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale), and subsequently also it is non-official Indians who have taken the lead in the matter.

In the period just preceding the British occupation of India and during the earlier decades of the East India Company's rule, India was not an illiterate country. The highest *modern* education was not, of course, available. But so far as literacy and knowledge of the three R's go, India was then more advanced than now. On the strength of British official documents and a missionary report concerning education in Bengal prior to the British occupation, Prof. Max Muller has left it on record that there were then 80,000 native schools in Bengal, or one for every 400 of the population. According to the *Indian Year Book*, 1924, edited by Sir Stanley Reed, there were in 1921-22 in Bengal thirty three arts colleges, 887 high schools and 35,621 primary schools, total 36,541. So that

the number of educational institutions has become less than half of what it was in Bengal prior to British occupation. At present there is one educational institution in Bengal for every 1278 of the population, as against one for every 400 of the population prior to the British occupation of Bengal. So Lord Sydenham will see that Bengal has progressed backwards admirably in literacy under British rule ! As Bengal possesses more educational institutions than any other single province and as its literacy is also higher than that of any other big Indian province, we need not dwell on the "progress" made elsewhere. Still one or two more general observations may be quoted.

Ludlow, in his history of British India, says that, "in every Hindoo village which has retained its old form I am assured that the children generally are able to read, write, and cipher, but where we have swept away the village system, as in Bengal, there the village school has also disappeared."

Then there is Sir Thomas Munro's well-known observation on Hindu civilization in pre-British days :—

"If a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to either convenience or luxury, schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, the general practice of hospitality and charity among each other, and, above all, a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilised people—then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe ; and if civilisation is to become an article of trade between England and India, I am convinced that England will gain by the import cargo."

As these words of a former British ruler of India show that *perhaps* India was a civilised country *before* the British people became its masters, Lord Sydenham need not be *very* anxious at the thought of the *certain* "destruction of our work of a century and a half" under Swaraj. He may console himself with the thought that probably when Home Rule is established, the Indians will destroy only the *bad* work of the British and conserve and improve upon the good work done by them. We say "good" work, for there is no question that Britishers have had to do some good to India, mainly, if not solely, in pursuit of their own worldly interests.

It is not our intention to traverse all the wholly or partly false statements made by Lord Sydenham. But a few more points may be noted. He says :

"The experiment of appointing a very able Bengal lawyer Governor of Bihar and Orissa was

lately tried and failed, leading to his resignation after a few months."

It is unfortunate that Lord Sinha, who is the person referred to, is "tongue-tied," and so it is not possible to prove to demonstration that the "failure" of the experiment was not due to his inferiority to every white man who has come out to India as Governor and whose birthright it is invariably to be successful. Nevertheless we would ask our contemporaries in Bihar and Orissa to throw some light on this and other passages in Sydenham's article.

He also claims that during his five and a half years of office in Bombay, the aim of leading India gradually toward self-government was never absent from his mind. We expect our Indian contemporaries of the Bombay Presidency will be able to say what their ex-governor did for the promotion of the cause of self-government. There is another passage which can be quite adequately dealt with by Bombay journalists. It runs :—

"All local government is in their [Indians'] hands, with results that, in some cases, have been disastrous. (For example, I was forced to suspend two municipalities for shocking proceedings, and no resentment was forthcoming. The Bombay Municipality, now converted into a political body, has boycotted all British goods.)

He also testifies that, after the Morley-Minto reforms, in Bombay "no legislation was passed without the concurrence of a council in which Indians held a large majority." But did not that majority consist of both Government nominated and elected Indian members ?

His lordship indulges in the ultra-verbose assertion that "the liberality of these [Morley-Minto] reforms was regarded at the time with astonishment by Indian politicians." We have never heard of such Indian politicians, but we have not the least doubt that this piece of news given by his lordship will be read with "astonishment" by the vast majority of Indian politicians.

In his opinion, it was an "amazing incident," "when Councils refused to vote the salary of their 'Ministers.'" But in what sense can these Ministers be called "their" ministers ? The councils did not appoint or elect them ; the Governors appointed them without even consulting the councils. Nor were these ministers the leaders of the majority party. Under the circumstances, what is there amazing in the refusal of the

salary of such ministers as did not enjoy the confidence of the councils ?

As was to be expected, Sydenham justifies the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, considers it a necessity and supports the English Judge who "pronounced this year a verdict which the impartial (!!!) historian will be compelled to endorse." The article is illustrated with a portrait of Dyer. His veracious lordship records, for the use of his future "impartial historian", the fact that "in the spring of 1919, before the passage of the bill, a better planned and more wide-ranging rebellion than the mutiny of 1857 broke out." "Amritsar was in the hands of the rebels." And so on and so forth. These are figments of Sydenham's diseased brain or, may be, he eats or smokes opium. But the whole passage relating to the Panjab should really be dealt with, by the Indian papers of that province. We ought not, however to refrain from drawing attention to a cryptic sentence in the article. Sydenham says :—

"The shooting at Jallianwala Bagh has been described in America and elsewhere as a massacre. At another great town, not in the Panjab, the losses were at least as great, but this fact is not known."

What and where is that great town ? Who inflicted the losses and when and why ? Why does the writer leave the whole thing enveloped in mystery ?

"The citizens of Amritsar came in crowds to thank General Dyer." Let the citizens of Amritsar properly characterise this delicate falsehood.

According to the writer the Moplah rising was "due entirely to the freedom granted to political agitators to stir up the well-known fanaticism of a backward Moslem population." Our Indian contemporaries of the Madras Presidency should be able to contradict or support this allegation.

"... if Swaraj supervenes, ... the native states ... will be face to face with the forces of subversion which they would certainly resist by force. Some of them have military forces which they would use to carve out larger territories from the veldt which would follow a lapse of authority in British India. Such extensions have been already planned."

One must conclude either that some "native states" have taken his lordship into their confidence regarding their future "plans of extension," which is not in the least likely, or that, the wish being father to the thought, Sydenham has thus wickedly and indirectly sought to incite "the great chiefs" to act in the way suggested in order that Swaraj might be a failure; for Swaraj

is bound to come—a thought which is gall and wormwood to Sydenham.

"We are and we remain solely responsible for the welfare and the gradual uplifting of the vast masses of Indian peoples, to whom our authority alone can give law, order and equal justice."

After more than 150 years of British rule, India is the most illiterate country under a civilised government. The death-rate in India is the highest among all countries under a civilised government.

In the history of the world, there never was a country under a civilised government in which plague continued its ravages for three decades, as it has been doing in India under British rule and suzerainty; and plague is a disease born of poverty, insanitation and ignorance. In no country under a civilised government are there such and so many disastrous famines. As for equal justice, how many European murderers of Indians have been hanged? How many other Europeans, clearly guilty of other crimes have been punished adequately or at all. As for law and order, the Kohat Tragedy shows how they are maintained.

The Indian political leaders have fought for universal education, for adequate grants, for sanitation, for measures for the relief of the indebtedness of peasants and farmers, for adequate grants for the improvement of agriculture and industries, for the permanent or long term settlement of the land revenue; and the officials have generally assumed a hostile or *non possumus* attitude, or at the best one of indifference or, latterly of half-hearted support on some occasions.

Yet we are called upon to believe that the British bureaucrats are the only friends which the masses of India ever had, now have and can have in future and that those who are seeking Swaraj are the enemies of of their poor and illiterate countrymen. We know we have not done our duty, as we ought, to our countrymen; we know we ought to do more for the country than we have done. But we totally deny that the British bureaucrats have at all adequately done their duty or ever tried earnestly to do their duty to the masses in the matters of education, sanitation and improvement and extension of agriculture, industries, trade and commerce. The British rulers and exploiters of India have primarily sought to promote their own interests, as was but natural, for unregenerate humanity, and incidentally some advantages could not but accrue to some



classes of Indians. Hence, the assumption of philanthropic airs, of the role of patrons and trustees, by these men of British birth, is simply intolerable.

Mr. A. S. Venkataraman observes in the *Hindustan Review* :

"The following figures given by Sir Viswesvaraya in his address in the Economic Conference, are eloquent by reason of their silence :—

	Average wealth or property per head.	Annual per capita income.	Trade per head.	Death rate per 1,000.	Average expecta- tion of life in years.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		
United Kingdom	6,000	720	640	Below 14	45
Canada ...	4,400	550	510	„ 14	...
India ...	180	53	23	Over 30	24

"These figures, while speaking for themselves, reveal in lurid colours some millions starving for want of a meal a day, while others have only one, the low average wealth and income (2½ annas a day !), the poorest trade, the lowest expectation of life and the highest rate of mortality."

We feel it necessary to explain that what we have said about the British rulers and exploiters of India is true of them only in the mass, and that we fully recognise that there have been and are exceptional persons among them, the excellence of whose lives and motives command respect. We have also to add that our observations have no reference to altruistic British workers in India unconnected with exploitation and administration.

### The Unity Conference.

The following is the full text of the first resolution finally adopted at the Unity Conference held at Bombay :—

(a) While firmly of opinion that anarchical organisations can never secure Swaraj to the people of India and while disapproving and condemning most emphatically such organisations, if any, this Conference representing all classes and communities of India and every variety of political opinion, views with strongest disapproval and condemns the action of the Governor-General in promulgating the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance of 1924 as such an extraordinary measure being a direct invasion upon individual liberty should not have been enacted without the sanction of the Legislature and as it easily lends itself at the hands of the executive to grave abuses resulting in implicating innocent persons and in interfering with constitutional political activity as past experience of similar measure has repeatedly demonstrated.

(b) This Conference urges the immediate withdrawal of the Ordinance and the trial, if necessary, in accordance with the ordinary law of the persons detained under it.

(c) This Conference further urges that Regulation III of 1818 which gives the Government powers of arresting and confining persons suspected of public crimes without warrant, without trial and without statement of a reason for such arrest and confinement should be forthwith withdrawn.

(d) This Conference records its conviction that the present political situation in India is due to the denial of just rights long overdue of the people and that the speedy establishment of Swaraj is the only effective remedy.

It was moved by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, who made a long and well-reasoned speech in doing so. Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal seconded the resolution. In doing so, "Mr. Pal thought that the framers of the resolution were quite right in not committing themselves on the fact of the existence or non-existence of anarchical organisations, because they had no evidence on the point." This was certainly the right view to take. In a recent issue of *The Bengalee*, however, an editorial article on "The Situation" opened thus :

We have freely accepted the plea of the Government that there is a very serious terrorist menace in the country. We know there are people who do not believe this. But Mr. C. R. Das, in any case, is not one of them. Frankly speaking, we have all along known a certain mentality in Indian Nationalist politics, and we hope we may say it without offence, that it is a very common Moderate mentality which is extremely unwilling to face unpleasant truths of this character, lest it should find excuse to the Government for adopting rigorous measures of repression to fight this menace. We have never believed in the wisdom of this ostrich policy. We do think that there is a propaganda of political assassination in the country just now.

There seems to be some difference between what Mr. Pal said at Bombay and what appeared in his paper. Possibly the article in *The Bengalee* was not written by him, or he may have changed his opinion to some extent. Or, Mr. Pal, with his well-known dialectic skill and metaphysical subtlety, may be able to show that the divergence is only apparent not real.

Mr. George Joseph moved an amendment that after the words "if any" in clause (a) of the resolution, the words "as also all instigations thereto and all countenancing thereof" should be added.

"He wanted to carry the resolution to its logical end. Of the existence of anarchical organisations, they were doubtful, but in the country there was silent sympathy with revolutionary activities and that was indeed greater than the activity itself. As long as they were politicians, they must keep their hands quite clean. They should not depend

on these organisations to force the Government hands for any reforms or power. In the Irish history, Parnell was charged by the British Government with being in league with the terrorists. On that basis they tried to suppress his political influence. Again the present Premier of Italy rose to power by making use of fascism but what was the result? The revolution in Italy was succeeded by bitterness and fighting in every village. If they allowed any alliance with the terrorist in India they would have to face the consequences. They must not fail to remember that anarchists fed not on money but on public sympathy. So far as the present resolution was concerned, the anarchists in Bengal or elsewhere, if they existed, were quite capable of ignoring their condemnation of revolutionary activities and only gloat over their condemnation of the Viceregal action. It was incumbent on them to guard against the instigators."

There was nothing unreasonable in Mr. Joseph's speech. Pandit Motilal Nehru in opposing the amendment said that it was a well-known dictum of law that instigators and those who countenanced anarchism were as much criminals as the anarchists themselves. He therefore wondered why such a barrister and journalist as Mr. George Joseph should move this amendment. But may a journalist who is not a lawyer of any sort be permitted to ask, what harm there was in making explicit what in the opinion of the great Pandit himself was implied in the resolution? Do not many law-codes contain such explications (which may be considered redundant) in order to leave no room for doubt? The Pandit humorously proceeded to observe that he was willing to name those persons who moved the Gopinath Saha resolution and framed it as instigators. But, speaking seriously, would the Pandit be prepared to vote for a resolution condemning the framers and movers of that resolution as instigators of anarchism?

There might not have been any need for Mr. Joseph's amendment; but, as he had moved it, there would have been nothing wrong either in accepting it, because it was not palpably superfluous.

We write thus, at the risk of being chaffed as cowardly, "vegetables," arm-chair patriots, because there certainly is among some politicians a disposition to exploit for their political purposes the supposed or real existence of anarchical or revolutionary organisations in the country—a disposition which found indirect expression in two of the speeches made in the Conference itself. We support Mr. K. Natarajan's opinion that as anarchism is morally wrong, it is therefore to be condemned, and that Swaraj obtained

by murder and rapine is not worth having. We use the word anarchism in the sense of terroristic anarchism, not philosophical anarchism, without necessarily implying the soundness of the latter.

At the suggestion of Mrs. Besant, the first two clauses and the last two clauses of the resolution were put to the vote separately. The first two clauses were carried by a large majority, only Mrs. Besant and three of her followers voting against them; the last two were carried unanimously.

The second resolution, moved by Mr. M. K. Gandhi and carried unanimously, runs as follows:—

"This Conference appoints a committee consisting of Dewan Bahadur T. Rangacharyar, Dewan Bhadur M. Ramachandra Rao, Sir Pirushottamdas Thakurdas, Rt. Hon. Sastri, Sir T. E. Saprú, C. Y. Chintamani, Mrs. Annie Besant, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, R. P. Paranjpye, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, C. R. Das, Mahomed Yakub, M. H. Kidwai, Mahomed Ali, M. A. Jinnah, S. M. Shinde, Bhulabhai Desai, T. V. Parvate, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Abul Kalam Azad, J. B. Petit, S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Babu Bhagavandas, N. C. Kelkar, Joseph Baptista, Sirdar Mangai Singh, Lala Lajpat Rai, C. Rajagopalachariar, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Harkishenlal, the President of the European Association, the President of the Anglo-Indian Association, the President of the Christian Association, the President of the non-Brahmin Association and others to consider the best way of reuniting all political parties in the Indian National Congress and to prepare a scheme of Swaraj including a solution of Hindu-Moslem and similar questions in their political aspects and to report not later than March 31st 1925. The Conference is to meet not later than April 30th and the report is to be published a fortnight before the Conference meet."

The resolution is all right as it stands. But who are the "and others" not named in it? Have their names been omitted owing to lack of space or for the sake of making the telegraphic message brief, or are they to be co-opted afterwards? If so, by whom?

At the close of the conference,

Mr. Mohamed Ali addressed the meeting for a few minutes and congratulated the Conference on having paved the way for unity. He suggested that all parties though they could not unite at the Belgaum Congress should at least hold their own conferences at Belgaum. He asked, amidst applause, the audience to issue a mandate to the several parties present to comply with his request.

Mrs. Besant, amidst cheers, announced her intention of responding to the invitation on behalf of the National Home Rule League. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani promised to consult his Council and regretted his inability to express any opinion on their behalf.

Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar and A. N. Surve promised to influence their respective parties to hold a joint non-Brahmin Conference at Belgaum.

Mr. Joseph Baptista amidst loud laughter observed that those who would not come to Be. gaum should be arrested without warrant.

### The Kohat Tragedy.

We have seen an article written by Lala Lajpat Rai on the Kohat Tragedy in *The Tribune* of Lahore and *The Hindustan Times* of Delhi. Therein the Lala says:--

I have read all that has been written on the subject on both sides. It is difficult to place the blame with anything like judicial certainty on one party or the other, but the following facts emerge out of the tangled accounts pretty clearly.

(a) That the officials knew that trouble was ahead and yet they did practically nothing to prevent it.

(b) That the Military was not called in time either to prevent it or to check it.

(c) That crores worth of property of Hindus was looted and burnt to ashes. Millionaires were reduced to the position of paupers and beggars and untold suffering was inflicted on children and women. Ill health has stood in my way and prevented me from going to Pindi, as I originally intended to do, to see the condition of these unfortunate victims of communal tension.

(d) That about 3500 Hindus left Kohat in a state of panic, being afraid of their lives, and the British Government did nothing to assure them of safety and keep them at Kohat. That the Government itself arranged for their emigration from Kohat to Rawalpindi by providing a special train for them or giving them free tickets. I am of opinion that the last fact raised the Kohat trouble to the dignity of a national disaster, and deserves serious consideration at the hands of all who take an interest in public affairs.

The Lala then discusses what the Government has done.

Assuming (mind, I am only assuming and not admitting) that the Hindus started the trouble and they were to blame for all that happened, should the matters have been allowed to assume the shape they did, which compelled a *whole community* to fly from the anger of a section of their countrymen to a distance of hundreds of miles? Was it not the duty of the Government to provide for their safety and to keep them at Kohat at all risks? Is this the security which the Government guarantees to its subjects in India? Is it thus they maintain "law and order"? Is it this for which they maintain such a huge army and an expensive police? They boast so often, in season and out of season, that but for them the Hindus and Muhammadans will fly at each other's throats and devour each other. Does not the Kohat incident prove that their boast is entirely unjustified? Here is a Hindu-Muslim trouble which results in the whole Hindu community flying from their homes to a place several hundred miles away, from their enraged countrymen of the Muslim faith. Any Government who cared for its reputation as preserver of law and order, would have been ashamed of this incident, and immediately made amends for it. But instead,

what do we find? That the mighty British Government is haggling over the terms on which these victims of the incapacity and inefficiency of its officers should be induced to return to their homes? They refuse any compensation to them, and offer loans repayable with interest. They arrest their leaders and carry on negotiations with a man whose own property, I am told (at least a great part of it) is intact, and whose representative character is denied by the great bulk of the sufferers. Must the doctrine of 'divide and rule' prevail even on occasions like these? Has the Government forgotten how generous it was to the few Europeans who suffered losses at Amritsar during the riots of 1919? Does the fact that Kohat riots were communal and not political, make any difference to the innocent who have suffered thereby? What was the fault of those women and children who have been rendered widows and orphans by the murderous assaults of those who started the riots or those who came to stop them or even those who came to use the opportunity for loot? Has the Government made any *independent* enquiry? We have no faith in its departmental enquiries. What was there to prevent it from appointing an independent committee of members of the Legislative Assembly to go to the spot and make enquiries? They would have at least sifted the facts. More than 2 months have elapsed and the Government have done virtually nothing to deserve public confidence in its efforts to find out the truth and do the needful. Without making any reflections on the honesty of any public servant, we know what official enquiries are. The Foreign Secretary, writing to the Chief Commissioner, the Chief Commissioner writing to the Deputy Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner calling for a report from the Assistant Commissioner or the Muslim Working Committee. Does it make any difference that the Foreign Secretary or an Honourable Member goes to Kohat and Peshawar? The procedure is still the same and the result the same, according to the vernacular saying "*Dhak ke wahi tin pat.*"

As befits a person of the position which the Lala holds in the public life of the country, he speaks of the Kohat Hindus as victims of nothing more than "the incapacity and inefficiency of its [Government's] officers"; but we should not be doing our duty as journalists if we did not give expression to the correct or wrong impression on the mind of the public that some of the servants of Government had something to do with the horrible colossal crime, and that Mahatma Gandhi's visit to Kohat was put a stop to in order to prevent the truth from coming out.

Being impartial in his censure the Lala next proceeds to ask what the country has done for the sufferers.

What has the country done? Have the leaders realised the gravity of the situation and done anything even moderately adequate to the needs of the occasion? The general Hindu public (poor and middle class people) have done something to provide for the necessities of life for their distressed fellow-



religionists. On hearing the news of the desecration of temples, Mahatma Gandhi took to fasting. Then he applied to the Government of India for permission to go to Kohat with some of the Mohammeden leaders. The Government refused permission and I am of opinion that the Government refused it because of his request to take some Mussalman leaders with him. I am very loth to criticise anyone, but I am free to say that in the face of this indifference to the gravity of the issues raised by this incident, all talk of bringing about unity seems to be absolutely superficial and meaningless. Is not Kohat a part of India? Are not the Kohat Hindus and Muslims a part of the Indian population? Were not their troubles worth a tear or worth the trouble of a visit on the part of the Hindu and Muslim leaders? The Bengal troubles have no doubt raised a storm of deserved indignation throughout the length and breadth of the land and the country rightly attaches great importance to the issues raised thereby. But let me, in all humility, submit that as long as the Hindu-Mohammeden troubles exist in their present dimensions, there is no chance (absolutely none) of the country doing anything which will induce the Government to change its policy in any material particular.

May I inquire if Mahatmajī and the other Hindu leaders realise that the issues involved are a matter of life and death to the whole Hindu community of North-West Frontier Province? On the right solution of these issues depends their future safety and their future residence in that province. Nay, a greater issue is involved, viz. the chances of Hindu-Muslim unity itself. Does anybody imagine that there is any possibility of this unity being achieved so long as the Kohat wounds are not healed? There may be unity in the South and the West. There may be unity in resolutions and conferences, but there will be no unity in hearts. What are the riots of Delhi, Gulbarga, Amethi and Lucknow as compared to Kohat? Yet neither the Hindu press outside the Punjab nor the Hindu leaders have given any proof that they realise the gravity of the situation. My remarks do not, of course, include Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. But what can one man do where the issues involved are so big, so momentous and so difficult?

I will await, with bated breath, the outcome of the Bombay Conferences. Far be it from me to underestimate the importance of the deliberations that are to take place at Bombay. But there is one thing of which I am certain, that nothing decided there will carry much weight with a Government that treats the Kohat tragedy with the levity and indifference which has so far characterised its proceedings in connection therewith.

The above article was written before Mahatma Gandhi's announcement was published. I regret I am not impressed with the soundness or practicability of the advice given. The All-India leaders (both Hindus and Mussalmans) with the solitary exception of Pandit M. M. Malaviya, have taken no interest in the affairs of the Kohat refugees. Even Mahatma Gandhi has been silent. Besides his application to the Government of India for permission, this is the first suggestion that he has made. Under the circumstances, I cannot understand what the Kohat refugees can do in the matter on the lines suggested. As for the Government they are not likely to take any notice of the suggestion. It is for the All-India leaders to take up the matter

which they are not likely to do in time considering their pre-engagement at Bombay. I was ready to proceed to Rawalpindi to-day just to see the refugees but on the advice of Malaviyajī and other friends have postponed my visit.—L. R.]

We have reproduced almost the whole of Lala Lajpat Rai's article, because of its importance. There is a reference in it to "the Bengal troubles." So far as actual sufferings go, the sufferings of the persons arrested in Bengal including those of their families, and the wrong done to them, though great, are a mere flea-bite compared with the sufferings of, and grievous wrong done to, the Kohat Hindus. As regards the principles involved in Bengal, certain persons called the Government and some of their servants have been invested with or have taken to themselves powers to arrest anyone without warrant, keep him in custody for a month or so and punish or not punish him after a so-called trial, and also to regulate and control in a very vexatious way the residence and movements of whomsoever they may suspect, for an indefinite period of time; in Kohat (and elsewhere) certain classes of persons have taken to themselves powers, derived from no law-code or scripture of any time, clime, creed, country or race, to wound, murder, rape and plunder certain other persons and burn their houses. In the one case, there is a sense of insecurity because of want of confidence in the persons called the Government and their servants. In the other case, there is a feeling of far greater insecurity because of want of confidence in the persons who loot, murder, burn, etc. In the one case, there has been raised the question of presenting a united front to the persons called the Government, and it has been easy to do so, in speech and on paper of course, because they are foreigners. In the other case, no united front has evidently appeared to be practicable, because the sufferers and the wrongdoers both are of the people, and if the "leaders" take a manly stand on behalf of the sufferers, "national unity" will be jeopardised by the wrongdoers and their partisans ranging themselves against the "leaders" and their followers. We realise the difficulty and delicacy of the situation. But we refuse to pretend to believe that Government inflicts a greater wrong on the country by its lawless laws and proceedings than the *budmash* and *goonda* elements (as Maulana Mohamed Ali and Mahatma Gandhi have called them) in the country inflict on their victims: Indian journalists (ourselves included) occasionally cry out for impartial

justice as between race and race, creed and creed, etc. On this very principle, there should not be one law of condemnation for a foreign government and another for our own national *goondas* and *budmashes*, no matter whether they be Hindus or Moslems. Humanity is one, and whoever offends against it is to be condemned, even if he be the bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. There can be no unity between sufferers and wrongdoers, so long as the wrongdoers have not been forgiven by the sufferers after due repentance and reparation on the part of the former.

It is said that unity is required for snatching *Swaraj* from the hands of a foreign government. We are for *Swaraj*, and that in its logical extreme meaning, too. But we must stipulate that *Swaraj* must not be Indian *goonda-raj* or Indian *budmash-raj*; and that is one very cogent reason why we do not want to encourage the idea of winning *Swaraj* by violence. Because, considering the history, social arrangement and present state of our country, a *Swaraj* won by violence would most probably degenerate into violence-raj. And in such a raj, the *goonda* and the *budmash*, be he nominally Hindu or nominally Moslem or nominally anything else, will have the upper hand. We have no liking for the pastime of drawing any hair-splitting distinction between British violence-raj and Indian violence-raj to decide which would be better. We vote for neither. We have explained our meaning more clearly in *Prabasi*, and regret we are unable at present to repeat in English what we have said there in Bengali.

The advice given by Mahatma Gandhi to which Lala Lajpat Rai refers in his concluding note is as follows:—

"This much, however, I shall venture to urge upon the attention of the refugees that the Kohat question is an All-India question. Both the Hindus and Musalmans of India are interested in a proper, honourable and correct solution and settlement and they should be well-advised before accepting any settlement to secure the approval of the Hindu and Musalman leaders. Indeed I will venture respectfully to tender the same advice to Government. I am glad to observe that they have denied the correctness of the terms said to have been offered by them. The Government have declared themselves in favour of unity. It would be an earnest of good faith if they would take the public into confidence and secure public approval of any terms of settlement that they might propose for the acceptance of the two communities."

Whenever there are any massacres or murderous riots, some party or other pleads

provocation or some other cause. But, assuming the perfect truth of the plea brought forward, can any reasonable man say that the "punishments" (as we will agree to call them for the nonce) are at all proportionate to the offence? We would not care for the nationality or the creed of the inflictors of "the punishment". But we would ask, would any civilised law-court have awarded the "punishment" inflicted on the Jallianwala Bagh gathering, or that inflicted on some Akalis at the Nankana Sahib Sikh temple, or that inflicted at Katarpur on some Moslem, or that inflicted on the Hindus in Kohat? In everyone of these cases the injustice and inhumanity of the sufferings caused are quite evident, though perhaps the Kohat tragedy beats any previous record in mob inhumanity, mob injustice and mob atrocity in our country in recent times.

### Does Terrorism really exist in Bengal?

Some of our foremost public men are convinced that there is a revolutionary party in Bengal, whose methods are frankly terroristic and include political assassination as a means of attaining *Swaraj*. To meet this terrorist propaganda, the Government has taken recourse to a severely repressive policy. Against this policy there is a loud outcry, some saying that the victims of that policy are not the revolutionaries they had been speaking of, others saying that their guilt should be proved in open court before they are incarcerated. Alongside of this vehement opposition to the official policy of repression, there is however a reiteration of the statement that a revolutionary party does in fact exist, and the Moderate mentality which is unwilling to face this unpleasant truth is held up to contempt. Evidently these public-spirited gentlemen, in the plenitude of their political omniscience, are quite sure of the prevalence of anarchical tendencies among a section of their countrymen. If so, the best way of routing the foolish Moderates who doubt it is to state the facts, and place all the knowledge they possess at the disposal of the public. If they do so, it is just possible that the public may be surprised to find how slender are the premises on which they base such a momentous conclusion, fraught with such fatal consequences. For scrutinising their emphatic assertions of the existence of a terrorist menace, one finds

that they are careful to avoid the words 'we know.' All that they say is, 'we do *believe*,' 'we do *think*' that such a party of violence does exist in Bengal. So, however brave and truthful they would pose to be by this declaration of faith, they are really not a whit more heroic than the poor Moderates, who believe and think otherwise, but equally do not know. The heroic lover of truth, who falls foul of the Moderates but has himself nothing better than his imagination to draw upon, speaks of the misguided young revolutionaries of his imagination in the following strain (we quote from a well-known Calcutta daily):

"If it be true that they are actually involved in this criminal folly, whatever action the government may take to protect the country from this danger and prevent these people themselves from this mad and criminal folly, will be bound to receive general support."

It would thus appear that the Moderate mentality in this matter, at which the same journal pokes fun, is not so very different after all from the heroic truth-loving mentality which, either from pure love of sensationalism, or as a piece of mere bluff, does not scruple to blacken the young men of Bengal as murderers and criminals in disguise. One swallow does not make a summer, and one misguided young enthusiast like Gopinath Saha does not connote a whole country honeycombed with underground revolutionary associations. To us it seems that there are some young men in Bengal who have joined the gangs of dacoits from purely economic motives with which political idealism has nothing whatever to do, and the *Modern Review* and *Prabasi* have repeatedly called attention to these dacoities, and the insecurity prevailing in the villages, and deplored the moral degradation of the young men who take part in them, at the same time pointing out to Government the duty of providing healthy outlets for their youthful energies. This, it must be understood, does not mean that we deny the existence of revolutionary patriotism. Such revolutionaries may exist among us in sufficiently large numbers to justify their being referred to as an organised class, but our attitude in regard to this matter is one of pure agnosticism. We neither deny nor do we affirm, for the simple reason that we do not know. Those who say that they know, or think, or believe that such a secret party of violence exists in our midst, should, instead of playing ducks and drakes with the lives and freedom of

their fellowmen who have been arrested on suspicion, in all fairness lay their cards on the table, and produce all the evidence in their possession either in open court or in the public press. So long as this is not done, the Government and the publicists who both declare that terrorism flourishes in the land, conspire together, however unconsciously, in victimising people who may be and in all probability are innocent, though they may be acting from very different motives.

X.

### Rape by British Soldiers

We take the following paragraphs from *The Leader* of Allahabad:—

An application by Government for enhancement of sentences passed by the sessions judge of Jhansi against Private Horace Lester and Private William Hopson of the 2nd battalion of the Gloucestershire regiment stationed at Jhansi for an offence of rape, was disposed of by their lordships today. The accused were sentenced to six and three years respectively. The prosecution story was that on the night of the 31st March last the two accused after visiting a prostitute's house from which they were driven by a crowd which mistook them for Pathans returned to the barracks and first provided themselves with firearms before they again started on their mischievous mission. Together with another Private, King by name, they proceeded to an isolated group of huts in the south of the cantonment. There they found a woman whom they dragged from her house for about quarter of a mile away to a spot inside the railway fencing. Lester and King there raped the woman in the presence of Hopson. The woman as she was dragged and raped, sustained severe injuries which, within the meaning of the law, caused her death. After the rape the woman was left naked until about two hours later she was found and taken to the British station hospital. In the morning she was removed to the civil hospital by the police. Subsequently her relatives took her to the Indian cantonment hospital where she died of pneumonia on the 3rd April. The post-mortem examination revealed that her body was bruised everywhere. There were two punctured wounds on the face and the jaw was broken in three places. The fractures of the jaw, it was stated, could have been caused by blows from a fist. The various bruises must have been caused by multiple blows, kicks and pinches. The exposure and the fractures on the jaw brought on pneumonia and this together with the shock caused her death. King afterwards turned approver and made a statement of what had happened. The sessions judge convicted Horace Lester under section 376 and William Alfred Hopson under sections 376 and 114 of the I. P. C. The ages of these two accused were 21 and 22 respectively.

In disposing of the application, their lordships held that the details of this case suggested a brutality without precedent and having regard to the serious nature of not merely the crime but the



attendant circumstances on this case, the sentences passed by the sessions judge had to be enhanced. The sentence against Lester was accordingly enhanced to 7 years and that against Hopson to 5 years. This was the minimum appropriate sentence in the absence of flogging. One of the features of a case of this kind which caused some anxiety, it was observed, was the question as to what was to happen to these men when they came out after serving their full term. They were not persons domiciled in India or persons who were likely to look for a career in India. They belonged to a British regiment and in the ordinary course of events, would have returned home from foreign service. The army, of course, would have nothing further to do with them. These men would be about 27 years of age by the time they would be released and they would find themselves without any source of livelihood or means of getting back to their old home. One's natural fear was that they would be driven to become bazar loafers, if not dacoits dangerous to the public. India would not want them. Whatever difficulties they might experience when they got back to their homes, where no doubt they had their friends and relations, they could there have a chance to settle in life which they could never have in India. If their lordships were not going beyond their function, they would suggest to the Government that both these people should be deported after release. If their lordships themselves had power to make an order to that effect, they would not have hesitated to do so both in the public interest and in the interest of the men themselves.

The U. P. Government did their duty in applying for enhancement of sentence. And the judges were also right in enhancing the sentences on the two men. But as the judges observed "that the details of this crime suggested a brutality without precedent," there was no reasonable excuse for passing a "minimum appropriate sentence," instead of the maximum. Section 376 of the Indian Penal Code, under which both the accused were found guilty, runs as follows:—

"Whoever commits rape shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine."

Perhaps the accused got lighter sentences than they deserved because they were British white men.

The judges' suggestion that the men should be deported after they had served out their sentences is not in itself open to criticism, but is rather commendable. But it should be noted that judges in India do not usually take any thought for the future of such criminals when they are Indians. However, if the men be deported after release, the cost should be borne by the British, not the Indian Treasury; for India has nothing to do with the birth and upbringing of these men.

It is usual to characterise such crimes as brutal. But in doing so, injustice is done to brute beasts, which never do such things. Devilish might be considered a more appropriate epithet; but perhaps the devil is an imaginary being, created by theologians and others to save the *amour propre* of themselves and their fellow-mortals. These men may be considered sub-brutal or super-brutal, the choice being left to them and their imperialist fellow-countrymen in India.

By the by, when, rarely, any Englishman is killed in India by an Indian or an Englishwoman is molested by an Indian or Indians, these imperialist fellow-countrymen of these convicts immediately demand in a chorus that all Indians, from the most famous to the most obscure, must publicly condemn the wicked deed. We suppose, when the criminal is of British race and the victim is Indian, the rule does not apply or shall we apply the Sanskrit maxim, "*Mamnam sammatalakshanam*," "Silence implies consent or approbation"? For there has not been any public condemnation of the crime that we know of, by the imperialist fellow-countrymen of the convicts in India.

### A Panchama Grievance.

The grievance relates to a small number of persons belonging to the politically "unimportant" Panchama class, and living in an obscure village called Pelasrirampuram, in Ganjam district. For that reason we quote the following paragraph from their printed petition with the hope that the grievance, which is real, may be soon redressed:

There are fifty Panchama houses in Pelasrirampuram village. These families have been put to much difficulty for the last half a dozen years on account of water scarcity, for there is only one well the use of which to the Panchamas is prohibited. The thing that the non-Panchamas have monopolised the use of the well, that the Panchamas are forced to take resort to a stream running at a distance of one mile from the village the water of which is muddy and leads to unwholesome diseases and that a new well specially for the use of the Panchamas is absolutely necessary, have been repeatedly pointed out since 1919 to the Taluq Board, Berhampore, Ganjam.

### The Creation of a Separate Oriya Province.

Ever since the question of amalgamation of all Oriya-speaking tracts into one Oriya-speaking province was mooted, we have been in its favour. So, we are glad to learn that

Messrs. Philip and Duff; who have been deputed by Government to find out and report on the wishes of the Oriyas of the Oriya-speaking tracts, have said that they agree that the people of Parlakimedi are distinctly in favour of amalgamation. We hope the finding will be similar with regard to the other tracts.

The number of persons who speak Oriya is 10,143,165. Most of them live in their native regions, and the Oriya-speaking areas are all contiguous. So that there would not be much difficulty in forming and administering a united Oriya province. The following provinces have a smaller population than the Oriya-speaking population:—Assam (7,606,230), Ajmer-Merwara (495,271), Beluchistan (420,648), Coorg (163,838), Delhi (488,188), North-West Frontier Province (2,251,340).

If the Oriyas have a separate province of their own they can make greater progress than now and receive the undivided attention of their own local government. They are a minority now in each of four provinces, and so they do not receive proper attention from the State, nor can they themselves make a great united effort at present.

### "Bi Amman."

The revered mother of Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Mohamed Ali was addressed as "Bi Amman" by her grand-children. Following them, the Indian public called her Bi Amman.

By the death of Bi Amman India has sustained a great loss. She became a widow when she was a young woman of 28. Her youngest son, Mohamed Ali, was not then even two years old. She had, therefore, to be both father and mother to her children. Her sons have been showing how she brought them up.

Though belonging to an aristocratic family of Musalmans, she threw off her veil when her sons were deprived of their liberty and went about addressing public meetings all over India in her old age. The energy, the enthusiasm, the patriotism, the religious zeal and the intellectual powers she then displayed are fit to be emulated by any young man. Her services to the causes of the Khilafat, Swaraj and Hindu-Moslem unity were invaluable.

### Sir J. C. Bose's Patna Convocation Address.

In more respects than one, it was a remarkable convocation address which Sir J. C. Bose delivered at Patna University. One has to read it carefully to find out his meaning. Almost the first words he uttered were:—

"I have for many years been drawn to Pataliputra, associated with the most glorious epoch of India's past. It was here that the first attempt was made to found the true empire of humanity. We still read the edict of Asoka enjoining the widest toleration. Twenty-two centuries have gone by, and we find the same ancient spirit revived in the spontaneous demand made by the different peoples of India for closer unification. Within a short distance of this place, are the ruins of the University of Nalanda. Twenty years ago, I spent many days there in close communion with the past. It was there that I drew my inspiration for the foundation of my Institute to revive once more the great traditions of Nalanda and of Taxila. The past is, therefore, not dead and buried, but is living, inspiring us to work for a future worthy of the past. Different races and peoples have made this country their home, and through their conjoint efforts will be built the greater India yet to be."

Passing on to the subject of the intellectual activity of Patna, he said:—

"In regard to the intellectual activity of the Patna University, it is a matter of congratulation that the researches that have already been carried out on anthropology, and on the social and political history both of ancient India and of India during the Mogul period, have justly won high appreciation. The same may be expected in science, for the study of which I find that the most enlightened policy has been pursued by the Government in founding very efficient laboratories. As for the students who will take advantage of these facilities, I may say something from my experience. One of my pupils in advanced science at the Presidency College was from this province and it was a matter of much gratification to me to find that he surpassed all others in his scientific attainments. His success proved once for all that students of Bihar or of any other province did not require any special favour shown to them, but they could rightly claim the benefits of higher education. Nothing could be more deadly for real growth or higher attainment than the hypnotic suggestion of inferiority associated with claims for exceptional treatment."

As regards his own work, the scientist said:

"A request has been conveyed to me by both the Minister in charge of education and the Vice-chancellor of the University that I should make my address interesting and impressive by giving an account of my discoveries. I shall try to accede to this generally expressed wish, as much as can be done in the very short time that is available. I fully sympathise with the feeling of the Vice-chancellor that a Convocation Address is at best a very dull performance; for the under-graduate audience cannot be roused to any degree of enthusiasm when they are enjoined to be good to remain

so, to keep themselves out of mischief and to show due respect to their elder. The effervescence of youth cannot be so restrained. It is, however, possible to waken in them a spirit of adventure, in the pursuit of which they voluntarily place themselves under great self-discipline and restraint so that the power conserved becomes irresistible. It is then that they waken to the great potentialities that are in them for achieving great things and thus win honour for their country. I will, therefore, narrate what happened many years ago when I adventured forth into regions then unknown."

The lessons which he wished to convey may be summed up in his own words:

Several things, I hope, I have been able fully to establish. First, that nothing is impossible if we put our whole mind to it and pursue it with unwavering determination; diffidence and distrust act as a blight; that it is by optimism that we radiate hope and strength. Pessimism and cynicism are not only vulgar, but are signs of decadence and of premature old age. Many serious problems confront us; but they are no more serious than those which confront Europe. Every problem has its solution, which will not be found by idle critics but by active workers. I have also been able to prove that there is a great capacity among Indians for discovery and inventions. How can this be utilised for saving India in her present economic crisis? Let us frankly face danger. The present unrest all over the world is fundamentally due to severe economic distress. It is realised that it is hunger that drives people to desperation and to destruction of all that has been slowly built up for ordered progress. In other parts of the world, all the intellect of the country, all leaders of science, all leading men of business are being organised to devise means for increasing the wealth of the country. In my travels I found little or no distress in Norway and in Denmark. Norway, for example, has an area of a few thousand square miles; it is not naturally rich. She nevertheless maintains her own army and navy, has her system of universal education, and the most up-to-date University. Poverty is practically unknown. The miracle is accomplished through science, by utilising to the utmost all the available resources of the country.

#### INDIA'S PERIL.

Need I say that unemployment and economic distress present in India an even more acute problem than anywhere else? Is it not tragic that our country with its great potential wealth should be in this terrible plight? There is a very large number of young men who could be specially trained in the most advanced methods of science, in efficiently conducted Institutes, the standard of which should stand comparison with any in the world. This would remove many difficulties experienced by Indian students in Europe. It should also be our aim not to be so entirely dependent on foreign countries for our higher education and for our needs. For carrying out such a programme, a far-sighted and comprehensive State policy would be required. I am sure that the country would willingly meet the necessary high expenditure, *provided* that the money is spent here for benefiting and enriching India, and in opening

out wider spheres of activity for her children. There is also a large field for enterprise, where Englishmen and Indians would as partners find opportunities for co-operation, not only for mutual benefit, but also for better understanding and higher appreciation of each other. While we are paralysed by mutual distrust, foreign nations, not ever friendly to Indian interests, are pursuing their policy of exploitation and consolidation of their claims on India's resources. The peaceful penetration will inevitably lead to forceful occupation and division of India into different spheres of influence. There lies India's real peril."

The peril that Sir J. C. Bose spoke of is a menace not only to India but to Britain as well, though no doubt it is a greater menace to India than to England. For even if Britain loses India, Britishers can fall back upon their homeland, and also go to the dominions of Canada and Australia, which can maintain millions upon millions of more people than they do at present. But Indians have nowhere else to go. Even the Indian Moslems will not be welcome settlers in large numbers in any Musalman country. Political slavery is bad; but economic slavery, if not worse, is at least as injurious and degrading. After foreigners have established claims on all our resources, the people will have little to live on. If Englishmen out here co-operate with us to make the political and economic status of India equal to that of any other country in the world, if they feel for her as for their Home, they will not be classed with "foreigners"; otherwise, they are bound to be so classed. In any case, that is primarily their look-out, and secondarily ours also;—for the highest good of no race can be achieved without aiming at and striving for the highest good of all other races also. Primarily our concern is with shaking ourselves out of all apathy, passivity and despondency. We cannot afford to perish nor can mankind do without the special gift which it is in the power of us alone to bestow, as is the special gift of every other people in theirs. In order that we may not perish we must tackle the fundamental problem of the conquest of bread. For the political game, as we see it, is for the few; but bread and the life which depends on it are required by all.

#### Production and Professor Bose's Researches.

It will appear from the previous note that Prof. Bose drew attention in his Patna convocation address to the question of the utilisation of the resources of India for our



own benefit. As a scientist, he has no doubt been concerned above all with extending the boundaries of pure science. But his researches have led to the discovery of many truths and principles which are capable of wide application in many spheres of production and of human welfare. His Institute has also shown that Indians are quite capable of inventing and making new instruments and machinery of extraordinary delicacy and range for such purposes. Some idea of the work done in these directions and for the advancement of science in general may be formed from Professor Bose's last anniversary address at the Bose Institute which is printed elsewhere. Particular attention, in this connection, is drawn to the concluding sentences in which Prof. Bose speaks of "The Future."

### E. S. Montagu.

As the fates of England and India have been interlinked for well-nigh two centuries and as human welfare, including the welfare of these two countries, will depend partly on their mutual relations and attitude even after India has become politically independent, British and Indian statesmanship should be of the broadest, most far-sighted and ethically highest character. The late Mr. E. S. Montagu, formerly Secretary of State for India was a man who had in him the making of such a statesman. Had he lived long, he would have been able undoubtedly to do more for India and consequently for Britain than he was able to do. The Indian Reform scheme which he carried through the British Parliament with consummate tact and skill being a measure of compromise, does not give a correct idea of what he wanted to do for India. But we respect him for what he was able to do, though we have never been able to give it the measure of approbation which his most ardent admirers have done. He loved and respected India, and sacrificed his career for her sake, and India reciprocates that love and respect.

### E. D. Morel.

Those who are mere great fighters are only super-murderers, and they will be thought of as such when in the distant future men become more human and less "national" and "patriotic." But at the present stage of human evolution, warriors are the national

heroes, the friends of humanity being mere faddists and cranks. Such a crank was the late Mr. E. D. Morel, who was, as the *Servant of India* says, one of the noblest sons of England, one of the finest flowers of humanity and the greatest friend of the African natives. We cannot do better than reproduce here the tribute which our contemporary pays to his memory :—

He was a leading light of the British Labour Party, a pacifist and a champion of the African natives against ruthless exploitation—the policy of robbing them of their land and their limbs. His death is a special loss to the African Commissions appointed this year by the Labour Government. His greatest title to fame, which he won before he was forty (born in 1873), is his heroic work in exposing the cruelties and misgovernment—enslavement, mutilation and murder of the natives of Belgian Congo by King Leopold, who has been described as 'the greatest scoundrel who ever sat on a throne,' and in working for administrative reforms there. In the words of a distinguished Vienna economist quoted in the *Living Age* (May 6, 1922):

"The indubitable accuracy of the facts he cited, the unemotional and convincing way in which he presented them, the very restraint with which he made his demands and suggestions, won for him overwhelming public support, in spite of the sums which Leopold lavished upon the venal press of every nation to discredit him."

This agitation against Congo atrocities he carried on not only in England but also in the U. S. A., and the continent of Europe, where he ran the risk of assassination at the hands of Leopold's creatures. He visited Congo some time after Leopold's death, when a Muhammadan chief voiced the gratitude of the Africans in an address which contained the following passage :—

"Your labours, Sir, are unique. You have fought against men of your own race for strangers who live thousands of miles away from you. You have done this at the peril of losing the friendship and the regard of your own brothers. Judged by the laws of man, this is unnatural. Therefore we conclude that you must be judged by the laws of God. We number you among the few whom, He has selected to bring about His will, and to extend His glory among the nations of the earth."

A similar sentiment was expressed by the Bishop of Westminster at a great meeting, held in Morel's honour and attended by his supporters from all parts of the world, when he said,

"I am not ashamed to believe and openly to profess the belief, that divine Providence raised up this man for us in a great moral crisis."

Old subscribers to the *Modern Review* may remember that years ago we reproduced from one of Mr. E. D. Morel's books illustrations to show how horribly male and female African natives of the Congo had been mutilated because of their inability to bring in enough rubber.

### Pandit Motilal Nehru Condemns Anarchism.

We are glad to read the following in *Forward* :

A definite repudiation was given by Pandit

Motilal Nehru to the suggestion made during the debate on the Ordinance Resolution, that the Swarajists meant to mitigate anarchical crimes by expressing appreciation of the patriotic and noble motives of the criminals.....

Panditji declared that it was the right of every subject nation to rebel against an oppressive Government. Such a right was reserved to the English people by the 'Magna Charta.' These young anarchists were misguided men. But they were certainly not men to be classified with ordinary criminals. As a matter of fact, he had expressed his dissent from Mr. Das and Mahatmaji regarding the Saha Resolution.

He held that their motive, however laudable it might be, could not mitigate the enormity of the crime. A disease was a disease, whatever the cause and a crime was a crime whatever the motive.....

....In this resolution, while they condemned the disease, they also condemned the cause of it which was the denial of political liberty.

### Causes of Anarchism.

The first resolution passed at the Bombay Unity Conference recorded "its conviction that the present political situation in India is due to the denial of just rights, long overdue, of the people." Pandit Motilal Nehru also has said that the denial of political liberty was the cause of the disease called anarchism. There is nothing wrong in thus emphasising the political cause, which is undoubtedly the or a main cause. But it may not be superfluous to bear in mind that there are other causes. It is not essential to discuss whether they are included in the political cause or not. They are economic distress and unemployment, the wide prevalence of disease and bad health, the absence of openings and facilities for giving free play to the love of adventure and the spirit of facing danger, inherent in human nature, the fact of India being a great prison from which no Indian can go out without a passport, the fact of most of our children being educated under discontented ill-paid teachers, etc. [We neither think nor suggest that these teachers are active revolutionary propagandists.]

These are the Indian causes. There are other causes which are world-wide. In international affairs, the use of force on a large scale is considered legitimate, robbery and land-lieving on a large scale is justified, and slaughter of men in large numbers is considered proper and styled heroism. So the anarchist may quite logically argue that if great violence e.g. robberies, massacres of large numbers, irrespective of ethical considerations be legitimate, there is no reason why the

moralist should sit in judgment on him alone. Of course, success and failure make all the difference in the two cases in worldly eyes; for as the old rhyme in our school logic book says:

"Treason doth never succeed; what is the reason? For when it succeeds, it is no longer treason."

But jest apart we should like to know what the big statesmen have to say as to the moral aspects of small-scale violence and large-scale violence.

We have never yet met an anarchist. But if any such were to ask our opinion, we would say: "Two blacks do not make one white. Big crimes do not make small crimes less criminal than they are. Showering bombs from aeroplanes on combatants and non-combatants alike during times of war, or for collecting revenue, or for the impressment of labour in Africa, does not make political assassination by throwing a bomb or two a legitimate and moral proceeding. The expropriation of a whole nation by another nation by force or fraud, does not raise political dacoity into the category of virtuous and innocent deeds. The slaughtering of the armies of one nation by those of another does not make the killing of individuals from a political motive justifiable. Because there is at present no Super-state to prevent or punish the large-scale robberies, frauds and massacres perpetrated by States and Nations, the perpetrators of small-scale political dacoities, frauds and murders in a country cannot expect immunity." Whether anarchists and terrorists are caught and punished or not, they are evil-doers and must inevitably suffer the degradation of their natures which is the consequence of their evil deeds.

### Mr. C. R. Das on Violence.

Mr. C. R. Das is reported to have declared in course of a recent public speech of his,

"If I believed in the revolutionary movement, if I believed to-day that it would be a success, I would join the revolutionary movement to-morrow."

Strictly speaking, it would be possible to draw nice distinctions between revolution, rebellion, anarchism, terrorism, etc. But we will take them as more or less synonymous, the sense being the use of armed force, great or small, for winning political freedom.

We do not blame Mr. Das for saying what he did, as it appears to have been an

expression of his real opinion. On the contrary, if, holding the opinion that he does, he had professed belief in non-violence as a religious principle, he would have deserved to be looked down upon as a cowardly hypocrite.

Mr. C. R. Das does not stand alone in using the argument of impracticability against the idea of liberating the country by force of arms. Others have done it before. We have ourselves used it repeatedly as one of the arguments to discourage the intention to use armed force. But we have not been unaware of the weakness of this argument. Many human achievements show that what was all along considered impossible has become an actuality. Aeroplanes, submarines, wireless telegraphy, wireless telephony, and many other things may be named as examples. It was at one time thought that the highest peak of Mount Everest could never be climbed. But it was perhaps climbed by Mallory and Irvine, or, in any case, it would be at no distant date.

So the argument from impracticability would be naturally laughed away by the ardent and impatient "idealism" of youth. We along with many others have considered it impracticable to free India by force, perhaps because we are ignorant of the art of warfare, of the strategic advantages and disadvantages of particular countries and areas, etc. But from the extraordinarily mighty efforts made by the Government to crush the smallest suspected preparation to use armed force, we suspect that the Government which knows all about warfare does not consider a successful armed rebellion an utter impossibility. And in fact Government has seen how many months it took to crush the Moplah rising—a rising of only a fraction of the inhabitants of merely one district in the Madras Presidency, even though the rebels did not possess up-to-date weapons of warfare. Perhaps those whom Government suspects to be anarchists may have the same faith in the feasibility of armed revolution as Government has.

So we think in order to discourage the idea of using violence, greater stress ought to be laid on moral and spiritual arguments and on the highest principles of political science. But there are not many political leaders, not only in India but elsewhere in the world also, who themselves in their heart of hearts believe in these arguments and principles. Words that are not the expression of sincere conviction and a life free from hypocrisy cannot produce conviction in others.

• Fear of detection and punishment may deter some but not all.

So, taking everything into consideration, we think the only sure cure for anarchism and other allied political distempers and maladies, is to remove their causes, which have been indicated in a previous note.

### Dal Bahadur Giri.

Gurkhas have been known in India as very efficient and ruthless mercenaries who do the bidding of the Government. But that there are some educated Gurkhas is known to few. Fewer still had any idea that a Gurkha would join the ranks of India's bloodless fighters for freedom. But Dal Bahadur Giri showed by his patriotic zeal, his sacrifices and his sufferings that such a thing is possible. He followed the flag of non-violence with the fearlessness and directness characteristic of his race. Such conduct could not but bring him into conflict with the Government. He was thrown into jail. His privations and sufferings have brought him to an early grave. But his spirit lives and works. Before his death he expressed a desire that his children should be so brought up as to be true servants of the motherland. They are now at Mahatma Gandhi's Sabarnati Ashram.

### All-India Congress Committee and the Pact.

The All-India Congress Committee have ratified the pact previously signed by Messrs Gandhi, Das and Nehru with only two dissentients. As at present the members of the Congress consist only of No-changers and Swarajists, and as Mahatma Gandhi is the leader of the No-changers and Messrs Das and Nehru of the Swarajists, it might have been foreseen that the ratification would follow as a matter of course. No doubt Mr. Gandhi has all along said that he signed the pact only in his individual capacity, but his influence over his followers cannot be divided into two water-tight compartments, namely, that of the leader and that of the individual. Curiosity will be felt as to the identity of the two redoubtable dissenters.

Non-co-operation has been suspended. But the Swarajists entered the councils in order to "Non-co-operate" with Government there by thoroughgoing persistent indiscriminate obstruction;—they declare in effect that they would carry the flag of non-co-operation into the lion's den. Though they have not been able to be true to their words, we do not know that they have yet publicly given



up the profession of non-co-operation within the councils. Will they do it now? We cannot say that we have been very close students of everything that Mahatma Gandhi has written and said. So we do not want to cogmatise about anything relating to his opinions. But our impression was that non-co-operation with a satanic government was with him something like a religious principle. But now he suspends non-co-operation with the satanic Government and even declares that he would help the Swarajists in their Council work (which, as in the past, may involve co-operation with the satanic Government). From our point of view, there is nothing wrong in "co-operating" with Government, provided the object is good. But we had thought that Mahatma Gandhi would never co-operate with the satanic Government, directly or indirectly, so long as that Government did not repent. We find we were mistaken. We thought that as saints and prophets stick to their principles even though there be no one else to support them but God, so Mahatma Gandhi would never suspend his principles even if he stood alone with God. But we find (though we may be mistaken) that politics has such a hold on his mind that the brilliant pyrotechnics of the most numerous political party in the country has caught his fancy too. So, though he undoubtedly has the gifts of the saint and the prophet, conclusion seems to us irresistible that he is above all a politician and his ruling passion is politics. We do not say or suggest that politics should be despised or avoided as something unclean. But as things go, we believe the role of the prophet-saint is higher. If a prophet-saint can take part in politics without divesting himself of his mantle of inspiration, well and good; but if he has to unrobe himself to play the political game, he had better not do so.

As we do not belong to any political party, we do not know the mind of the parties now outside the Congress,—we do not know what they will think of the Swarajists alone being constituted the mouthpiece and representatives of the Congress in the councils. Perhaps the unity committee will have to modify this part of the pact.

Another difficulty is that the no-changers also form part of the Congress. But they do not want to have anything to do with the Councils. How then can anybody of men represent them and be their mouth-piece in the councils?

In any case, if by suitable modifications and compromise all parties can be brought together to form a united Congress, it will be a great gain, and a matter for congratulation.

Whether, as stated in the pact, the real aim of the Government is to strike at the Swarajya party in Bengal, we cannot definitely say. It is true that most of the men arrested belong to that party. But it is also true many prominent men of that party have not been arrested, and many who do not belong to that party have been arrested. It is also probable that in the opinion of Government the arrested Swarajists were outwardly Swarajists but revolutionaries in secret; but we have no reason to believe that they really are advocates of violence. We are against the Ordinance on the broad ground that it threatens the liberties of any and all sincere and uncompromising public workers, that it places irresponsible power in the hands of the police and the executive, that even if there be any revolutionaries in our midst, their number and influence are such that the ordinary law is quite adequate to deal with them, that we do not and cannot take on trust the word of any official, however high, without public proof, that on principle we are opposed to believing on the *ipsidixit* of anybody, *any* man to be guilty without public proof and that we cannot say that there is not a single person among the arrested men whom we believe to be incapable of anarchistic plots or crimes. And therefore we consider it a public duty to stand by all the arrested men irrespective of party considerations.

The preamble to the (mock) spinning franchise states:

Inasmuch as experience has shown that without universal spinning India cannot become self-supporting regarding her clothing requirements, and inasmuch as hand-spinning is the best and the most tangible method of establishing a visible and substantial bond between the masses and Congressmen and women and in order to popularise handspinning and its products the Congress should repeal Article VII of the Congress Constitution and should substitute the following therefor.

We are not aware of any such "experience." Where, when, how and by whom was this experience gained? In the pre-British period of Indian history, when India did not import any cotton cloth, spinning was not at all universal; it was not a male occupation and the women did not all spin.

As regards the bond between the masses and Congress members, if the members themselves span, there would certainly be that

bond; but if yarn be purchased and paid in as subscription, there would be no greater bond than there is at present between the growers and the consumers of rice, wheat, and all the other good things of the earth.

Mahatmaji himself asked in *Young India* for October 16: "Is it more honourable to pay than to labour?" But now on account of the refusal of the big politicians to labour, payment has undergone *shuddhi* and been admitted to the franchise. For it has been laid down:

"No one shall be a member of any Congress Committee or organisation who is not of the age of 18 and who does not wear handspun and handwoven khaddar at political and Congress functions or while engaged in Congress business, and does not make a contribution of 2000 yards of evenly spun yarn per month of his or her own spinning or in case of illness, unwillingness or any such cause a like quantity of yarn spun by any other person."

Still, we shall be sincerely glad if large numbers of men and women become Congress members by contributing yarn spun by others. Because these others would be poor persons who would get some remuneration for their work.

Similarly, though the obligatory wearing of khaddar only "at political and Congress functions or while engaged in Congress business" smacks of the belief in a sort of superior ceremonial sanctity attaching to such work for which nothing but khaddar is sufficiently pure, and though this condition may lead to a sort of sartorial hypocrisy, we shall be glad if this clause leads to the greater use of khaddar by Congress people. For everywhere there seem to be large stocks of khaddar lying in the hands of producers.

### The Egyptian Situation.

The dastardly murder of Sir Lee Stack in Egypt seems to be treated like a godsend by the British Government. For not content with accusing the Egyptian Government of *allowing* the murder to take place, and of incapacity and *unwillingness* to afford protection to foreigners (for which charges there is no proof) not content with demanding an indemnity of £500,000 (which is a very large sum) and the adequate punishment of the criminals, the British Government has made many other demands which show that the assassination will be exploited to the full to make Egyptian independence a perfectly un-

substantial thing. What has the punishment of this crime to do with monopolising the waters of the Nile (on which Egypt depends for her agriculture and life), in its upper courses, if and when Britain wishes to do so? This combination of bullying and greed cannot increase the world's respect for Britain. But what does she care, so long as she has her army, her navy and her air-fleet and an abundance of material wealth?

It was expected that the Egyptian Chamber would appeal to the League of Nations, as Egypt is a member of the League. Reuter wires that it has done so.

The Chamber has formulated a protest to the Parliaments of the world and the League of Nations against the British action. It reaffirms *inter alia*, the complete independence of Egypt and of the Sudan, which countries must be regarded as integral not permitting of separation. It declares that in spite of Egypt's apologies and regrets for the deplorable crime, Great Britain has seized the occasion to carry out an imperialistic policy counting on force to avenge herself on a pacific country. The British action ignores constitution and attacks the agricultural life of the country. The British demands are not related with the crime and are unprecedented in history. The League should intervene on behalf of a peaceful and hopeless nation.

### Opium.

By sending a very timely message to Geneva about opium, Mahatma Gandhi has rendered invaluable service to humanity. He has truly voiced the opinion of India by saying that the production of opium should be strictly limited to bona fide medical and scientific uses. Whatever the Geneva Conference may say, nothing short of such a limitation can give satisfaction.

As for Dr. Gour's intention to move a resolution in the Legislative Assembly recommending the resumption (perhaps by force, if need be) of opium traffic with China, we do not see how it can be justified in any circumstance. Mr. C. F. Andrews has shown in *Young India* for November 20, that the Central Government in China and the best minds in that country are against the revival of the growth and production of the poppy and opium. If on account of the distracted state of that country, the authority of the Central Government cannot be enforced at present and if baser minds seek to make profit by pandering to a vicious habit, surely it is not the part of any honest and self-respecting nation to take advantage of China's disturbed condition and profit

by reviving an immoral traffic. But, supposing the Chinese Government and people unanimously wanted to commit moral, intellectual and political suicide, would it become India to ever partly supply the means of committing that suicide for the sake of filthy lucre? The Indian Treasury may stand in need of money. But it would be as proper to get money by pandering to a vicious habit as to get it by brigandage and other kinds of crime.

### Lord Lytton as Sir Oracle.

Lord Lytton has been making speeches at Malda and other places to justify the recent repressive steps taken. Here is a sample passage:

"Every single man arrested under the Ordinance or the regulation is a member of a terrorist organisation."

We demand public proof of his statement; else we cannot believe.

### Subhas Bose Files Suits for Damages.

Suits have been filed against *The Englishman* and *The Catholic Herald of India* for damages to the tune of Rs. 50,000 each on behalf of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose for making statements that his father had in effect admitted his son's complicity in revolutionary activities. The father denies having ever said any such thing.

What will be the attitude of the Government?

### Bounty for Indian Steel.

The Government of India have published the resolution relating to the Tata Steel Company's claim for further protection. The resolution which is based on the recommendation of the Tariff Board concedes the claim and suggests that protection should take the form of bounties.

This is a less objectionable means of protecting this industry than the raising of the duty would have been. We are glad that this fresh effort has been made to save the industry.

As it is being done in the national interest at the cost of the taxpayer, the Legislative Assembly should see that certain other things are done. All possible economies consistent with efficiency should be effected. Every opportunity should be taken to appoint qualified Indians in place of foreigners. It should be made incumbent on the management

of the company to make arrangements for the training of Indians for all posts, including the highest. If these steps are not taken, there is no reason why the nation should pay for the benefit of the shareholders and the highly paid employers of the Company.

### Mr. C. R. Das on Fire.

Recently Mr. Das mourned at a public meeting the fact that he had been persistently misjudged by some people during the last three years, but he said, he did not care to speak out against such perverse persons. It seems, Mr. Das is developing a regular Tolstoian spirit of 'resist not evil'. This must be a newly acquired trait, as we have not so far found occasions to look at him as an angel of mercy and forgiveness (*vide* Mr. S. R. Das and Mr. Fazl-ul Haq affair in the *Forward*). But Mr. C. R. Das ought to speak out and prove that people do "misjudge" him. People, at least most of them, have no personal enmity against Mr. Das. When they do criticise or judge him, it is as a leader of the people. Had they referred to and criticised Mr. Das's personal habits or some such thing of purely individual nature Mr. Das could of course show the greatest indifference to the evil-doers; but as a leader of the people or of a large number of them, he has no right to take shelter behind cynical phraseology and say loftily, he did not care. Unless he proved that his critics were in the wrong, the latter will find it easier to undermine his deserved or undeserved reputation.

Mr. Das, in his speech, did not mention any particular people or groups of people as his perverted critics. He made, however, one statement which might throw some light on the identity of those who were wrongfully attacking him. "*Prabasi*" (a Bengali monthly edited by the editor of this journal), said Mr. Das, had published a paragraph which contained the fullest cargo of lies that he had ever seen or could imagine. It is no doubt an achievement to shock the editor of the *Forward* and render him so assuredly *hors de combat*; but should not Mr. Das have also said or later on published in his paper which paragraph in *Prabasi* had strained his ideas regarding the greatest in lying so badly? Otherwise, to refer to a journal as the publisher of "a pack of lies" may be used as an argument against Mr. Das's breeding and sense of decency. Why does he not come out and prove that whatever have been used against him are "a pack of lies" and



acts. A clear-headed person like himself would easily find out a way to do so. If late Mr. Das has, no doubt, been charged more than one paper in Bengal with being responsible (in some way or other) for having brought about the new era of arbitrariness in Bengal. He cannot deny that he has made all sorts of alarmistic statements to the *Press, the Public and the Police* in a very uncalled-for fashion. If people say his statements were indiscreet, and led, at least to some extent, to the recent arrests

etc., should he grumble? Whenever Mr. Das gets a chance to be heard, he vents his ready willingness to prove that everything he does or has done is above board and can stand scrutiny. If he would only spend a little of his indefatigability to translate his several willingnesses into deeds, there would not be many to judge or misjudge him. Public life is not the finest field for cultivating ready emotions. The latter no doubt help people to get on sometimes, but not in 1924 A.D. A. C.

## THE OLD OLD STORY

By SANTA CHATTERJEE

( 23 )

ABINASH had received in the morning a money order for fifty rupees from Rajgunge. He felt an intense desire to squeeze the paper into the shape of a ball, and hit the peon in the face with it. He tried himself after a great effort and took no money. Karuna had at last remembered after three or four months; but as a doctor! The coupon had the following inscription in one corner, "I shall answer your letter later on, please pardon me for the same." It was not signed. Karuna had acknowledged only their relation of debtor and creditor. But Karuna was never so cruel to her as she was here. She had never rebuffed him so heartlessly as she was doing now. Abinash was wondering who had snatched his Karuna from him like this.

A motorcar came and halted before the gate. Mr. Datta got down from it panting and sweating and dressed head to foot in shabby clothes even in this terribly hot weather. Abinash was greatly annoyed and went to receive him. Mr. Datta took off his hat, which looked like a basket, and sat down in a chair, wiping his face with a handkerchief and gasping heavily. After waiting silently a few minutes for Abinash to open the conversation and being disappointed in his expectation, Mr. Datta said, "You see, after opening negotiations for my daughter's day, you have not said anything. I have allowed my daughter to mix with your brother freely, trusting in your discretion. People do not desire anything better than to get a chance to slander young Karuna. Under the circumstances, shouldn't we

fix up things on a firmer basis, before dame Gossip gets busy?"

Abinash too would have thought himself blessed if he could fix up things firmly, but the obstructions in the way of such arrangements did no longer appear as slight as they had done at first thought, so he did not want to commit himself any further before he had obtained a further knowledge of the situation. The thoughts which the morning money order had awakened in his mind were those to turn out to be correct, would hardly justify his undertaking any further responsibilities. Abinash said, "Well, it does not look nice unless they knew each other better."

Mr. Datta said, "When you made your suggestion right at the beginning things looked nice enough."

Abinash felt a bit awkward and said, "Oh no, I did not mean that. But why are you making such a great hurry?"

Mr. Datta got furious and said, "If you want to make delay, do, so; but shouldn't a gentleman give a plain answer to a straightforward question?"

Abinash was deeply annoyed, but as he was getting entangled in the net he had himself spread he could not very well display his anger. He thought a while and said, "You see, the boy is thinking of going to England; is it wise to fix up things now? Who knows, what may not happen there?"

Mr. Datta knew Abinash's history. He got up disappointed and much provoked, and said, "You might have said so before, a gentlewoman has to value her good name!"

He was rushing away in great anger. Abinash found himself getting into a new scrape. So he ran after Mr. Datta, caught

him by the hand and said, "Please don't be angry! One cannot finish everything in a few words. Lots of things happen in this world. I shall come to your place one of these days and discuss everything."

His idea was to visit Rajgunge in the meantime. He could not find peace unless he could solve this problem properly. But he had complicated matters by suggesting going to England to Suprakash. It was impossible for him to go anywhere until and unless he had a final talk with Suprakash on this.

When Suprakash heard about this after his return from the steamer trip, he thought he should not let this opportunity pass. But he had ten days before him in which to think. He did not say anything before the end of these ten days.

Now-a-days he did not go to see people. He rather avoided company, Calcutta is notorious for its lack of lonely moments or spots, so he used to go out into the roads before it was properly daylight and while the street lamps still burned. He used to walk till the first tram came along. The streets were not yet flooded with mud water by the hose-men nor were the scavenger carts yet about with their aromatic loads. Then came the tram car dancing, as it were, in light-hearted emptiness and looking for passengers. Suprakash used to take a ride to the Maidan or to some other place such as the Strand, Alipur or Behala.

One morning, owing to no reason, he went to Howrah. The first train was then about to start. This was the train on which he had gone out on his tour after his examination. What a strange collection of joys and sorrows he had brought back from his tour! Each item now began to take on new shape and float past his mental vision. He would have to give final word regarding going to England in a couple of days. May be he would never again get a chance to travel this way. Things may happen during the interval which would touch his life with eternal sorrow. Suprakash put his hand in his pocket and found a few rupees. He quickly bought a third class ticket and got into the train.

Having arrived at Rajgunge he sent a wire to Abinash and went straight to the house of Gopesh Babu swinging his burdenless arms as he walked. It created quite a sensation there to find the guest arrive in this unencumbered fashion. Suprakash quieted every-

body by saying, "I shall go away to-morrow. Just dropped in for a change. I. Ramesh can spare a change of clothing a day?"

Ramesh said, "Oh no, it was to dearth of clothing that we were able to send you back. Never mind, come, I shall borrow some for you."

Gopesh Babu laughed and said, "You are an intellect, what? You could not even spare a change of clothing with you!"

Having combed half of her hair, leaving the comb imbedded in the untangle, Aruna was standing holding the end of the window overlooking the road and looking at the condition of a bullock-cart which had one of its wheels broken. When Suprakash suddenly emerged from the wreck she was startled beyond reason and shouted, "Didi didi, just see he is coming."

Karuna was turning the wheel of her sewing-machine just under the window. She got up at Aruna's call and looked towards the window. Suprakash also could not resist looking up at the window when he heard the well-known voice of Aruna. But his eyes fell on the eager and blushing face of Suprakash. At first sight both of their faces displayed a mixed feeling of joy and shame, but in a moment the eyes were lowered and they both blushed. Suprakash wanted to go on then and there. He felt as if he had to do that he had to say, he did not know how to excuse to give for this strange visit.

Aruna raced down stairs and saved him. She did all the talking alone and Suprakash had no occasion to find his lost voice. Aruna said, "Goodness gracious, what a change you have developed! I could not recognise you. You were better looking when you were doing coolie work than now. Time you were in Rajgunge. And now look at this! Is this how they are dressing in Calcutta?"

Though he had to listen to this harsh criticism of his dress which he had borrowed from Ramesh, Suprakash could not say a word. His dress was not his own. He followed her and went upstairs, Karuna welcomed him with a faint smile. Suprakash could not say anything, so he kept quiet. Aruna looked at their silent figures in surprise and said a little while, "Hello, can't you say a word to him? Won't you ask him to come down?"

Aruna could understand that son

ing and that, she would have to do for the next few minutes to let time come down to the normal. She is angry because you never wrote line to us after your departure. Well, that is why I am talking to you so much."

Suprakash looked enquiringly at Karuna. Karuna blushed and said, "No, letters, yes..." She talked aimlessly in a disconnected fashion and at last in desperation. Suprakash suddenly said as if to save her from this awkward silence. He said, "People get into such a hurry in Calcutta that it is hardly possible to realise the passing of time. More and more we get into an additional scrape, here in England. It is likely that I should come very soon, so I came up to bid you good-bye."

Karuna found something to say at last. She said, "Are you going to England?"

Suprakash said, "It is not yet decided. We shall arrange everything as soon as possible."

Suprakash said, "It is not yet decided. We shall arrange everything as soon as possible."

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Suprakash could realise that he was standing between two persons who were both very dear to him. What use was there in sticking to his place? It was better that he should go away. Suprakash himself went up to Abinash and said, "I have decided to go to England."

Abinash was very pleased. He said, "That's very good, very good!"

Arrangements for his departure began to be made. He and Satadal hardly found time to breathe. Satadal was packing his trunks and saying, "I thought I would be arranging things for your marriage, now I find you starting for England!" Suprakash was not well versed in the history of her expectations. He said, "Let me do penance in this life that I may have the good fortune to marry in the next."

Satadal smiled and said, "Why should you do any penance? If that girl has done any penance to deserve you, she may get you one day; otherwise, let her start her penance now."

Suprakash suddenly got excited and said, "She will do penance in order to get me!" Then he cooled down and asked doubtfully, "Who will do penance? Whom are you talking about?"

Satadal was surprised she said, "Who else? As if you don't know. Why, have you already started doing penance in order to get some one else?"

Satadal could see from his looks that Suprakash was in trouble. That he had missed the meaning of her words and had stopped just in time for keeping some secret his own, could not escape Satadal's intuition. Suprakash had of late become frightfully absent-minded and this also he could not hide from this lifelong playmate. From their childhood they had told secrets to one another. She could not understand why Suprakash was hiding things from her now. She was hurt, but her wounded pride did not allow her to ask any questions. She felt that there was some trouble, some deep sorrow which her playmate was carrying away within his heart. She could not bear it any more and said, "What is the matter with you Chhotamama? Won't you tell even me? Nowadays you go about with pain printed on your face, but you would not share your sorrow even with me. Everyday I have wanted to talk to you about your marriage, but you did not look as if you were going to get married, so I kept

quiet. You have not even told me we are going away like this."

Suprakash had crossed the line being astonished today. He said, "I was feeling extra happy, so I had not been of late to converse much with you. I did not know; I was going to be married."

Satadal said, "Well really! And gone and even written it to a friend. Satadal told him the story of his marriage. Luckily she knew, but a little. Suprakash laughed and said, "Well, I am off and in danger!"

Satadal said, "But you have not told me about the one for whom you are going to do penance. Tell me who has stolen the happiness from my Chhotamama's happy face and go and pull her hair."

Suprakash only laughed. Satadal said, "Won't you tell me?"

Suprakash said, "There is no one."

Satadal lowered her head and said, "I believe you."

Suprakash shook her and said, "You are getting worse and worse every day!" She reiterated, "Tell me, who she is?"

Suprakash said, "One does not go to one's *mantra*."

Satadal said, "You are leaving her if you do not get her on your return then?"

Suprakash answered, "That will show my unworthiness." Satadal said, "Easily said, but will you be able to stand it?"

Suprakash laughed and said, "What there which man can not suffer? Man suffers what he has to. That is why consciously going to embrace separation. I ever get her, there will be time enough to think about all these details."

(24)

Spring had followed spring. The garden was bedecked with fresh leaves anew. It had been from time immemorial. But it was the enchantment which Kárun had seen in spring once upon a time? Again, she was looking down into the glory of spring from the second window of their Calcutta house, but it did not seem to her as if spring had lost all its element in a flood of mournful decadence.

\* Form of swearing.

† Some sacred precept on which one's conduct,

s constantly thinking of the losses  
fered during the last two years.  
nted herself to witness the drama  
e Almighty had made her the  
racter; the staging of it was now  
ing of the past; she could look  
the scenes but she did not care  
d wanted to be true; she had  
but hardly anything more. But  
lay in that she could even now  
d say, "It does not matter."

ening when Suprakash went away  
maybe for ever; she could not  
eive now the poignant sorrow  
lt; but she could still find a source  
in the tears, doubts and self-  
she suffered that night.

not got what she wanted, maybe  
ver get it; but whenever she  
the endless blue of the ocean  
her beloved was going farther  
away from her, she longed to  
th on the heavens above as a  
seeing eyes beyond whose range  
o one could go. Night after night  
up gazing at the shimmering  
ht in the sky, she hoped that the  
ay catch the message of both  
s and that he could learn from it  
her vigil.

ife was moving along like this,  
y wrote to Abinash, "Do pardon all  
have committed against you, I  
t to make my burden heavier.  
en possible for me to say what  
o hear, I would surely have tried  
& thereby even an infinitesimal  
debt of gratitude to you; but it  
le, so I remain your debtor."

ere was another day when Abinash  
e her, but could not succeed in  
t. She remembered the expression  
crow on her old Dadamashaya's  
brought tears to her eyes. She  
ast wish, but she could not fulfil

s hasten his end? She could not  
eace in his last days; but should  
, looking into her heart from above,  
not understand?

Iaranikanta took to his bed second  
had to return to Calcutta. But  
hey failed to keep him. Their last  
as destroyed. Who knows how  
uld take the sorrow-stricken family  
er their sorrow; but those who  
shift for themselves cannot afford  
e play to their feelings, so they

had to put up an appearance of getting along  
as usual within a short time.

They were again living close to Abinash  
but the days of his frequent visits were  
over. When he met with defeat on what  
he had marked out as the road to sure  
success, he had not the energy to start  
things over again along newer roads. The  
road to success had brought no gains to him,  
on the contrary he could now clearly see  
the range of his losses from a distance.

The little child whom he had caught up  
like a handful of fragrant flowers in his first  
youth had softened his heart a good deal,  
but he had forgotten this for a time. It  
was this boy who had supplied the bonds  
which fastened him to the world of men,  
but he had forgotten the bonds temporarily  
and under the force of fresh attachments.  
Today he had pushed his darling away  
from him with his own hands and this re-  
vived in his heart long-forgotten feelings.  
When he was pushing Suprakash out of  
some imaginary way, he had not noticed the  
immensity of his loss, but when the way led  
nowhere, he realised the enormity of his folly  
in marking out his little brother as an  
obstruction. The empty house no longer  
attracted him.

Behind the veil of formal conduct Abinash  
held two great secrets in his soul. One was  
tinged with the colour of humiliation and he  
averted his eyes from looking into it. The  
other revived the first wishes, desires, longings  
and yearnings with which he started life.  
His lonely heart wandered amidst drab  
formalities in busy hours; but when work no  
longer called it, it naturally looked for refuge  
in the secret corner where he had begun his  
life with his little charge. In his outside he  
was drying up forbiddingly but in this tea-  
softened recess he was patiently awaiting his  
brother.

It was time for Suprakash to come back.  
Abinash wrote, "You have finished your  
studies; if you want to come back, the money  
I am sending will enable you to do so."  
The money was sent expressly for bringing  
Suprakash back, but the message was explicit.

Suprakash did not come back. He wrote  
back, "I have always been a wanderer, I  
have no home nor attachments! So long as I  
am alone I shall not lack homes. Now I find  
my wayside and unknown homes more attrac-  
tive; but if ever I feel like going back to  
you leaving these homes behind me I shall  
do so."

Abinash nearly went mad with fury when

he read this. He was almost certain that Suprakash would come back as soon as he received the money, but when he did not, it automatically reminded him of all the neglects and rebuffs he had subjected Suprakash to. He was, as it were, chokeful of those memories; this letter freshened them into a painful vividness.

Abinash went to Satadal with the letter. Satadal was busily doing all sorts of things. Abinash threw the letter at her and said, "See what new madness has come over Khoka! Why shouldn't he come home? Write to him at once to come back."

Satadal was surprised and said, "Would he come back if I wrote to him?"

Abinash did not want to say it but he wanted her to understand that he must get back his brother. That she could not understand this little thing exasperated him very much. He said, "Why not? You just explain things to him. Tell him that it is necessary that he come back. Everybody wants him to return."

Satadal answered, "All right, let me write and see."

Abinash went away for the time being. Ever since their return to Calcutta, it had become a habit with Aruna to visit Satadal on the English-mail day. It was usually a Sunday, so, that was in itself a good excuse. She would go and make Karuna listen to the news from England in a totally uncalled-for manner. To-day also Aruna turned up a little after Abinash had left. Satadal said, "See, we have been hoping Chhotamama would return now and he is cultivating the most absurd ideas just at this time!"

That Aruna was very eager to learn things concerning Suprakash did not escape Satadal. She wanted to establish some sort of a relation between this and the words Suprakash spoke before parting, but Aruna was so simple and dominantly girlish that she could not foster her ideas into a full grown faith. Hearing her words Aruna asked, "Why, what has Suprakash Babu written? Is he going to settle down in Honolulu or Honduras? I believe this country no longer appeals to him?"

Satadal remarked, "Settling down would have been a blessing! He wants to be a wanderer."

Aruna said, "Oh, the youthful ascetic stunt? Very good, we have a young ascetic lady and you are having an ascetic sahib."

She thought something and suddenly asked, "Tell me Satadaldi, how would it be if Suprakash Babu married Didi?"

Satadal said, "Why, why do you think that?"

Aruna felt a bit ashamed and said, "Nothing, I just thought of it."

Satadal asked, "Has Karuna even such a thing?"

Aruna exclaimed, "Heavens! She is such a brazen one! Couldn't I have original ideas?"

Satadal conceded, "Oh yes, why not?"

Aruna entreated Satadal, "Please mention this to anybody; Didi would smile if she came to know of this."

Satadal gazed at her face for a long time. Then asked, "Tell me, does Karuna even mention about Chhotamama?"

Aruna found an opportunity to reveal her Didi a part of the lost dignity. She said, "Didi? Talk about Suprakash Babu would not say a word even if you ever chanted his name into her ear."

Satadal laughed and said, "Do you think it stimulating to chant his name even and then?"

Aruna said, "Indeed! Much I like your ascetics."

Satadal asked, "But who turned him into an ascetic? Tell me Aruna, don't hide anything, please."

Aruna cried, "You are a nice fellow! Putting everything on my innocent shoulders!"

Satadal said, "As if I don't know anything! Just before he went to London, Chhotamama ran down, all of a sudden, to Rajgunge. Didn't I notice that? He told me something."

Aruna could not restrain herself a moment. She grasped Satadal's hand and asked, "What did he say?"

Satadal said, "That is something you know it?"

Aruna exclaimed, "But how could anybody tell me? Do tell me please!"

Satadal asked, "Don't you know anything at all? About someone else?"

Aruna thought a little, then said, "Didi wept a lot that night. And she hid her face away even now when we mention Suprakash Babu. But, for Heaven's sake, don't tell this to Didi; I feel very sorry for her, that's why I told you all that Suprakash Babu say anything regarding her."

Satadal said, "Yes, but he did not mention her name."

Aruna asked, "What did he say?"

Satadal said, "Another time. Let this aside for a few days."



s deeply worried. When she una, she, like many others binash was going after her st like a mad thing after its as Satadal who had to suffer fictions of this mad rush. At ere was a lull, which nearly g dead, but she hardly under- re. It was after a long time eeing light.

s no longer her old self. Since Aruna, Satadal began to compare nas. The Karuna of old was of struggle. She always gave that she was, up against a stiff it undaunted. She was, it eagerly groping for something. ia of to-day was changed. She to suffer from doubts or ple do not become so very unless they lost something of This was something like her od, a blighted soul waiting for

No fears of going astray, no ealise. The world was a mere and no more.

written a letter to Suprakash, for the sake of Abinash to But it was not yet posted. As he thought more and more how o write to Suprakash like that. the letter. Then Abinash began out sending a letter to Supra- id not, he never could, own up s. But he was at a loss to l's half-hearted behaviour in the gerness.

egan to visit Karuna again. ver, would never talk about old enerally said a few words about nd then kept quiet. They had les. Formerly Karuna had to revouring to make Satadal talk, atadal who did practically all the a, no doubt, had told her that things, but if Satadal asked her she would say, "No, no, Didi angry if she came to hear of

ail day. Abinash had come to f the unwritten letter. It was since he asked her to write to Vere his words of nowadays! Satadal's room and said, "Do you stay abroad for ever? He listens ce, that is why I asked you to If you will not, I shall write

to him." He did not wait for an answer but went out.

Satadal decided to write. But she dared not show it to Abinash nor did she dare send it without showing it to him. She had partly understood why Suprakash had gone away so hurriedly, but if her diagnosis were true, she was sure that even the most tears-stained letters would not bring him back.

She entreated him at length after the accepted fashion as if to save him from facing facts. At the end she wrote "Your penance seems to have worked out successfully in this life. You have stolen all her smiles and joys. How long do you intend to keep her in tears?"

She went with the letter to Abinash. She did not know if he would understand and what he would say if he did. She was trembling inwardly in fear. She did not know in what calamity she might not end.

Abinash was sitting on an easy-chair busy doing his work. He had torn up many unsuccessful letters. They were not expressive enough. He could not find suitable language at his age to bring his brother back. He clutched hopefully at Satadal's advent. Satadal was trembling, but regained her self-confidence when she saw Abinash. She gave the letter to Abinash and asked, "Shall I send this letter to Chhotamama?"

Abinash read it, several times. At last he said with a sigh, "All right, send it along."

Satadal waited with the letter. What is this? She had not come merely for th s permission. Had not Abinash understood then? How could she tell him anything more? It was not possible. Abinash had understood. He had done so long ago. But he did not want to look into it. He had hoped to get over his sorrows with his eyes shut. But he was finding it impossible. He must move with open eyes. The hunted deer does not want to die at the hands of the hunter when on the sea-shore; it jumps into the sea. Abinash had come to his limit. He had given up everything, but to-day he would have to drag out his last secrets and sacrifice them openly. He would make the sacrifice himself, and in that let his glory be.

He remembered the gold chain which he had kept so long under the pretext of holding it as security for his loan to Karuna. He left his chair brought it out of a drawer and put it into an envelope on which he wrote, "With Blessings." Then he gave the

envelope to Satadal and said, "Give this to Karuna."

Satadal went away happily. She added a line to her letter and sent on also Abinash's envelope to Suprakash.

( 25 )

Karuna had almost forgotten how long her pot-garden had gone without watering. The plants had assumed the aspect of thorny projections, being dried up and denuded of all leaves and life. Only the *Bel* plant still lived in its empty canister and the *Tulsi* which grew in the wall. It seemed as if it had recovered its life in the spring breeze. Its fresh green leaves were sprouting in pairs on its thin branches.

Karuna was sitting on a mat spread on the triangular terrace amidst her potted plants; she had not lighted the lamps as yet. She had come home late and Aruna and Romu were invited elsewhere, so she had nothing to do. She sat resting her tired head on the wall. She did not know when she fell asleep. Her thin emaciated face was lighted up with a smile of happiness. Somebody's footsteps came slowly up the stairs and approached her. But she did not wake up. Somebody called, "Karuna!"

She suddenly woke up and said, "You, you have come?"

Suprakash grasped her hands and said, "Yes, I have come."

Karuna was blushing deep and was trembling. She did know where to hide her face.

Her hands were imprisoned within the arms of Suprakash. She lowered her head and kept it between her arms. Her unbounded emotion completely lowered her face. But that did not keep out the kisses that Suprakash stored up for her for such a long time. She lifted her face and said, "Do not know I was dreaming; so I thought your call a part of my dream."

Suprakash said, "I know, you would have answered me so sweetly, had you been awake."

Karuna retorted with reckless disregard for logic, "Oh yes! You should not have said that. Who was it that escaped from this country?"

Suprakash said, "Mad! I went to look for my philosopher's stone."

Karuna asked, "If you failed to find it?"

Suprakash said, "The man who possesses only that little can never lose it. And the keeper is such a beauty, who would worry?" He held up her face with his hands.

The next morning Satadal turned up with the envelope that Abinash had given her and said, "Here you are, take them. They have been keeping it for you for over a month, but somehow I have not been able to carry out my commission. I had promised I would do so today."

THE END

TRANSLATED FROM THE BENGALI

ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

## ERRATA

Page 666, in the line under the vertically set up illustration, Mahenjo Daro should be Mohen-jo-Daro

Page 671, in the line under the illustration, conduct should be conduit.